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Old and New Westmoreland

BY

JOHN N. BOUCHER

Author of "A History of Westmoreland County," 1906; "A Century and
a Half of Pittsburgh and Her People," 1908; etc., etc.

ILLUSTRATED



VOLUME I

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Inc.

NEW YORK

1918

1243963
PREFACE

IT is without trépidation that the publishers lay before their patrons the following work, *Old and New Westmoreland*. Its title embraces the territory in Westmoreland County at its formation in 1773, a region now generally known as Southwestern Pennsylvania. The work includes a complete history of Westmoreland County as it formerly existed, up until Washington, Fayette and Allegheny counties were carved from it. Indeed, the author has devoted more space to the formative period of this section than any previous writer, and we believe he has thoroughly laid the interesting features of its history before the reader.

For a third of a century after the first settlements were made in Southwestern Pennsylvania, the history of this section is made up of a strange commingling of tragedy and romance on the one hand, and of privations and exertions on the other. Though the reader may be sometimes taken away from the immediate locality of which the work treats, he will always find that the subject under consideration is one which deeply concerns Westmoreland history. The narrative as told here is made as nearly chronological as is possible. The publishers feel confident that Mr. Boucher has placed before the readers in a pleasing and forceful manner the salient facts of the long and interesting story, and that he has included much of that purely antiquarian lore, which is to many the most instructive and delightful feature in history.

Formed, as the County of Westmoreland was, before the Revolution, the story of its patriotism in that struggle is and must ever remain, one of its brightest pages.

The reader will find that the author has delved deeply into the biography of the makers of Westmoreland, giving of all of the prominent men of the past all of the authentic information that can be gathered concerning them. The work in two volumes relates entirely to the past, it being seldom, indeed, that the author has even mentioned the name of any one now living. He wishes us to state that he has been entirely untrammelled in this matter, and if he has omitted entirely, or given too much prominence to any event, or hero of the past, it is entirely a mistake in judgment, and is not due to any obligation on the part of the writer.

In view of the foregoing, the publishers feel confident in reasserting that the two volumes of *Old and New Westmoreland*, being practically a history of Southwestern Pennsylvania, will, when carefully considered, meet with the approval of the intelligent and public-spirited people.

THE PUBLISHERS.

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Adam Weaver, p. 395; member of Eighth Pennsylvania Regt., 1776, instead of 1876.

Page 523, fourth line; for four traders, read fur traders.

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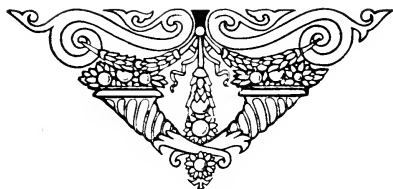
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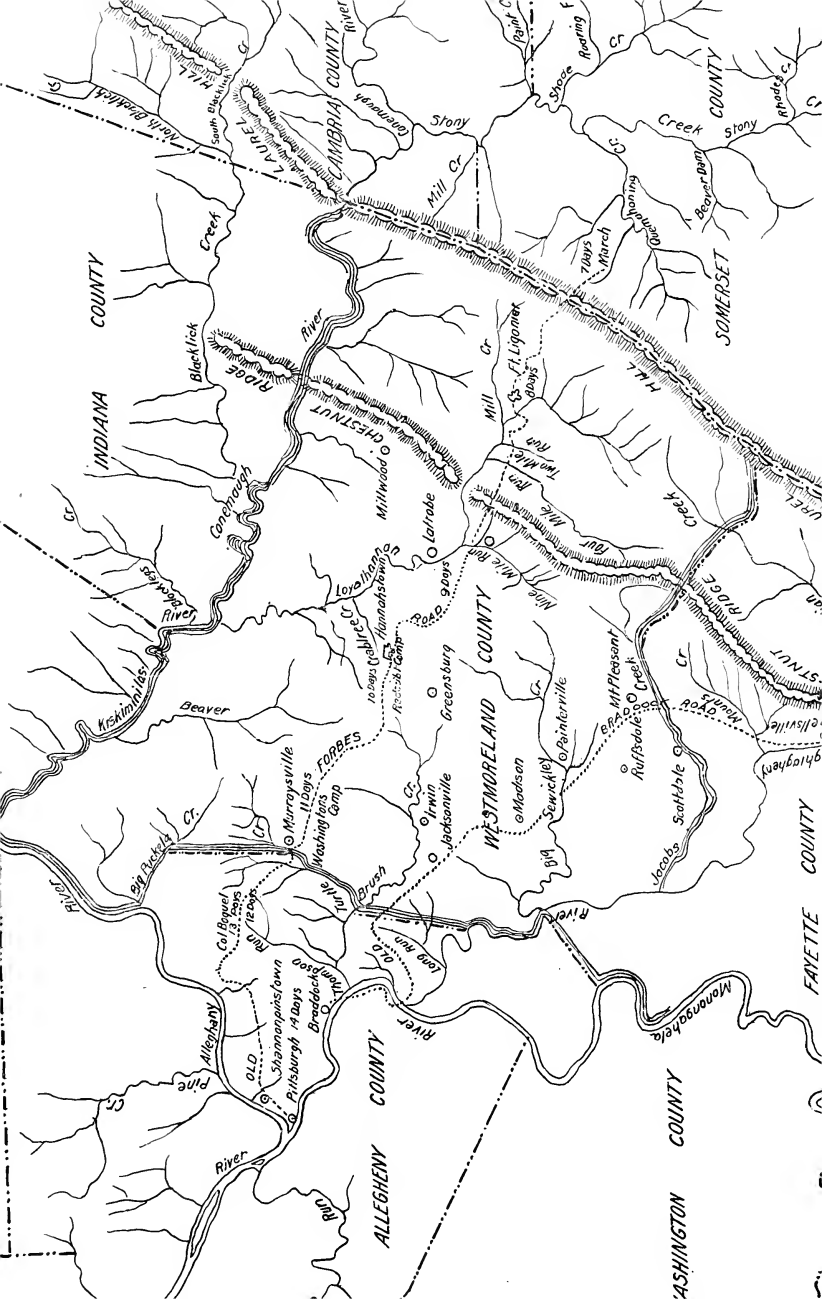
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OLD AND NEW
WESTMORELAND

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY CLAIMANTS FOR TERRITORY IN SOUTHWESTERN PENNSYLVANIA



CHAPTER I.

The Prominence of Southwestern Pennsylvania in the Pioneer Days; Early Claimants to the Territory.—The Advent of the White Race.—Weiser, Celoron, Gist.—Washington's Trip as a Representative of Governor Dinwiddie.—The Virginians Take Possession.—The French-Canadians Expel the Virginians.—The Battle of Jumonville.—Fort Necessity Built and Evacuated.—Van Braam and Stobo; Their Harsh Treatment.—Fort Duquesne.

It is doubtful whether any section of the United States has a more interesting, a more thrilling or a more romantic history than Southwestern Pennsylvania, as originally embraced within the County of Westmoreland. For a third of a century following its municipal formation, the reader will find the pioneer of this section almost constantly engaged in warfare, either with the French, with the English, or with the Indians and with their allies. Added to these burdens of the early settler was the long and tedious battle with the wilderness which he must subdue and make suitable for the habitation of civilized mankind. Its history is indeed a strange commingling of tragedy, romance and privation.

To understand our early history, however, the student must go back a few years, and at least glance casually at incidents of a prior date to our early settlements.

There were primarily two causes, differing widely from each other, which brought the first representatives of the white race to the section the history of which we are about to consider. The first was the settlement of the French on the St. Lawrence river in the first half of the seventeenth century; the second was the formation of the Ohio Company, a corporation composed mainly of Virginia capitalists. In the early part of the century the Frenchmen, in looking across the broad Atlantic, saw, or thought they saw, that the English colonists had practically preëmpted the most inviting sections of the eastern coast of North America. They, therefore, entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence and, sailing up the river, founded a colony which grew rapidly and was afterwards called New France. The French nation was strong in that day, and their colonists in America were, like their descendants, tenacious of their rights and prompt in asserting themselves. They were also zealous in the exploration of the new country. In 1669 and 1670 Robert Chevalier de la Salle, one of the most noted explorers in American history, had penetrated the wilderness between the St. Lawrence and the Allegheny rivers, and, passing down the

latter river and down the Ohio, had discovered the falls where the city of Louisville, Kentucky, now stands. Later he explored the Mississippi river, and he and his people claimed for the King of France all the boundless region drained by these rivers and their tributaries.

Other French colonists had entered the Gulf of Mexico and had founded settlements around the mouth of the Mississippi. These were known as the Louisiana settlements, a name they bear collectively even to the present day. In this way the claim of the French to the Ohio and Mississippi valleys was gradually strengthened, for they now held the mouth of the great river, the only outlet of the territory, as transportation was then mainly carried on. The extravagant claim of the French to this broad region was sustained in a measure by the international laws of that day. Nor was the claim as preposterous as one might think; certainly it was not more so than that of the English, who claimed the entire North American continent "from sea to sea," because, forsooth, John Cabot, a British navigator, had sailed up and down the Atlantic coast, without perhaps penetrating or even touching its shores. The French claim was strengthened from year to year by increased settlements and by further explorations on the part of both New France and Louisiana. The claim was furthermore practically uncontested by any colonial or national power until about the middle of the eighteenth century. By that time both of these French settlements had greatly increased in numbers and in wealth. They had built cities and fortresses, and had sent out explorers on almost every navigable stream, and they had founded missions on the shores of every lake in the northwest. Their object was to occupy and hold this vast region of territory for the French government. From it, for the time being, they meant to procure skins and furs which abounded in the entire territory, and eventually to form States, build cities and found empires within its borders.

The London Company was chartered by the English government in 1607 and 1609. To it was granted all the land lying between a point two hundred miles south and a point two hundred miles north of Point Comfort, and this grant extended "into the land from sea to sea." This unbounded domain therefore fronted four hundred miles on the Atlantic Ocean, and was called Virginia in honor of the maiden queen so justly famed in English history. By 1750 Virginia had likewise become strong, and, while the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Virginia had not been definitely determined, the Virginians laid a claim to the region surrounding the headwaters of the Ohio river, but did little else to sustain the claim than to gradually extend

their settlements westward. In 1716 Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, had organized an expedition, the object of which was to march westward and lay claim to this section. The expedition came as far west as the Shenandoah and there, with the ceremony of that day, the governor assumed possession of all this country in the name of King George the First.

In 1748 the Ohio Company was organized under a charter from the king. Its officers were Thomas Lee, president of the Virginia assembly; Robert Dinwiddie, then governor of Virginia; Lawrence and Augustine Washington, and John Hanbury, a London merchant. To this company was granted five hundred thousand acres of land west of the Allegheny mountains, to be located chiefly south of the Ohio river between the Monongahela and the Kanawha rivers. They were allowed, however, to survey and lay out a portion of these lands north of the Ohio river, and were compelled by the charter to select two hundred thousand acres at once. The charter also provided that this land was to be free from tax for a period of ten years, but, by a further provision, they were to settle one hundred families on it within seven years and to build and maintain a fort for the protection of these settlers.

The chief object of the company, as the reader may suspect, was to secure and divert the fur trade with the Indians from the French in the north and from Pennsylvania. This trade, the new company thought, could be carried on with a great advantage over the northern traders by using the waters of the Potomac, whose headwaters were near those of the Monongahela and the Youghiogeny rivers. The Virginians also thought by this to assert their rights to this section and to hold it for their colony, for prior to this their claim had been merely a constructive one. The reader must not forget that this entire country was covered by a dense forest, inhabited only by Indians and wild animals. Remembering this, he will better understand the struggle between the French and the Indians for this broad region, found inviting alike, as it was, to the dealer in furs and skins and to the pioneer who sought to conquer the unknown wilderness and carve for himself and his family a home among its hills.

A long continued struggle was then in existence between the French and the English. Through the treaty of Aix La Chapelle, which was signed October 1, 1748, this war was closed, but the treaty failed to establish the boundaries between the colonies of these two contesting countries in America. It is true that the claim of neither the French nor the English to the land around the headwaters of the Ohio was perfect, but it was equally true that each had a show of title

which even a nominal possession in the absence of opposition from a stronger claimant might have in a few years ripened into a perfect title, as titles were known in that day. The attempts of each colony for four or five years after the formation of the Ohio Company to substantiate its claims to this territory, though small in themselves, had a great bearing on the country in the end, and must not be passed over slightly by the student of the early history of Pennsylvania.

The explorer sent out by the French Canadians whose travels are most deeply fraught with interest to the student of our early history was M. Celoron. He was sent solely for the purpose of asserting the claims of New France to the entire Ohio Valley, and it must be remembered that the Ohio Valley was then supposed to extend to Lake Erie. Celoron sailed down the Allegheny river, then known as the Upper Ohio, but by the French called *La Belle Riviere*, or Beautiful River. He had been a captain of the troops of his colony at Quebec, and also a chevalier of St. Louis. Captain M. D. Contrecoeur was with him as a second in command. Father Bonnecamp, a Jesuit priest, justly known in his day, and eight subaltern officers, six cadets, twenty French soldiers and one hundred and eighty Canadians and thirty Indians were also with him. This company was made up at La Chine, near Montreal, and, on June 15, they started on their journey, being borne by twenty-three canoes.

They came up the St. Lawrence river, thence by Lake Ontario, and reached Niagara on July 6. Their next journey was by land, and they carried their canoes and baggages and supplies through the forests to Lake Erie. They had an easy passage on the placid waters of the latter lake to a point opposite and very near Lake Chautauqua, where they again carried their outfit overland about eight miles to the northern shores of that since famous lake. From Lake Chautauqua by Conewango creek they finally reached *La Belle Riviere*, now the Allegheny river, on July 29. Celoron nailed a plate on a tree standing on the banks of the river, the plate bearing the arms of the king of France, and he buried in the ground at the foot of a tree a leaden plate with an inscription setting forth that he had, on the part of the king of France, taken possession of the entire river, "and all of those which flow into it and all of the tributaries on both sides as far as the source of said river, as the preceding kings of France have possessed or still possess them." On August 3, at a point about eight miles below the mouth of French creek, they passed a naked mountain and, near a large stone upon which certain figures had been rudely carved by the Indians, Celoron nailed another plate to a tree and buried a leaden plate similar to the first one. This immense stone has been known for

over a century as the "Indian God," and is yet visible on the left bank of the Allegheny river. This is taken from Celoron's journal, which does not indicate that he buried any other plates. None of them have ever been found.

Celoron was a diplomat, for he tried at all times to make friends of the red men and to enlist them in the cause of France and against the English. His journal says that he came upon several bands of Indian traders, one consisting of six men and about fifty horses carrying about one hundred and fifty packages of furs. These he came upon at Chartiers Town, an Indian town built by the Shawanees Indians, which was near where the town of Tarentum now stands. Using these traders as his messenger, he sent a letter to the governor of Pennsylvania which is still on file among the archives of the state. By the authority vested in him he also ordered these men to withdraw at once from this territory, which he denominated as that of the French king. In the letter sent to the governor he manifested his surprise to find English merchants in the territory which England had never even pretended to own. He says he treated them mildly, although he had a right to regard them as "intruders and mere vagrants."

Celoron found another party of six traders at an Indian town governed by an old Iroquois woman who, he says, "looks upon herself as a queen." This is undoubtedly the first definite reference to the site now covered by Pittsburgh. The Indian village was afterwards called Shannopinstown, and was on the banks of the Allegheny river, now the Twelfth Ward of Pittsburgh, and near the foot of Thirty-second street. The old woman who pretended to be queen was a widow when Celoron visited her, and was the famous Queen Aliquippa. In his journal Celoron refers to a "written rock" which he found some miles below the Indian village, and he named the place after the rock because of certain writings on its face. This is what is now known as McKees Rocks, although the Indian inscriptions have long since faded away by erosion, if indeed they were anything more than marks made by English fur traders. He journeyed as far down the Ohio as Logstown, another Indian town on the Ohio which was built where Sewickley now stands.

A year before Celoron's visit, Conrad Weiser, an Indian agent from Berks county, of great tact and shrewdness, had been sent to this section and had brought with him many presents for the Indians. Celoron found that Weiser had also implanted among the Indians at Logstown a hatred of the French and a great friendship for the English, but Celoron's fleet was too formidable for them to oppose and they at least made a show of friendship to the Frenchman by hoisting

three French flags and one English flag, and they also fired a salute when their fleet approached. He says in his journal that he had "no confidence in their good intentions," and that he ordered them to take down the English flag and stop all display, which was immediately done. On August 12 Celoron journeyed down the Ohio, passing from the region that we are particularly interested in as students of the history of Western Pennsylvania. He kept a careful journal of his expedition, and from it we have taken and quoted the above. It was translated by the renowned Father A. A. Lambing, D. D., LL. D., of Pittsburgh.

The next explorer in whom we are interested is Christopher Gist, who, it must not be forgotten, was, after Conrad Weiser, the first English-speaking explorer to traverse Southwestern Pennsylvania. He was sent out to explore and report on this region by the Ohio Company, of which we have spoken above. His instructions were that he should equip himself and to take as many men with him as were necessary "to search out and discover the lands upon the Ohio River and other adjoining branches of the Mississippi, down as low as the great falls thereof." Gist was a surveyor, and he was also instructed to learn and report the passes through the mountains, to observe the nature of the soil, its character and possibility for future production, the rivers of the country through which he traversed, and the tribes of Indians which inhabited the entire region. This was done in order "that the Company may the better judge where it will be more convenient for them to take their land," for it must not be forgotten that in this connection part of their land was to be located north of the Ohio.

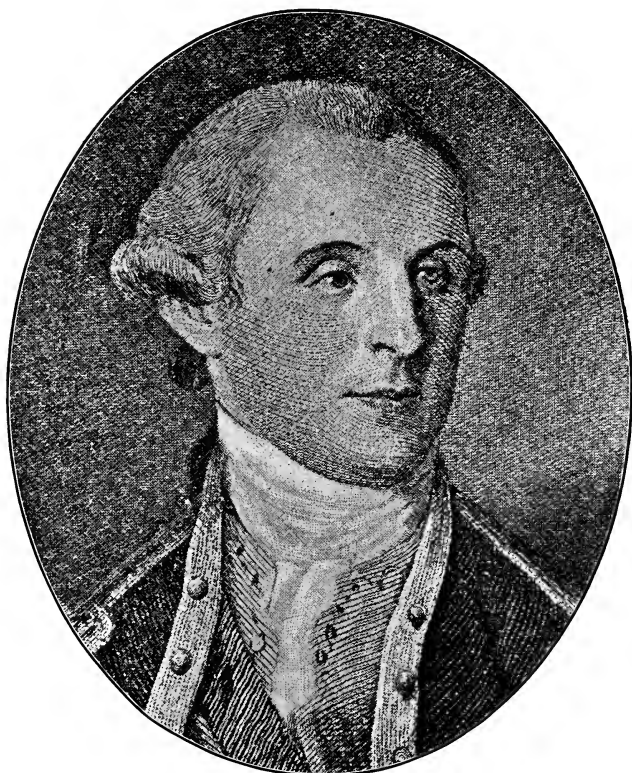
Christopher Gist was an Englishman by birth, and was living at this time on the banks of the Yadkin, in North Carolina. He set out on this expedition on October 31, 1750, and on November 14 reached Loyalhanna, which, in his journal, he styles "an old Indian town on a creek of the Ohio called the Kiscominetas." This Indian town was built on the spot where Ligonier now stands, and it is one of the most historic spots in Western Pennsylvania. The chief of the Indians at Loyalhanna could speak English, and directed Gist to Shannopinstown, which he reached on November 19, and where he remained until November 23. Shannopinstown, according to his journal, contained about twenty-five families. He says nothing in his journal about the place near the junction of the rivers. From Shannopinstown he crossed the river and then went down to Logstown, going by an Indian path which was afterward followed closely by East and West Ohio streets to Beaver avenue, North Side, and thence down the river bank. In

these towns he says he "found scarcely anybody but a parcel of reprobate Indian traders." The Indians were perhaps out on their fall hunting expeditions. After remaining a day or two he resumed his journey on Monday morning, but noted in his journal that he "preferred the woods to such company."

The governorship of Canada had for some years been in weak hands, but in March, 1752, Marquis Duquesne was made governor and began his most vigorous administration. He regarded it his first duty to make the French-Canadian ownership of the Ohio Valley more than a constructive ownership. Accordingly, he attempted to build a line of military posts from the French settlements on the St. Lawrence down the Allegheny and down the Ohio and down the Mississippi to its mouth. He also erected a fort called Presq' Isle on Lake Erie, at the site of the present city of Erie. He built Fort Le Boeuf, now Waterford, in Crawford county. He also projected and intended to build Fort Venango, where Franklin is built, and projected another fort on French creek, in Venango county. Had the English suffered them to carry out these plans, the Canadian domination of the Ohio Valley would have approximated a reality, and they would thus have hemmed in the English between the Ohio river and the Atlantic ocean. Admiral Duquesne, in the early part of 1753, proceeded to complete the construction of this line of forts by sending out a force of about a thousand men under the command of M. Marin. They came south by a less difficult route than the one taken by Celoron, landing in the bay at Erie. They named the fort Presq' Isle, because of the long circling arm of land which extends out into the lake and gathers in as it were the waters of the harbor. They completed this fortress and opened a road south fifteen miles to a tributary of French creek, where the town of Waterford now stands, and they built a large fort there called Fort Le Boeuf. They were interrupted by the Indians in the building of the fort at Venango at the mouth of French creek, and it was not finished until much later, although Joncaire, a French soldier of courage and ability, was permitted by the Indians to remain there with a small company of soldiers. In October the French army, after leaving a small force at each of the forts they had established, and, being well-worn with the arduous duties of the former campaign, returned to Montreal.

The entire country around the head waters of the Ohio had for years been visited more or less by fur traders. They were usually unscrupulous men and had but little more character than the average Indian. Most of them hailed from Virginia and they very soon carried the news of these hostile military movements on the part of the French to their people at home. This aroused the lethargic spirit of

the Virginians. Dinwiddie, then governor of Virginia, was a very canny Scotchman, and, though well advanced in years, had fully his share of the proverbial obstinacy of his race. Being himself a member of the Ohio Company, he was unusually watchful of the rights of those whom he apparently represented. The governor accordingly prepared a message to the French commandant, and in it he reiterated the rights of the English to this disputed territory; and in genteel but very positive terms asked the French to withdraw forever from the Ohio Valley. This message he sent by Major George Washington, then a member of the Virginia militia, who had not yet reached his twenty-second year.



WASHINGTON AT AGE OF TWENTY-FIVE

Washington's biographers have given the governor great credit for the wisdom he displayed in this selection. They have probably, moreover, magnified the whole affair because of the distinguished services which the messenger afterward rendered to his country and to the world at large. But for his eminent career in after life we would probably hear much less of the journey, which proved to be a very important one. Washington was a young man of good judgment, of great physical strength and endurance, and, being something of a surveyor, was accustomed to the outdoor life and to finding his way through the trackless forest. These qualities fitted him well for the position to which the governor appointed him, but to Dinwiddie we can give but little credit for the appointment, when we remember that two of Washington's half-brothers were members of the Ohio Company, and that it is undoubtedly this, in a great degree, which induced the governor to appoint him. Washington set out at once upon his journey, taking with him Jacob Van Braam, a French interpreter; John Davison as Indian interpreter, and four hired men as servants, and these were named respectively Barnaby Currin, John McQuire, Henry Stewart and William Jenkins. Part of the way he had Indian guides, and, in his notes, one of these is called the "Hunter," who afterward became known in Indian warfare as the famous Guyasuta, of whom the reader will learn much more, if he continues to investigate Western Pennsylvania history.

Christopher Gist was then living at Wills Creek, now Cumberland, and was in the employ of the Ohio Company. In his journal, which is dated November 14, 1753, is this entry: "Came this day to my house at Wills Creek, Major George Washington with a letter from the Virginia Council requesting me to accompany him to the commandant of the French forts on the Ohio." In 1748-49, the Ohio Company desired to build a road from Cumberland to the Ohio Valley, and had selected Colonel Cresap to superintend the building of it. Cresap had employed an Indian named Nemacolin, a member of the Delaware tribe, known for his ability as a hunter, and his duty was to point out the way. Nemacolin did this by following a path which the Indians had used almost from their first appearance in this section, in going to and from the head waters of the Ohio. After this it became known as Nemacolin's Path, and it was this trail or path on which Washington journeyed westward.

On November 22, Washington and his company reached the house of John Frazer, who was then a gunsmith and lived at the mouth of Turtle creek. The gunsmith received Washington and his company very kindly, kept them over night, and the next day lent

them a canoe to carry their baggage to the junction of the two rivers, the Monongahela and the Allegheny. Two of the servants took the canoe down the river, but Washington and the rest of his party pushed forward on their horses. They rode across the country to Shannopinstown and down the banks of the Allegheny to the junction, and reached that place before the canoe had reached it.

Washington at once began an examination of the point and was favorably impressed by it as the proper place for the erection of a fort as provided for in the charter of the Company. A recommendation had been made by Christopher Gist that the intended fort should be built and a town laid out at McKees Rocks. Washington undoubtedly considered this and other localities, for he urged the point at the junction as "less expensive than the other place." "A fort at the fork," his report reads, "would be equally well situated on the Ohio and have the entire command of the Monongahela which runs by our settlement and is extremely well designed for water carriage as it is of a deep, still nature. Besides, a fort at the fork might be built at much less expense than at the other place." It is doubtful whether the Company was guided by his advice as to its location, for on his way east and before his recommendation could have reached the Company, Washington met the forces coming west who were sent out to build the fort, and who at once began its construction.

On the evening of the 23rd the Washington party crossed the Allegheny river and encamped for the night near the foot of what is now known in Pittsburgh, on the North Side, as Monument Hill. The next day they went down the river to Logstown. We shall not follow him through all his delays because of inclement weather, intemperate guides, etc., for these instances in his journey have been written many times and need not be repeated here except as they bear directly on the history of Southwestern Pennsylvania. On December 5 he reached Venango, where he was kindly received, but informed that the commandant, St. Pierre, was then at Fort Le Boeuf about forty miles further north.

His party left Venango on December 7, but the traveling through the country was so bad that they did not reach Fort Le Boeuf until December 11, when he presented the letter of Governor Dinwiddie to St. Pierre. Francis Parkman, the eminent historian, says, that "St. Pierre and the officer next in rank, who knew a little English, took it to another room to study at their ease; and in it, all unconsciously they read a name designated to one day become one of the noblest in the annals of mankind, for it introduced Major George Washington, Adjutant General of the Virginia Militia." St. Pierre entertained

the Major with great urbanity, but purposely delayed his return by various causes until December 14 before he gave him an answer to the governor's message. Washington's horses were then sent by land, while Washington and the remainder of the party left Fort Le Boeuf on the next day, December 16, in canoes.

So difficult was the navigation, however, that they did not reach Venango until December 22. On the way from Venango to the Ohio, Washington and Gist, on December 26, entrusted their jaded horses to Van Braam and started on foot by the shortest route through the woods to Shannopinstown. To direct them on this journey they engaged an Indian as a guide, but soon had reason to suspect him of treachery. Finally, at the edge of a cleared strip of ground, the Indian, who was a distance ahead, levelled his gun and fired at them. Fortunately the Indian was a bad marksman, and neither of them was hit, but they made haste to capture and disarm him. He had taken refuge behind a large tree and was rapidly reloading his gun. Gist was accustomed to dealing with the Indians by summary methods, and wanted to kill the guide at once, but Washington, with the magnanimity which characterized him in after life, interposed, and, after some delay, sent him on his way home with the impression that they, being weary, would rest until morning and would then follow his footsteps. As soon as they were sure that the Indian had actually left the community, Washington and Gist resumed their journey and traveled all night and the day following without rest. At nightfall, they reached the Allegheny river opposite Shannopinstown.

Unfortunately, however, though it was bitterly cold weather, the river was only partly frozen over. They encamped on its banks until morning and then began to construct a raft. To do this they had but one hatchet and, although they worked all day, the sun went down before they had it completed. When the raft was finished it was launched, but before it was half way over the river, it was jammed by floating cakes of ice and Washington was thrown into the stream where the water was at least ten feet deep. He saved himself by clinging to one of the raft logs and finally, unable to land on either shore, both he and Gist drifted to an island where they passed the night. Gist's hands and feet were frozen, though Washington says nothing about how he recovered or survived the bitter cold night in wet clothing. By means of drift ice which had wedged together and partly frozen during the night, they succeeded in gaining the shore the next day, and by evening were safely lodged in John Frazer's house at the mouth of Turtle creek. The island upon which Washington and Gist passed the bitter cold night was afterwards

known as Wainright's Island. It was situated about three miles above the fork of the rivers and near Herr's Island, but it was little more than a sand bar and has long since been washed away.

They were detained at Frazer's place three or four days in endeavoring to procure horses. Washington was always anxious to enlist the friendship of the redskins, and, while at Frazer's visited Queen Aliquippa, as she was called by the English. She lived at the mouth of the Youghiogheny river, near where the city of McKeesport now stands. Washington left Frazer's on January 1 and reached home on January 16, and delivered the message from the French commandant to Governor Dinwiddie and also made a full report of the entire trip. St. Pierre's reply to Governor Dinwiddie's letter or message was a positive declination on the part of the French to retire from the Ohio Valley, although it is couched in courteous terms. He said, among other things, that it was the duty of the Governor-General of Canada and not his duty to demonstrate or substantiate the French claims on the lands, and, that he was there only by the General's orders and must obey by remaining, etc. This was probably entirely correct. Dinwiddie's letter and the reply, and Washington's account of the trip, were published in pamphlet form and sent broadcast throughout the country. From this pamphlet the writer has quoted. It was also republished in England and in the London newspapers. It opened the eyes of the English, both in England and America, to the true situation in the Ohio Valley. Dinwiddie applied to the governors of the American colonies for aid in expelling the French from the Ohio Valley.

The governor of Pennsylvania laid Dinwiddie's request before the State Assembly in 1754 in a very able paper, asking them to furnish men and supplies to expel the French from their territory. In this paper he says, "You will undoubtedly agree with me that so alarming an occasion has not occurred since the settlement of the provinces, nor any one thing happened that so much demands your serious attention." But the Legislature did nothing. Indeed, no colony outside of Virginia, save North Carolina, lent any material aid. They were yet entirely isolated from, and independent of each other; too much so, indeed, to unite their strength in a common cause. The House of Burgesses in Virginia voted 10,000 pounds to be expended in the cause. Governor Dinwiddie also called out two hundred militia and placed them under the command of Washington and Trent, the latter of whom, with about forty men, repaired to the Fork of the Ohio in February. With these men he at once began to build a fort. The day of his arrival at the Fork was February

17, 1754, and is a memorable one in the history of Western Pennsylvania, for it was the beginning of a permanent occupation of this section. Trent was captain and John Frazer was a lieutenant of these forces. The militia in Virginia was increased to three hundred men, with Joshua Fry as colonel and Washington as lieutenant-colonel, or second in command, and was sent to Western Pennsylvania to expel the French. The men under Trent and Frazer had worked but a few days at the fort, when Trent went to Wills creek, now Cumberland, to communicate with the advancing militia. Frazer was also absent much of his time at his home in Turtle creek.

Early in April, Captain Contrecoeur had embarked at Venango with about one thousand men for the Fork of the Ohio. He had a number of fieldpieces, about sixty batteaux and three hundred canoes, and, sailing down the Allegheny river, suddenly made his appearance before the astonished workmen at the fort. The fort was scarcely more than begun. Both officers, Trent and Frazer, were absent. Contrecoeur drew up his canoes in line, planted his artillery, and summoned the forces to surrender the fort. The only officer to answer was an ensign named Ward. He pleaded his want of authority, hoping to gain time, but the French commandant would grant him but one hour, after which he said he would take the position by force. Then the ensign obtained permission to depart with his men and take with them their tools. Thus the position at the fort was surrendered. The French commander, with the urbanity for which his race is so noted, invited the ensign to dine with him, and wished him as well as his men a pleasant journey eastward. Laden with their tools the workmen of the fort set out for the East.

Both Captain Trent and Lieutenant Frazer were severely censured for being absent from the fort when the French arrived. "Trent's behavior," said Washington, in a letter to Governor Dinwiddie, "has been very tardy and has convinced the world of what they before supposed—his great timidity." Lieutenant Frazer, though not altogether blameless, is much more excusable, for he would not accept the commission until he had a promise from the captain that he should not reside at the fort nor visit it more than once a week, or as he saw the necessity. Trent was undoubtedly inefficient, but Frazer was a man of courage, ability and integrity. Yet, after all the criticisms which were then heaped upon both of them, particularly upon Trent, it can scarcely be imagined that their presence that day would have changed the course of events in any material degree.

As soon as Ward and his workmen had gone, the French began

to build a larger and more formidable structure which they named Fort Duquesne in honor of the Governor-General of Canada. But the French forces at the Fork of the Ohio were cognizant, through spies, of the approach of the Virginia militia under Colonels Fry and Washington, and almost immediately sent out a small army under the command of Jumonville to drive them back or capture them. It was Washington's intention to march with his little army to the Fork, but, when he learned of the Trent-Frazer fiasco, he directed his army toward the mouth of the Redstone where Brownsville is now built, and where the Ohio Company had already built a storehouse. Before reaching that place he learned that a small company of French were watching his movements and were hiding in a ravine nearby. On May 28, taking about forty men, he set out to meet them. The French at once sprang to their arms, and the fight began on the approach of Washington and his men. Jumonville and nine of his soldiers were killed; twenty-two were taken prisoners; one escaped, ran back, and finally reached Fort Duquesne.

Washington foresaw that a stronger force would soon be sent out from Fort Duquesne, and he accordingly fell back to a small open valley called Great Meadows, four miles west of Laurel Hill, there to fortify himself and await the arrival of Colonel Fry from Wills creek. But three days after the battle in which Jumonville was killed, the battle is generally known as the battle of Jumonville, namely, on May 31, Colonel Fry died suddenly at Wills Creek, leaving Washington in chief command of the forces. He wrote that he regarded Great Meadows as a "charming field for an encounter," and, with the assistance of Captain Robert Stobo, a fort was built and which, from the circumstances compelling them to build it, they called Fort Necessity. It became one of the most noted in our early history. Washington's forces now amounted to about four hundred, and at noon on July 3, the enemy appeared under command of Coulon de Villers, who was a relative of Captain Jumonville. They had come, in part, to avenge his death. They at once opened fire from the forest near the fort. Washington's army had neither ammunition nor provisions. The French soldiers were not only concealed but were on higher ground and could fire into the fort. The wonder is that Washington, with all his well known ability, did not select the higher ground himself, since he had entire choice of the position. But Washington built the fort in great haste and selected a cleared spot, the only one within reach, knowing that it was better to be on low ground if cleared than to be in the forest where the enemy could have ap-

proached him under cover. He did not have time to cut away the trees, had he selected a site surrounded by them.

The rain came down in torrents and those within the fort were standing in mud and water up to their knees, but yet the rain increased so that, as Francis Parkman says, "The combatants could do but little but gaze at each other through the gray veil of mist and rain." About dark the French proposed an armistice or a parley, and Washington sent Jacob Van Braam to confer with them. He returned with the terms of a proposed capitulation by which Washington's army was to retire with colors flying and take with them all their provisions save the artillery. The twenty-two prisoners which Washington had taken on May 27, when Jumonville was killed, had been sent under guard to Governor Dinwiddie at Williamsburg, and the terms of the capitulation required that two of the Fort Necessity soldiers should be given as hostages for the safe return of these prisoners. It is likely that the French selected the hostages, for otherwise Washington would not have given his most prominent soldiers. They were Captain Jacob Van Braam and Captain Robert Stobo. The enemy outnumbered the Virginians two to one, yet the Virginia losses were thirty killed and seventy wounded, while the French lost seventy-two killed and wounded.

On July 4 the English army marched from the fort, greatly weakened by exposure, hunger, and by the loss of their horses which the Indians had killed. Van Braam and Stobo were confined as prisoners within the new made walls of Fort Duquesne. The defeat was disastrous, but not disgraceful to Washington's army. The only English flag west of the Alleghenies had been torn down. The French returned to Fort Duquesne to glory over their victory, while Washington, cast down, began his weary return to Wills creek. All of his horses and cattle were gone to enrich the enemy. Most of his baggage had to be destroyed or left behind, while the sick and wounded of the army had to be transported across the Allegheny Mountains on the backs of weak and poorly fed survivors. This was probably Washington's first memorable Fourth of July.

Some special reference to these prisoners is necessary at this place. Van Braam was a German, but had acquired a superficial knowledge of the English and French languages and frequently served Washington in the capacity of an interpreter, notably on this occasion in translating the Articles of Capitulation. These articles were written so that, by signing them, Washington practically admitted that he had murdered Jumonville, by the words, "I assassinat du Sieur de Jumonville," but Van Braam had translated it in the rain by the flickering

light of a tallow candle, and read it as the "death" of Jumonville in place of "murder." There were other minor mistranslations, all of which were used against Washington, as witness, he had been made to stipulate that for a year his forces would not work west of the mountains, whereas it was translated and read to him as stipulating that his forces would not work "on any lands of the King of France," etc. Van Braam was strongly accused of treachery to Washington, but his treatment while prisoner among the French, which was very harsh indeed, goes far to disprove this charge. His mistake was likely due to ignorance of the French, or rather to the want of knowledge of the value of words in the French and the English language. He was kept in prison in Canada about six years.

Robert Stobo must ever be remembered with kindness by Western Pennsylvania people. He was born in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1727. His father was a merchant, and, after his death, the son came to Virginia, having been thoroughly educated in Scotland. When French troubles came, he enlisted in the army moving against the forces on the Ohio and brought considerable wealth to the cause. He was a captain in Colonel Fry's regiment, and traveled with several servants and a covered wagon stocked with wine and other luxuries unknown in military life. He also engaged sportsmen to procure wild game for his special table. Yet when the trouble came he displayed the fortitude of a true soldier. His first adventure after having been imprisoned in Fort Duquesne was to send two letters by an Indian named Mono to Governor Dinwiddie. In these letters he gave correct descriptions and plans of Fort Duquesne. "There are two hundred men," he wrote, "and two hundred expected. The rest have gone off in detachments to the amount of about one thousand besides the Indians. None lodge in the fort but Contrecoeur and his guard consisting of forty men and five officers; the rest lodge in bark cabins around the fort. The Indians have access day and night, and come and go when they please. If one hundred trusty Shawanees, Mingo and Delawares were picked out they might surprise the fort, lodge themselves under the palisades by day, and at night secure the ground with their tomahawks, shut the sally-gate, and the fort is ours." As to the danger which the expedition which he thus so boldly advised would necessarily entail on himself and the other hostage, Van Braam, Stobo had the courage to write these words: "Consider the good of the expedition without regard to us. When we engaged to serve the country it was expected that we were to do it with our lives. For my part, I would die a hundred deaths to have the pleasure of possessing this fort but one day. They are so vain of their success at the Meadows, it is worse than death to hear them. Hasten to strike."

Unfortunately, this letter written from and describing Fort Duquesne, was delivered by Governor Dinwiddie to General Braddock at Cumberland a year later when the latter, confident of success, was on his way to the French stronghold, thinking that Stobo's description would assist him. The letter was with a package which was taken at the battle on the Monongahela, and so found its way back to the fort and was read by the French officers. Stobo was at once sent to close confinement at Quebec and his letter was sent to France. The decree there was that he should be tried for his life, the charge being for "violating the known laws of nations, for breach of faith and treasonable practices against the government that sheltered him." This trial took place in Quebec in November, 1756, and the gallant captain was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged. Before his trial he broke jail, but a reward of 6,000 livres was offered for his arrest, and he was soon captured. In April following, he again broke jail, and concealed himself in a barn nearby, subsisting on eggs. When he supposed the furor and anxiety for his capture had passed, he ventured out, but was captured below the falls of Montmorenci. On April 30, 1758, he broke jail the third time, and, in a large canoe with other prisoners, paddled down the St. Lawrence. For ten successive nights they continued their course, but in daytime carried their canoe into the woods and quietly secreted themselves. When they reached the Gulf of St. Lawrence the captain became bold and captured a French shallop with five men. Later he captured a sloop and then a schooner, and finally, in thirty-eight days from Quebec, they reached Louisburg with considerable booty. Captain Stobo is the hero in the "Seats of the Mighty" by Sir Gilbert Parker, and in the first editions brought out in England the name Stobo was used, but this has been changed in the later editions.

Stobo afterward fought with General James Wolfe at Quebec, and with General Jeffrey Amherst on Lake Champlain. In 1759 he returned to Virginia where, in his absence, he had been made a major, and where he received the thanks of the House of Burgesses, a present of one thousand pounds and a leave of absence for twelve months. In 1760 he went to England and returned with a letter from William Pitt to General Amherst expressing the approval of King George of the major's conduct.

Among the prisoners taken at the battle when Jumonville was killed, were La Force and Drouillion. Both were prominent in the French army, and La Force was the same who had retarded Washington's progress at Fort Le Boeuf, though in justice to him it should be said that he acted only on the orders of his superior officers. But

Governor Dinwiddie now refused to surrender the prisoners for whose safe return the hostages, Van Braam and Stobo, were given. The governor gave as a reason that since the capitulation the French had captured some British prisoners and had sent them to Canadian prisons. In this the governor acted in bad faith, but was pertinacious in the stand taken. That this action might have a show of right he offered to return Drouillion and two cadets in return for the hostages, Van Braam and Stobo, but his offer was rightfully treated with contempt by the French. La Force was confined in prison for two years when he broke jail and for some time wandered around the country, ignorant of its roads and afraid to make inquiries lest his French tongue should betray him. At length he was captured by an over-zealous Virginian and sent again to prison at Williamsburg, where he was bound with irons and chained to the floor of a dungeon. All of this was perhaps magnified when it reached the French, who sought to retaliate by the rigorous treatment meted out to Stobo and Van Braam.

It is well for the reader to observe that these three military episodes, namely, the surrender at the Fork of the Ohio, the battle of Jumonville, and the battle at Fort Necessity, coming so closely together, were in reality the first steps, the beginning of the French and Indian War which, for nine years, desolated our western borders, and which in the end resulted so favorably to the English. This French and Indian war, in reality, in a great measure helped to shape the destiny of our struggling American colonies so that in a few years they surpassed in dominion and power the Empire of Louis, and were strong enough to compel the representative of George III. to surrender his sword to Washington at Yorktown.

Fort Duquesne, though very noted in early history, was not even for its day, a strong fortification, and it is doubted whether it could have long withstood an attack even of the army of Virginia, but the French very greatly added to its real strength by forming an alliance with the Indians. This they accomplished in part by giving them presents, bright-colored blankets and beads, so common in France, which were very potent with the Indians, much more so than the plainer objects of greater utility with which the English were supplied. While it is true that both the English and the French tried to appease the wrath of the Red Man, yet the latter affiliated much more readily with the French than with the English. The chief reason for this was that the English were largely farmers, who of necessity cut away the forests and ruined the hunting grounds of the Indians, while the French in America, as we have said, dealt largely in furs, paying much less attention to house-building and agriculture than the English. A

French and Indian alliance was, therefore, most suitable to both races, while an alliance between the English and the Indians was extremely detrimental to the nomadic habits of the latter. Parkman observes that "Spanish civilization crushed the Indian; English civilization scorned and neglected him; French civilization embraced and cherished him." To be sure, had the French remained the situation would have changed, for very soon their increased numbers would have banished the Indians and ruined the fur trade with the advance of civilization, just as the English did.

All these difficulties on the frontier served but to make a more bitter enmity than ever between the English and French, and, as the reports of them reached Great Britain, the English people and ministry became greatly aroused. In 1754 three expeditions were fitted out by the English for service in the colonies. One was under General Shirley, governor of Massachusetts, and its aim was against Fort Niagara and Fort Frontenac; another was commanded by General (afterward Sir William) Johnson, and sailed against Crown Point; the third, which more deeply concerns our story, was under the command of General Edward Braddock, and the objective point was the reduction of Fort Duquesne and the expulsion of the French from Western Pennsylvania.



CHAPTER II

THE BRADDOCK CAMPAIGN

CHAPTER II.

The Braddock Campaign; Arrival of the English Army; Its Trip to the Monongahela.—Great Difficulties Encountered.—The Army is Surprised by the French and Indians, and Overwhelmingly Defeated.—Quotations from an Eye-Witness.—Washington's Account of the Battle.—Dunbar's Cowardly Retreat.—The Death of Braddock.—A Monument is Erected to His Memory.—The Ability of His Officers.—Beaujeu the Commandant.

There are few historical instances in American history that are fraught with as much interest to the people of Southwestern Pennsylvania, if not, indeed, to all American readers, as the Braddock campaign. Much has been written about it, yet, like Bunker Hill, it always remains an interesting tale. In its bearing on humanity it has given a lasting and a national if not indeed a world-wide interest. It was in this campaign that Washington, for the first time, came in contact with trained English soldiers, and it was moreover the first campaign of drilled troops and modern artillery in the New World. Braddock had, by bravery and by ability, won high honors in the military service of England. He was about sixty years old and had spent his life mostly in the English army. His father, whose name he bore, had entered the renowned Coldstream Guards as a lieutenant in October, 1664. He rose to the rank of major-general and remained in service until 1715. His son, Edward, in whom the reader is interested, entered the same regiment in October, 1710, and retired from it with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in February, 1753. Thus the roster of the Coldstream Guards bore the name of Edward Braddock, father and son, for seventy years. On the son's retirement from the Guards he was appointed colonel of the Fourteenth Regiment of Foot. In March, 1754, he was made a major-general and, on September 4, of the same year, he was



GEN. EDWARD BRADDOCK.

made a general and commander of the forces of the expedition to North America that we are considering.

He sailed from Cork, Ireland, January 14, 1755, with two regiments of royal troops, each numbering about five hundred men. These regiments were the Forty-fourth, under Colonel Thomas Dunbar, and the Forty-eighth, under Sir Peter Halket. They arrived at Alexandria, Virginia, on February 20, 1755. Two months later, on April 20, the army left Alexandria for Fort Duquesne, marching by the way of Fredericksburg, Winchester and Fort Cumberland.

In the light of subsequent discoveries not patent to Braddock, it may well be said that the entire campaign was badly planned. The army had no adequate base of supplies and for the most of its proposed journey, the country, being uninhabited, could neither support an army nor furnish its transportation. The army should have landed at Philadelphia and gone through the rich and comparatively well-settled district of Pennsylvania, where supplies and horses were plentiful, but the Duke of Newcastle, who as premier of England had sent out the army, had arranged for the Virginia route. He had innocently consulted the celebrated London merchant, John Hanbury, who was perhaps the only man in England who would have given him the wrong advice. Hanbury, the reader will recall, was a member of the Ohio Company whose object was to further its interests, and to that end to have the way opened through Virginia to the west. Hanbury, therefore, deceived the Duke of Cumberland and selfishly advised that the Virginia route be taken, for he did not like to see a road built that would divert the fur trade from the Potomac route, which was the route of his company. Braddock had been promised twenty-five hundred horses and wagons in abundance, and provisions had been ordered and contracted for months before, but they did not materialize. Braddock was almost in despair, and called a meeting of the colonial governors which was responded to by Governors Dinwiddie, of Virginia; Dobbs, of North Carolina; Sharp, of Maryland; Delancey, of New York; Morris, of Pennsylvania, and Shirley, of Massachusetts, but they were unable to assist him.

The lack of transportation was largely supplied through the efforts of Benjamin Franklin, who was then Postmaster-General of Pennsylvania. By his personal influence he induced the Pennsylvania farmers to turn out with their private teams and transport the supplies and baggage of the almost stranded army. In a short time he secured one hundred and fifty wagons and the necessary horses, while more followed. Every one had faith in Franklin, and he had pledged himself personally to repay them, a pledge he made good, but

it was many years before it was audited and finally paid. Otherwise than this, Pennsylvania did very little for the expedition. Our state had more soldiers with General Shirley in the north than with Braddock's army, but not many with either.

Braddock has been criticised for not giving Washington a higher position in the army. He appointed him as aide-de-camp, and this was the best appointment he could give him, for the general bore an order from King George II., dated at St. James, November 13, 1754, which order forbade him to suffer any American field officer to command even a battalion of the colonial troops. In his appointment of Washington he exercised unusual wisdom, for Washington, in addition to his military experience, had been twice over most of the proposed line of march and was thoroughly familiar with the topography of the country. In addition to the English troops, Braddock had with him over twelve hundred provincial troops who came mostly from the north and from Virginia. He had also one hundred and fifty backwoodsmen and Indians from Pennsylvania. The backwoodsmen were dressed like Indians, and had learned to fight by the redskin method of warfare. General Braddock, however, had but little faith in these rough-coated and undrilled soldiers. By the time he had reached Western Pennsylvania, they had nearly all left his army, and he was probably glad of it. He was sure of a great victory for him and his English army, and he was not anxious to share it to any great extent with the Indians or with the colonial troops. This was his great error. These rough soldiers could have served him nobly as scouts, and their acuteness as woodsmen and their knowledge of the enemy might have saved his army from the ambushade which eventually overtook it.

They arrived at Cumberland on May 10 and the commander reviewed the army and expressed great pride and confidence in the scarlet coats, the bright buttons and polished muskets, and most of all in the Red Cross of St. George, and in the sound of the bugle which echoed through the forest. Braddock was entirely unable to divest himself of the habit of luxury acquired in a lifetime of warfare on the beaten battlefields of Europe. He journeyed part of the way, at least, with Governor Dinwiddie in the latter's carriage, with his bodyguard of light horse riding near him. Frequently he had his staff, arrayed in their most gorgeous uniforms and with drums beating the grenadier's march, act as his escort as he journeyed through the American forest. When not on the march he held a levee in his tent every morning from ten to eleven o'clock. He was, however, a martinet in discipline; he forbade theft and drunkenness, and punished the offenders with almost undue severity for that day. He spurned the backwoods tactics of the

Virginia rangers, and, with a confidence borne of conceit, arrogance and ignorance of the situation, said to Benjamin Franklin: "These savages may, indeed, be formidable to an army of North American militia, but upon the King's regulars and disciplined soldiers it is impossible that they should make any impression." The great philosopher smiled and wished him well. But this absolute confidence of victory did not exist alone in Braddock's mind, but pervaded all the colonies. Franklin himself has written that the money was raised by public subscription in Philadelphia to celebrate Braddock's victory by an immense bonfire, so confident were they of his success at Fort Duquesne

The reader must not forget that the march westward was indeed a very difficult one. The distance from Alexandria was about two hundred and eighty miles, and much of this way a road had to be cut through a dense forest and across the several ranges of the Allegheny mountains. As he journeyed westward, the horses were weakening each day, for, there being but little grass, they were compelled to exist largely on leaves. Sir John St. Clair was quartermaster, and, though he "stormed like a lion rampant" at the want of provisions, it did no good.

Generally following the line of Nemacolin's Path, as previously mentioned, Braddock moved very slowly westward. His prey he thought could not escape him. He said with great confidence, "Duquesne can hardly detain me above three or four days, and I see nothing that can obstruct my march to Niagara." The train, with its wagons and supplies, was fully four miles long. The slowness of the march could not be understood either in England or America. The Duke of Brunswick, who was deeply interested in the campaign, was impatient at its delay, as is shown by his letters. Horace Walpole, who has so thoroughly preserved the gossip of his day, with his characteristic wit, wrote: "The Duke of Brunswick is much dissatisfied at the slowness of General Braddock, who does not march as if he was at all impatient to be scalped." Washington complained in several letters that the army under Braddock stopped to level every mole hill and bridge every small stream, so that in four days they had advanced only twelve miles. When the army reached Little Meadows at the foot of the western slope of the Allegheny mountains, Braddock held a council of war. In this he advised with Washington, whom he called "Young Buckskins" because of his dress, but not in derision.

Washington's advice was followed and the result was that the army was divided. "Young Buckskins" had suggested this arrangement at Cumberland, but its importance was not apparent to the gen-

eral. The heavy wagons and main supplies were left behind. A little more than one-half of the entire force, the ablest of the soldiers and the flower of the English army, with packhorses carrying only necessary supplies, with a few pieces of artillery, was to push on toward the fort. Twelve hundred well-drilled soldiers under Braddock himself thus marched on rapidly while the remaining stores, ammunition, heavy wagons, etc., were left with Colonel Dunbar, who was to follow by slow marches. On June 30 Braddock's advancing army crossed the Youghiogheny river about one-half mile below the present town of Connellsville, the place being afterward known as Stewarts Crossing. After this the somewhat erratic road he cut to the mouth of the Youghiogheny may be accounted for in part, on the theory that they had lost their bearings. Washington had been twice over the way and very largely guided the expedition, but it must be remembered that Washington was taken sick with a fever at Little Meadows, and, much to his chagrin, was compelled to remain in Dunbar's camp. He only joined the army again the day before the battle. The direct course, after crossing the Youghiogheny river, was down the river and down the Monongahela, remaining far enough from the river bottom to secure high ground and thus avoid the danger of the enemy ambuscading them while they were in narrow valleys, or on low ground, but they left the river at Connellsville and came across the country to Jacobs creek in Westmoreland county.

A glance at the map will show that the Monongahela and the Youghiogheny rivers form more nearly a straight river than the Monongahela alone, and this may have misled them, and they may have meant by leaving the Youghiogheny on their left, to strike the Monongahela several miles below the mouth of the Youghiogheny river. On the other hand, it must be remembered that Christopher Gist was with them as chief guide, and that he had gone over the country repeatedly, was with Washington on his trip to French creek and again at Fort Necessity, and was, moreover, at that time a resident of Western Pennsylvania, residing on Gist's plantation, not far from the line of march.

While they encamped quietly at night their camp was closely watched by spies of the enemy, as, indeed, their every movement had been, more or less, for many days. Braddock was not cautious in marching through this country, but marched rather as though he were in the heart of Europe without the caution of sending out spies as a modern general marching through a wilderness would have done. Robert Orme was an aide-de-camp on this expedition, a member of the Coldstream Guards, and to his carefully kept diary we are indebted

for much information concerning the expedition. On July 4, he says in his diary, that two Indians who were with Braddock, were sent out to learn something of the French fort and that Christopher Gist, without the Indians knowing it, was sent out to keep a trace of them. They returned on the 6th with the scalp of a French soldier whom they had killed within a mile of Fort Duquesne, and said that they saw but few men or tracks of men. They reported additional works around the fort, and some boats lying near it, and that they had seen a boat coming down the river carrying a white flag. Gist returned shortly after they did, and his report corresponded with theirs. He had been chased in the vicinity of the fort by two Indian scouts. So far as is known, or as Orme's diary enlightens us, this is the only instance in which scouts were sent out by the general, although they were traveling in a strange land covered by a dense growth of trees and infested with a savage and stealthy foe whose strength, as the commander should have known, lay largely in ambuscades and surprises. Notwithstanding this, the negative report of these scouts may have gone far to convince Braddock that an easy victory awaited him at Fort Duquesne.

We think it unwise in this part of the narrative to be specific as to the route taken by the army, for the routes taken by both Braddock's and Forbes' armies have been considered at length in a later chapter. It is sufficient to say here that the army encamped near the junction of the Youghiogheny and Monongahela rivers, where McKeesport now stands, on the night of July 8th, and on the morning of the 9th crossed the latter river below the junction and marched down the left bank, crossing the river again a short distance below the mouth of Turtle creek.

They were not expecting the enemy until they reached the fort, yet Braddock maintained a most rigid discipline. The splendidly equipped army, with bright uniforms shining in the morning sun as it marched along the river bottom, with the high wooded hills on their left and the tranquil river on their right, said Washington, long years afterward, was one of the grandest sights he had ever seen. The march he admired so much was over the territory now occupied by the thriving city of Duquesne.

About ten o'clock, according to Washington's account, though in reality it is likely he should have written about one o'clock, the rear of the army crossed the second crossing. They were then less than ten miles from the long looked for fort, and buoyant feelings doubtless filled every soldier's breast. Some delay was occasioned by levelling the river bank, so that the heavier wagons and artillery could ascend.

After leaving the river, the ground was nearly level lying at an angle of perhaps three degrees to the hills less than a half mile beyond. Abrupt ravines extended from these hills to the river. They had crossed between two ravines which came together, or nearly so, far up the hills, forming something like the letter "V," with the apex pointing away from the river. As the ravine approached the river the waters scattered and made the low ground somewhat marshy. The banks of the ravines and the hills beyond them were covered with a thick growth of vines, underbrush, long grass and with many large trees, some of which had fallen to the ground. The rear of the army had scarcely marched from the river before the fight began.

In the forest, on both sides of the advancing army and behind almost every rock, large tree, vine or clump of bushes, and behind the vinecovered banks of the ravines the enemy was concealed, watching every movement and ready, at the appointed time, to make the attack. Both Gage's and another smaller division under Sir Peter Halket were between the ravines forming the letter "V." The engineer, Harry Gordon, who was a short distance ahead of Gage's troops to mark out the road, gave the alarm of French and Indians. A small company of these was then seen approaching rapidly. They were urged on by a Frenchman whose bright colored uniform betokened his rank as commanding officer. Shots were quickly exchanged and several of the French troops fell, but all the rest of them vanished almost instantly from sight, and for an instant the attack was apparently abandoned. Then the battle was resumed. Seemingly from out of the earth, suddenly, came the terrific roar of musketry and the fiendish yells of Indians. No enemy could be seen, yet thousands of shots were poured into the faces of the leading division. Almost instantly following came the same leaden hail on their right front.

Braddock hurried an orderly forward to hold the advancing division, and sent Colonel Burton with the vanguard to assist the front rank. In a short time two-thirds of the army were in the front, with about one-third left behind to guard the baggage, which was placed under command of Sir Peter Halket. The fire of the enemy was returned by those in position, with but little or no effect, for no enemy could be seen, yet the soldiers noticed the moment's cessation of firing on the part of the enemy after the first fire from the English. Braddock's soldiers could see nothing to fire at, though they themselves were falling in every direction. Confusion and excitement was the result, and the entire advance guard with its support fell back. When Braddock himself rushed forward to urge them on, he was met by

bleeding and disordered ranks fleeing from an invisible but most deadly enemy. In less time than we can conceive, so terrible was the onslaught and so complete was the rout, that the artillery, infantry, pioneers and baggage formed a tangled mass with the enemy almost surrounding them yet still invisible.

In the meantime the force left to guard the baggage was attacked, but this was on the more open and more level ground closer to the river. Sir Peter Halket was killed. Some of the wagoners were shot down while others, seeing this, cut their horses free from the wagons and retreated across the river in the wildest confusion. Many of the English troops who could do so followed by the same means. The artillery was almost useless, for still no enemy was in view nor were they seen by the British and Americans until a retreat began. The only open space, if it could be so called, was the road about twelve feet wide, cut by the advancing army, while almost every place of concealment was occupied by the stealthy enemy. Every attempt made by Braddock to turn the tide of affairs seemed to result only in confusion. The general, who was a total stranger to fear, rushed rapidly from point to point, trying to rally his men. They would fight, they said, if they could see the enemy, but it was useless to fire at trees and bushes, and they could not stand to be shot down by an invisible foe.

Braddock, it is said, stormed and called them cowards when they tried to secure concealed positions. He, moreover, persisted in forming them into platoons as though he were drilling them on their review day in St. James Park in London. This, we need scarcely add, only aided the enemy in shooting them down. Mingled with the cries of anguish on the part of the wounded were the shouts of the officers, the rattle of musketry, the roar of the cannon, while over and above all was heard the frenzied war-whoop of the infuriated savages. The fiendish Indian yells seemed to frighten the English more than the bullets of the enemy. Survivors of the battle long years afterward, were not able to drive this horrible picture from their memory.

The battle lasted nearly three hours. The British, much of the time, were huddled together like sheep and were even trampled underfoot by dashing runaway horses. It is not to be wondered at that at this time of confusion many were killed by their own friends. The brave Captain Waggoner, of Virginia, attempted to secure a spot of rising ground where, partly concealed by a large fallen tree, he hoped to mend the conditions of the army and perhaps change its fortunes. With about eighty Virginians who were accustomed to backwoods warfare, he reached the effective point, and for a brief space did splen-

did work against a body of Indians concealed from the panic stricken soldiers, but in full view from his position. But very soon, in the whirl of confusion, the British mistook the smoke of Waggoner's guns for that of the enemy, and made against him one of the most effective fires of the day on their part. Resultant upon this, the Virginians soon fell back leaving fifty of Waggoner's eighty soldiers dead or wounded on the ground. Such heroic efforts were indeed worthy of a better fate.

When at length Braddock found it to be impossible to oppose the enemy further, with a spirit of a true soldier, he tried to have them retreat in a manner that would in some degree be conducive to their safety, but even in this he succeeded but moderately. Many of them were so wild and bewildered that they were firing in the air. By this time one-half of his soldiers were killed or wounded, with most of his best officers among the slain. The brave, but rash old general had five horses shot under him and had received his death wound. It will never be known whether he was shot by a friend or foe, but likely it was an unintended shot from one of his own soldiers. In a letter from Washington to Governor Dinwiddie (see Sparks's "Letters of Washington," volume 2, page 88), Washington avers that two-thirds of the killed and wounded in the battle received their death shots from the cowardly and panic-stricken royalists.

The concealment of the enemy in this battle was much more thorough than the reader may suppose. Many brave Virginians said positively that, during the entire engagement, they had seen but one Indian; others saw two or three, and some had not seen any of the enemy. Washington had several bullet holes in his clothes and two horses wounded and one killed under him, but he was not wounded. The Indians even fired on the retreating army as they were crossing the river and some of them were thus killed in the water. All of the dead and most of the wounded, with the baggage and supplies and the money chest, were left on the field. The road to Dunbar's camp was strewn with the abandoned accoutrements of the army. Indeed the Indians only ceased firing to hastily gather in the rich harvest of scalps and divide among themselves the baggage and provisions of the vanquished. This well-known Indian greed for scalps alone saved them from utter extermination. "Had pursuit taken place," says Washington, "the whole army, except a few woodsmen, would have fallen victims to the relentless savages." "The conduct of the British officers," says Parkman, "was above praise. Nothing could surpass their undivided self-devotion, and, in their vain attempts to lead their men, the havoc among them was frightful." Washington had associated

with the English officers in camp and on the westward march and they had impressed him as being almost effeminate in their tastes and in their desires for personal ease and conveniences, out of keeping with the backwoods warfare they were about to wage. Yet he noticed that in battle they absolutely knew no fear, but on the contrary exposed themselves to death with a courage that even increased as the horrors of the battle thickened. Washington's first duty was to convey from the field the wounded general and as many of the wounded soldiers as it was possible to save.

When Braddock fell from his horse, he was caught by Captain Stewart, of the Virginia Guards. He had been shot through the left arm and through both lungs. He was placed on a tumbril, and, with great difficulty, borne from the field. In his despair he begged them to permit him to die without removal. About a quarter of a mile beyond the ford of the river, the last retreating soldiers overtook Braddock while Dr. Craik was dressing his wounds and also those of his aide-de-camp. Washington, with that unfailing fidelity which characterized his entire life, was there attending them. Braddock was still able to give orders and had even yet a hope of reforming the army and regaining the field, but those who were placed as sentries soon stole away and the deserted general and his wounded officers were compelled to resume their disordered retreat. Washington was then sent to Colonel Dunbar's camp for assistance. Though weakened by disease and by the hard day's fight (for, both the other aides being wounded early in the battle, their duties also fell largely on him), he rode nearly forty miles that night and reached the camp early the following forenoon. He had orders to hurry back provisions, hospital stores and wagons for the wounded, and these, under the escort of two grenadier companies, came rapidly to meet the broken ranks. The news of the terrible defeat, carried there by the retreating wagoners, had preceded Washington, however, and he found the camp scarcely in less confusion than the army on the banks of the Monongahela had been.

The fatalities in this battle were very great on the part of the English army, and were entirely out of proportion to the number of men engaged. This was due, in a great measure, to the hurried flight of the survivors who were thus compelled to abandon many wounded soldiers and officers who might otherwise have been saved. All who were left on the field, so far as was ever known, were either killed by the Indians or perished through want of attention and from starvation. Few of the wounded, however, were allowed to survive the day. The British army lost sixty-three out of eighty-six officers. Every mounted

officer, save Washington, was either killed or wounded. The best authority places the killed and wounded of the British army as 715 privates. If this number is increased by the number of officers killed, it represents more than half of the army. The French and Indians lost three officers and about thirty soldiers killed and an equal number wounded.

A few days before the battle a young man named James Smith had been captured near Bedford by a marauding party of Indians and taken to Fort Duquesne. Like many captives, he was compelled to run the gauntlet and had been beaten almost to death. On the 9th of July he had so far recovered that he was able to walk around through the fort by the aid of a cane. To him we are indebted for much of the information concerning the battle. In his most interesting narrative, the simplest and best in the English language of all narratives of captives among the Indians, he says that early in the morning he climbed to the top of the wall and perceived a great excitement among the Indians outside of the gate. Barrels of powder, bullets and flints had been opened and every warrior was helping himself. Very soon they marched off in considerable order toward the woods and with them went many French Canadians. Smith underestimated the number, and marveled that they could go out against the strong advancing forces. There were about eight hundred of them. There had been great difficulty in persuading them to go out against the English at all and this caused their delay in starting and in arriving at the place of battle. It is now known that it was the intention of the enemy to begin firing while the soldiers were crossing the river, but the delay in leaving the fort prevented this. They reached the battle field but a few minutes before Braddock's army reached it. The approach of the British army was well known to the officers within the fort, for they had spies out and had watched them almost hourly in the latter half of their westward journey. It is also known now that the main fighting on the part of the enemy was done by the Indians. Of these, the Wyandots and Ottawas who were commanded by the famous leader Pontiac, outnumbered all the rest.

Contrecoeur had been commander, and, at the approach of the English had contemplated abandoning the fort, for he knew that his strength was not sufficient to meet the advancing army, but, shortly before the battle, Lionel de Beaujeu had been made commander of the fort. He was a brave officer of great ability and as a leader of a dashing campaign, must have surpassed all the French Canadian officers of his day. He was born at Montreal, Canada, in 1711, was a

soldier in early life and had won the cross of the Knight of St. Louis. Prior to his going to Fort Duquesne he had been in command of Fort Niagara. It was he who, clad in bright colors led the Indians against the British. He was killed with almost the first fire of the English, and then it was that his followers dropped back and there was a lull in the fighting as indicated elsewhere which was noticed and remembered even by the frightened English soldiers. At that time, the enemy, with their leader shot down, contemplated a retreat, and could the proper spirit have been shown on the part of the English soldiers, the field might have been won by Braddock's army. But in a moment the opportunity had passed and the field was irretrievably lost. Dumas, a cool, brave Frenchman, and afterward commandant of Fort Duquesne, took Beaujeu's place and won the victory. The body of Beaujeu was brought back and on July 12 was interred in a cemetery at Fort Duquesne.

One can readily imagine the hilarity of Beaujeu's army as it returned to the fort late on the afternoon of the battle. For a little band to march out haltingly to meet an English army reputed to be over two thousand strong, well-armed and well-drilled, and in a few hours to almost exterminate it and return richly laden with the spoils of victory, was enough to draw from the victors and from the French in the fort, the most unstinted acclamations of triumph. Smith, in his narrative, says that they came back in scattered companies, bearing with them the bloody scalps of the vanquished. They had also trains of packhorses laden with booty, droves of cattle, savages arrayed in gold lace caps and glittering epaulets, canteens, swords, bayonets, and all manner of booty taken from the defeated army. They were discharging their firearms and making the woods ring with their fiendish yells of joy, and these acclamations were replied to by the great guns of the fort which filled the valleys of the three rivers with the reverberating sounds of victory. No one can do otherwise than admire the boldness, dash and bravery of the returning victors, but how sad indeed that we must introduce the following, taken from the writings of James Smith, the only eye-witness who has told of the departure of the French and Indians under Beaujeu and of their return in the evening. He says:

About sundown, I beheld a small party coming with about a dozen of prisoners, stripped naked, with their hands tied behind their backs and their faces and part of their bodies blackened. These prisoners they burned to death on the bank of the Allegheny River, opposite the fort. I stood on the fort wall until I beheld them beginning to burn one of these men. They had him tied to a stake and kept touching

him with fire brands, red hot irons, and so forth, and he screamed in the most doleful manner. His companions in the meantime stood in a group near the stake and had a foretaste of what was in reserve for each one of them. As fast as one prisoner died under his tortures another filled his place until the whole perished. All this took place so near the fort that every scream of the victims must have rung in the ears of the French commandant, though the shrieks of the prisoners were sometimes drowned by the yells of delight from the Indians as they danced around their burning prisoners. As the scene appeared too shocking for me to behold, I returned to my lodging, both sore and sorry.

These prisoners were burned on Duquesne Way, not far from the lower end of the present Pittsburgh Exposition building. It is due to the French officers in charge of the fort, however, to say that they always disclaimed all complicity in this matter, and claimed that they were powerless to prevent the Indians from treating their prisoners, that is, the prisoners whom the Indians had taken, as was their custom to do in their native forest. The Indians, moreover, greatly admired the unfortunate Beaujeu and sought to avenge his death by their cruel treatment of these helpless prisoners. Such was the Indians' idea of the ethics of war. We know that the French officers would not have done so themselves. The mantle of charity, however, must be extremely broad to entirely exculpate the French officers from this outrage. Beaujeu and Braddock, the leaders of the first truly great battle of the French and Indian War, both died bravely, just as Montcalm and Wolfe who led their respective armies in its last great battle, died near the rock-bound city of Quebec.

Almost the only officer in the entire army who did not demean himself like a soldier was Colonel Thomas Dunbar. It will be remembered that nearly half of the army remained under him to follow Braddock by slower marches. When the remnant of the advance army returned to him, the united army must have numbered from twelve to fourteen hundred. Yet he showed no desire to re-form it and to march against the enemy. The least a true soldier could have done was to remain in the vicinity and protect the frontier from the Indians. A little fortitude on Dunbar's part, even a tithe of Braddock's bravery, and he could have adopted the only proper method of Indian



LIONEL DE BEAUJEU

fighting and stormed the fort within a short time and taken the much desired stronghold for the English. But instead, he and his soldiers joined in the excitement of the hour, burned and destroyed their heavy artillery, destroyed what stores and ammunition they could not transport, destroyed their wagons and hurriedly, if not cowardly, skulked away toward Philadelphia. It was a common rumor at that time that he destroyed the stores, artillery and heavy wagons so that he might have more horses to speed them on their way eastward. From Philadelphia he marched north on the pretense of joining General Shirley's campaign against Fort Niagara, but a well-known writer observes that he marched, "at a pace which made it certain that he could not have arrived in time to be of the least use." But his cowardice did not lose him caste entirely with the English army. In 1756, he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Gibraltar, and, in 1760, he was promoted to Lieutenant-General. He died in 1767.

The proud spirit of General Braddock was broken by the defeat. He remained almost silent most of the days and weary nights, speaking only when necessary to give orders. It is said that in his last hours he could not bear the sight of a red-coat, but with his waning breath praised the blues and hoped to live to reward them. He bore the pains of his journey, which must have been excruciating, without complaint and lived until eight o'clock on the night of the 13th of July. "Who could have thought it," said he, yet even until death overtook him he had hopes of another battle, and his last words were, "We shall know better how to deal with them another time." He died at Great Meadows, near where Washington had capitulated a year before. There is a great deal of tradition about Braddock's harsh treatment of Washington, but there is nothing whatever that is authentic to establish it. Washington's own words almost disprove it, though Washington says they frequently had warm arguments. A careful investigation also shows that there is no evidence that Braddock was impolite or unjust towards the Indians. On the contrary, it is difficult to find a single fair criticism of his dealings with them. Braddock in his last hours bequeathed to Washington his favorite charger and his servant, Bishop, who remained with him for many years. Washington, in describing the battle forty years afterward, has written these words concerning General Braddock:

At an encampment near Great Meadows the brave but unfortunate General Braddock breathed his last. He was interred with the honors of war, and it was left to me to see this performed and to mark out the spot for the reception of his remains. To guard against the

savage triumph, if the place should be discovered, they were deposited on the road over which the wagons passed to hide every trace by which entombment could be discovered. Thus died a man whose good and bad qualities were intimately blended. He was brave even to a fault. His attachments were warm. His enmities were strong and there was no disguise about him. (Scribner's Magazine, May, 1903).

"Braddock's melancholy end, too," writes Washington Irving, "disarms censure of its asperity. Whatever may have been his faults and errors, he, in a manner, expiated them by the hardest fate that can befall a brave soldier ambitious of renown; an unknown grave in a strange land, a memory clouded by misfortune, and a name forever coupled with defeat."

The entire blame of the defeat was put on Braddock, and no writer in England or America did him justice. His defeat was due to arrogance; to an unwarranted contempt which he had for the foe and to an equally unwarranted confidence he had in himself and in the British regulars. His title to bravery and personal courage had been tested on many battlefields and it had never been found wanting. Though repeatedly advised to do so, he was too headstrong to drill his soldiers to adopt the savage methods of warfare in dealing with his unknown enemy. The impartial reader cannot but attribute this ignominious defeat largely to obstinacy and conceit on the part of the General and otherwise to the cowardice of his regulars. It is doubtful whether any English general, without first learning how to fight the Indians, could have done better than Braddock did. Nevertheless, had his soldiers demeaned themselves as well as he, the result of the battle might have been vastly different. He and his English soldiers were long schooled in warfare, and the vaunted courage of the latter led the Americans to look up to them and to expect greater things of them. Yet, instead of setting the example of bravery to the undrilled American troops, the English soldiers were the first to disobey orders, to desert their comrades and flee from the field in cowardly disorder.

The English officers, like Braddock, measured up to the highest mark of true soldiers on the field of battle, nor were the American officers lacking in natural ability. Braddock's bravery has been, even on his last fatal field, admitted by friend and foe alike. Indeed, it has long since become proverbial. Washington, whether in victory or defeat, was never aught but great, but he was particularly strong in saving a waning army from destruction. Gage commanded the British at Boston during the siege, at the beginning of the Revolutionary War. There was also, in the battle on the Mononga-

hela, Horatio Gates, who afterward rose to distinction and was a major-general in the American army in the great war. With Braddock also were Colonel Daniel Morgan, still renowned throughout America as the dauntless hero of Cowpens in the Revolution. There too were the Lewises of Virginia, a name that will always be noted in the war annals of America.

The battle occurred on the ground afterward occupied by the buildings of the Edgar Thompson Steel Works, now the buildings of the United States Steel Company. It extended, however, up to and across the present line of the Pennsylvania railroad.

There was one sense in which the defeat of Braddock was not a misfortune. Hitherto, the world had been taught that the English army was invincible in war. Perhaps no people in all the world revered and honored the English soldiers as highly as did the American colonists. The defeat of Braddock, and by such an enemy too, most truly demonstrated the fallacy of this opinion. Thenceforth, in the mind of the average American colonist, the royal English soldier was measured by his actions on the banks of the Monongahela, and, when we remember that in less than twenty years after this battle these same colonists had so changed their ideas of the superiority of the English arms that they were ready to engage in the war of the Revolution, we cannot doubt that in one sense at least, the humiliating defeat of Braddock was a benefit to the American people.

The good people of Fayette county have since erected a monument over Braddock's grave. Many years subsequent to his death, his body was removed from the roadway in which Washington was forced to inter it, and placed in a new grave near by. It is located on the National Road, about nine miles east of Uniontown and one mile west of the site of Fort Necessity. About seven acres of ground surrounding it have been purchased, the purpose being to beautify this and form a park in keeping with the character of the brave man whose memory it commemorates. The monument was dedicated in October 1913, the dedicatory address being delivered by Philander C. Knox, ex-Secretary of State. To attend the dedication, the British government sent representatives of the English army, Sir General Edward Codrington and his staff. They were royally entertained by the people of Uniontown. The dedicatorial ceremonies were attended by an assemblage of people from all parts of South Western Pennsylvania, which was certainly larger than the entire army of the Braddock Expedition.

Francis Parkman, in his work of inestimable value, denies that Beaujeu was commandant of the Fort at the time of the battle and of

his death. Since he wrote, however the Register of the Fort has been found in Canada where it was sent by the French and the following translation seems to prove his position beyond doubt.

The register of Fort Duquesne contains the following entry:

Burial of M. De Beaujeu, commandant of Fort Duquesne. The year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, the ninth of July, was killed in the battle given to the English, and the same day as above M. Lienard Daniel, Esquire, Sieur de Beaujeu, captain in the infantry, commandant at Fort Duquesne and of the army, who was aged about forty-five years, having been at confession and performed his devotions the same day. His body was interred on the twelfth of the same month in the cemetery of Fort Duquesne under the title of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin at the Beautiful River, and that with the ordinary ceremonies by us: Recollect priest, the undersigned king's chaplain in said fort. In testimony whereof we have signed:
FR. DENYS BARON, P. R., Chaplain.



CHAPTER III

THE FORBES CAMPAIGN

CHAPTER. III.

The Forbes Campaign; Its Importance in History.—Result of Dunbar's Retreat.—The Armstrong Expedition.—The Battle at Kittanning.—The Selection of the Road from Bedford to Pittsburgh by Colonel Henry Bouquet.—Bouquet's Letter to Captain Burd.—The Foolhardy Act of Colonel Grant.—The Battle at Fort Ligonier.

The history of the Forbes campaign, which we are now about to consider, is a matter that is deeply fraught with interest to those who would know the early story of Southwestern Pennsylvania. For the reason that its privations were not of unusual severity for that day, and that, through the sagacious management of its main projector, it did not culminate in a bloody conflict, the expedition has too often been regarded as of minor importance. When measured by its true standard, namely, its effect upon the human family, it becomes one of the most important of all the campaigns of the Colonial days. To properly understand its difficulties and to appreciate its far-reaching effects on the civilization of the west, the reader should glance casually at least, at the conditions of the country immediately preceding it, and particularly at the efforts then being put forth by the early settlers to surmount the obstacles in their way.

The defeat of Braddock, terminating in the ignominious flight of Dunbar, was a great misfortune to the settlers in Western Pennsylvania. The Indians were spurred on by the temporary victory and became at once more hostile than ever. They determined that the English should never gain a foothold in this section. So far as it was possible to do so, Western Pennsylvania settlers had been at peace with the Indians, for they had, in a measure, adopted William Penn's pacific principles in dealing with them. But after Dunbar's retreat the entire frontier, unprotected as it was, was subjected to the ravages of this brutal race. Many settlers were driven to their eastern homes and compelled to leave their hard-earned harvests ungathered. Of those who remained, many saw their log cabins in ashes and their families murdered or taken to Canada as prisoners. It was expected that the opening up of Braddock's road to the west would be followed up soon by thrifty pioneers who would settle and make homes in the rich valleys surrounding the headwaters of the Ohio, but the fearful ravages were the result, and many who had already cast their lot on the lonely banks of the three rivers were driven back across the mountains or carried away in captivity or murdered in cold blood.

The most western English forts then were immediately west of the Susquehanna River, and were: Fort Louther, at Carlisle; Fort Franklin, at Shippensburg; Fort Shirley, near the Juniata; Fort Littleton and Fort Loudon, within the present limits of Franklin county. The military forces of the entire province were weak and these forts were but poorly garrisoned. Farther west of these, however, were a few blockhouses, and to these the settlers could flee in time of Indian raids and, thus united, could, in some degree, protect themselves. From month to month the Indian depredations became more and more severe. It was discovered that the instigators were two, Chief Shin-gass and Captain Jacobs. Each had a large band of warriors and their habitation and field of activity was east and north of the Fork of the Ohio.

On the death of General Braddock, General Shirley was made commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America. General Montcalm, the French commander who afterward died so heroically in opposing General James Wolfe at Quebec, was then invading Northern New York. Shirley and his army was scarcely adequate to the defence of even that section. This left the French and Indian marauders in Southwestern Pennsylvania, but little opposition in 1755 and 1756.

In August, 1756, Colonel John Armstrong, a bold and dashing military officer of Pennsylvania, who afterward became a general in the Revolution, made preparations to surprise and, if possible, exterminate these tribes of Indians. He took with him the second battalion, which consisted of eight companies stationed on the western side of the Susquehanna. He left Fort Shirley on August 30, 1756, with three hundred and seven men and marched up the Juniata and stealthily down the Kiskiminetas, journeying by the Kittanning Indian trail and marching a greater part of the way by night. His objective point was the Indian stronghold at Kittanning town, which he reached on September 8. The last night, he marched thirty miles and reached the town before daylight. The Indians were of the Loup family of the Delawares, and were at that time preparing an attack on Fort Shirley, and had a war dance preparatory to their expedition on the night of Armstrong's arrival.

Believing that there were no English troops near by, they were not on their guard, and for this reason Armstrong's march was not discovered, though he marched with a train of pack-horses and the necessary munitions of war. The town was composed of about thirty Indian buildings. Dividing his forces, he placed one detachment on the hill beyond the huts, to intercept the Indians if they should take

that course in their flight. The night being hot, many of the Indians had slept in a cornfield which lay between the Allegheny river and the town. Captain Jacobs discovered the forces of the army, and gave out a few war cries to arouse the Indians, and then the battle began. The attack was from both divisions of Armstrong's troops. The Indians kept close to their huts and wounded a good many soldiers in the early morning by firing through cracks and port holes. Against these barricades, though slight in themselves, the soldiers' fire from muskets alone was almost futile. At a considerable loss of life, Armstrong therefore ordered the houses to be set on fire. In the firing of a hut, Armstrong was severely wounded in the shoulder. The fire spread rapidly and soon enveloped the entire collection of houses and wigwams and drove the Indians from their shelter.

The Kittanning town Indians had boasted that they had ammunition enough to fight the English for ten years, and its abundance was well proven, for, as the buildings burned, many guns were heated and discharged and kegs of powder were exploded with terrific effect. As the Indians broke from the burning huts they were shot down, the soldiers being so stationed as to command every possible retreat. Jacobs, their leader, was reported killed, but this has been questioned. The stronghold was destroyed, and the Indian inhabitants were either killed or driven away. It was a most effectual blow to the Indians; the entire secrecy of the march and the attack making it all the more so. Thereafter, for many months, the Indians were afraid to join the large raiding parties lest they might at any time be attacked and cut down as they were at Kittanning town. In its immediate salutary effect on the peace and good order of the western country, it has been justly rated as one of the most effectual expeditions in the pioneer history of America, and is known as the "Armstrong Expedition." The reader, in this modern day of large armies, will probably smile at three hundred and seven men being called the second battalion. In the language of the colonies, and perhaps, with their limited means, this was in reality a large body of men to enlist and to support while in the field.

Still the French and Indian power over the British in America largely predominated and this state of affairs dissatisfied the English. Their people believed that the deplorable situation was due to bad management on the part of the home government. The Duke of Newcastle had proven himself to be a weak war minister, and, in June, 1757, William Pitt, known in English history as Lord Chatham, the great commoner, a name which should always be revered in America

was made premier. From the beginning of his administration, though he incurred the enmity of many members of the British Parliament, he favored the colonies, and, in return, they were always loyal to him. Pennsylvania voted abundant funds for the defense of its western borders, and showed many other signs of loyalty. Pitt set about at once to regain the lost standing of the English armies in the New World. In the early part of 1758, Admiral Boscawen reached America with twelve thousand soldiers. The colonists enlisted very rapidly, and, with the British soldiers already here, swelled the number to over fifty thousand troops, all in the English service and in defense of the colonies. Again three distinct expeditions were projected—one against Lewisburg, on the St. Lawrence; another against Ticonderoga, in Northern New York; and the last and most important of all to the people of this section, against Fort Duquesne. The latter was under the command of a Scotch brigadier, General John Forbes. He started west from Philadelphia. After the preliminaries incident to such a campaign were arranged, the first question which presented itself to him was the route which he should select. The Pennsylvanians asked him to go directly through the province, they being interested in having a new road opened up through their territory. But Virginia had the same claim, and she too was furnishing many soldiers and many munitions of war. The old route was, to be sure, Braddock's road, by the way of Cumberland, and the new one proposed was by the way of Bedford. So much had been said about the slowness of Braddock's march westward that his defenders had undoubtedly magnified the difficulties of the route he had taken.

Washington strongly favored Braddock's route, which might have been the better one to take if the sole object were to reach the fort in the shortest time and with the least effort. To be sure it was fifty miles longer than the Bedford route, but it was opened, in part at least, while, by the Bedford route, a road must be cut, largely over mountains, from Bedford to the Fork of the Ohio, a distance of about one hundred miles. Notwithstanding this, it was selected with the expectation that the making of the road would require less effort than to overcome the difficulties which retarded Braddock's march. Forbes had his eye on the future, desiring to build a permanent road, which would connect Fort Duquesne with a base of supplies in the east and pass through our richest settlements. The shorter, the more easily it could be kept in repair. All these advantages he secured in the route selected. Colonel Henry Bouquet, more than any other, persuaded the general to take the new route. Forbes was undecided, but even after it was selected and the difficulties of the new route were

made manifest, he, for a time, doubted the wisdom of the selection. Washington favored the Virginia route, in common with all Virginians, for they did not want the transportation of the Ohio Valley diverted from the Potomac route. This was one of the objects of the Ohio Company, in the interests of which he had made his first journey to the west. Sir John St. Clair at first advocated the Bedford route and then, for some reason, strongly advised that the army follow Braddock's route. Washington, being so closely associated with the Ohio Company, aroused Forbes' suspicions by his advocacy of the Braddock route. So he wrote to Bouquet to consult with Washington about the route, but not to follow his advice, because, said Forbes, his conduct "was not that of a soldier." It is now known, however, that Washington was candid in his advice, though he was mistaken, and that Forbes' suspicions were not justified. Washington nevertheless continued to regard the selection of the Bedford route as a great error, and repeatedly reiterated this opinion in his letters, some of them apparently indicating his quiet enjoyment of the great difficulties which surrounded Forbes' progress westward; yet be it said to his credit that he at all times did all he could to make the campaign a success. In a letter to Major Francis Halket, then in Forbes' camp at Carlisle, dated August 2, Washington wrote:

I am just returned from a conference with Colonel Bouquet. I find him unalterably fixed to lead you a new way to the Ohio, through a road, every inch of which is to be cut at this advanced season, when we have scarce time left to tread the beaten track, universally confessed to be the best passage through the mountains. If Colonel Bouquet succeeds in this point with the general, all is lost—all is lost, indeed—our enterprise will be ruined, and we shall be stopped at the Laurel Hill this winter; but not to gather laurels, except the kind that covers the mountains. The southern Indians will turn against us and these colonies will be desolated by such an accession to the enemies' strength. These must be the consequences of a miscarriage and a miscarriage is the almost necessary consequence of our attempt to march the army by this new route (Sparks' *Letters of Washington*").

Bouquet, on the other hand, at the end of the journey, wrote a letter to Chief Justice Allen, dated November 25, 1758, attributing the success of the expedition largely to the selection of the Bedford route, because of the greater facilities to procure transportation by it. Forbes was much wiser and probably not less courageous than Braddock. He did not hesitate to imitate the backwoods or Indian methods of warfare, and wrote to Bouquet, saying: "I have been long of the opinion of equipping numbers of our men like the savages, and I fancy Colonel Burd, of Virginia, has most of his men equipped in that manner. In

this country we must learn our art of war from the Indians, or any one else who has carried it on here."

His army was nearly three times as large as Braddock's had been, he having in all over seven thousand men, consisting of twelve hundred Highlanders, three hundred and fifty Royal Americans, twenty-seven hundred Provincials from Pennsylvania, one hundred from the lower counties of Delaware, sixteen hundred from Virginia, two hundred and fifty from Maryland, one hundred and fifty from North Carolina, and about a thousand wagoners and laborers. The Virginia, North Carolina and Maryland troops were brought together at Winchester, Virginia, and were placed under the command of Colonel George Washington. The Pennsylvania troops were assembled at Raystown, now Bedford, and were commanded by Colonel Henry Bouquet. General Forbes was long detained in Philadelphia by the delays incident to a campaign in a new country and by a severe sickness of which he was never cured. He did not reach Shippensburg until the advance was cutting a road across Laurel Hill, and did not arrive at Bedford until September, by which time Colonel Bouquet, with the assistance of Colonel James Burd, with twenty-five hundred soldiers and axe men, had finished the road across the Allegheny mountains and across Laurel Hill, and had encamped on the banks of the Loyalhanna, in Ligonier Valley, where the town of Ligonier now stands. There they erected a fort called Fort Ligonier, named after General Sir John Lord Viscount Ligonier, under whom Forbes had served in the English army. Instead of attempting to march direct to Fort Duquesne, burdened with a long and cumbersome train, he pushed on by easy stages, establishing fortified magazines as he went, intending at last, when close to the fort, to overwhelm it with his united forces. In furtherance of these plans he meant to unite his army at Fort Ligonier before a final march was made.

The following letter, written by Colonel Henry Bouquet to Captain James Burd, relative to the Ligonier encampment, is taken from the original, now in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. Bouquet, it will be remembered, was a Swiss by birth, and was not thoroughly at home in the use of the English language. "Locus" to be cut for the horses has puzzled the Philadelphia antiquarians a great deal. He probably meant "a place," and not knowing the English for the word, used the Latin, which is "locus."

Sir: You are to march from Raestown Camp the 23 Aug. with the R. A. R. Fifth Highlander Battlie, 5 companies. Your own Battlie, one division of artillery, intrenching tools, waggons, loaded with provisions. You are to proceed to Loyal Hannon, moving your waggons

when the road is not open, with orders to join you with all possible expedition.

When the three days' provisions taken by your men are consumed (they are served for the 25th inclusive) you will take provisions out the waggons of your convoy, and make them carry part of the other waggons' load. The horses are to be tyed every night upon the mountains, as they would otherwise be lost. Locus is to be cut for them. They could perhaps be left loose at Edmund's swamp and Kickeny Pawlins.

Lieut. Chew with a party are to be detached from the top of the Allegheny to reconnoitre in a straight line the ground between that place and the Gap of Lawrell Hill—he to cross that gap—observing the course of the water and the path, and to join the detachment at L. H.

All the detachments of the R. A. R., those of the 5 companys of Highlanders and your own battalion, are to march with you to Loyal H. with three or four days' provisions for the whole. Col. Stephens is to march with and his six companies. At the place where you leave the artillery and waggons, your men are to carry the tools themselves, packing on horses the saws, grindstones, etc. You are to employ all the pack horses of the first Bttlie, and those that you may find on the road to carry your provisions until the waggons come to you, and load the 5 barrels of cartridges. Drive also some bullocks as soon as you arrive at L. H. Mr. Basur is to lay out your encampment at the place assigned by Mr. Rhor, with two small redoubts at 200 yards; all hands are then to be employed in entrenching the camp. Those who have no tools will pitch the tents, cook—and the rest relieve one another in the work. Before night the ground must be reconnoitered, and your advance guards posted. The centrys are to relieve every hour in the night without noise. No drum is to be beat as long as you judge that the post has not been reconnoitered by the enemy. Suffer (in the beginning chiefly) no hunters or stragglers, to prevent their being taken—no gun to be fired. A storehouse of 120 feet long and at least 25 feet wide is to be built immediately to lodge your provisions and ammunition in the place where the fort is to be erected and covered with shingles.

All the artificers are to be put to work—the sawyers and shingle makers with the smiths first—an hospital is to be built near the fort, and ovens. Mr. Rohr is to give directions for the fort. If there is any possibility of making hay, no time is to be lost and the clear grounds are to be kept for that use, and not serve for pasture. Send proper people to reconnoitre when sea coal could be got—if there is none, charcoal must be made. The houses of the officers to be kept clean. The ammunition and arms carefully inspected, the arms loaded with a running ball. Tools to be delivered to each party, upon receipt of their commanding officer, who is to see them returned to the trenches before night. The entrenchment is to be divided by tasks, and all the officers are to inspect the works. If you send any party forward, do not permit them to take scalps, which serves only to make the enemy more vigilant. No party is to be sent until you hear from Major Armstrong and Captain Shelby. It would perhaps be proper to change

every day the place of your advanced posts. Secure all avenues. If any difficulty should occur to you, consult Major Grant, whose experience and perfect knowledge of the service you may rely on.

I give the above instructions by way of memorandum, and you are at liberty to make any alterations that your judgment and circumstances may direct. Let me hear from you every two days. You know that some of the provincial officers are not vigilant upon guard. Warn them every day. They could ruin all our affairs. Keep a journal of your proceedings.

I am, sir, your most obt. servant,

HENRY BOUQUET.

While Bouquet was at Ligonier, awaiting the arrival of the main army of Forbes, he sent out, perhaps unwisely, an expedition under Colonel James Grant, composed of thirty-seven officers and eight hundred and thirteen men. Grant was supported by Major Lewis, of Virginia, and Captains Bullet, McDonald and McKenzie. He was particularly instructed by the cunning Bouquet not in any event to bring on a battle, but to approach as near Fort Duquesne as safety would permit and to collect all possible information concerning the enemy. Major Grant had urged Bouquet to send him out on this mission. Bouquet, however, had great faith in Grant, for he says in the letter given above: "If any difficulty should occur to you, consult Major Grant, whose experience and perfect knowledge of the service you may rely on."

The command left the camp at Loyalhanna on September 11. They made rapid marches, for they were unencumbered with baggage. The first day's march took them across Chestnut Ridge, and at night they encamped near the mouth of the Nine Mile Run, above the present town of Latrobe. The place of encampment was a plateau covered with heavy timber and is accurately described in the diary of Christian Frederick Post, the pious Moravian missionary who labored in this section. On the east was the Run, with a steep bank about twenty feet high, which formed a natural fortification. Grant threw up earthworks facing the west and north. These breastworks are all gone now, but they are remembered by the oldest men in the community and the place is still known as "Breastworks Hill." It is about midway between Kingston and Latrobe, near the south bank of the Loyalhanna. The second day he marched twenty-five miles west and was then within about fifteen miles of the famous Fort Duquesne.

The French and Indians had spies out, mostly Indians, who kept close watch on the main army, but undoubtedly overlooked Grant and his forces who passed under the very shadow of the fort without being seen. Two miles east of the fort he left his horses and baggage, under

the command of Captain Bullet with about fifty men. Late on the night of September 13, or early on the morning of the 14th, he reached the hill overlooking the fort and less than a half mile from it. The celebrated hill which has since borne his name and is traversed by Grant Street, Pittsburgh, has more recently been characterized as the "Hump," of which little now remains. It was much higher then than it was even before its late "removal," for its paring down had been gradually going on for the last hundred years. It was then a rocky bluff, thickly covered with timber and was steep in its descent to the low ground near the fort. Moreover, it was cut up by ravines which near the foot of the hill formed a lagoon or swamp, around which were thickets of underbrush, making the siege still more difficult. Near the fort was a cornfield from which the French occupants of the point in their first year, had harvested as much as two thousand bushels of corn. Closer to the fort were twenty-five or thirty cabins stationed promiscuously about, and, in these, lived the Indian allies.

Before the break of day, on the 14th, Grant sent Major Lewis forward with about four hundred Virginians to "take anything that was found about the fort." Grant's forces, which were about equal to those of Lewis, remained on the hill. Lewis' men each wore over his clothes a white shirt, in order that they could easily distinguish each other in the dark. Lewis very soon returned and reported to Grant that because of the many barricades of logs, briars, fences, swamps, etc., and because of the darkness, he could do nothing. Grant investigated the matter personally, and found Lewis' men in great confusion, returning to the hill, as he said, "Each one seeking out his own way." Grant at once sent forward a new party of fifty men who approached near enough to the fort to fire an outbuilding. The fire was discovered by the French and put out, and so meagerly was the fort guarded that these approaches were not discovered, the fire being doubtless regarded as an accident. Daylight had now arrived. Grant was thoroughly disgusted with Major Lewis, and he accordingly sent him to the rear, with two hundred men, probably to strengthen Bullet's command. In reality, it is believed that he sent them back so that he, Grant, might claim all the victory for himself.

His undiscovered march and the undetected approach of his men had led Grant to conclude that the fort was in reality very weak. He, therefore, became most anxious to win the great honor of taking the fortress over which two mighty nations had been for years contending. He overstepped his orders, if indeed he had not done so before. Had Grant reached the fort a few days earlier his rash and ambitious scheme might have succeeded, for but a day or so previous to his

arrival, Captain Aubrey had come from the Illinois region with large reinforcements for Fort Duquesne, and the enemy now outnumbered Grant's forces more than two to one. Lewis took with him to the rear most of the Royal Americans and the Virginia troops, leaving the Highlanders and the Pennsylvanians with Grant. Even after daybreak a heavy fog obscured his vision almost as much as the darkness, and Grant was still unable to more than locate the position of the fort.

He now determined to attempt its capture, and seemingly did it in the most blundering way he could imagine. He ordered Captain McDonald with one hundred Highlanders to go forward and assault the fort. He placed McKenzie with two hundred and fifty troops on the left of the fort, that is, on the Monongahela side, and one hundred Pennsylvanians were ordered to the right, that is, on the Allegheny side. Thus his forces were divided so that they could not, in any event, support each other. The drums and bagpipes were kept with Grant on the hill. In a long letter which he wrote to General Forbes explaining his actions, he says, that "in order to put on a good countenance and to convince our men that they had no reason to be afraid," he gave orders to beat the drums and sound the bagpipes.

It was probably the noise of these bagpipes which exasperated the inmates of the fort. Their method of defence was one which shows a high order of military ability. They knew the country better than Grant did and sent about one-third of their forces quietly and quickly up the bank of the Allegheny, and one-third with similar orders up the Monongahela river, while the remainder occupied the fort until the first and second detachments had passed up their respective rivers far enough to be practically in the rear of Grant's army. When these dispositions had been made, the soldiers in the fort marched out boldly toward Grant's men, while the other divisions moved against their right and left rear. In a few minutes French and Indians had practically surrounded Grant's entire forces, and, from all sides, came the attack. The Indians filled the woods with their warwhoops and sprang upon the soldiers with tomahawks and scalping knives. Lewis heard the firing and hastened to the relief of Grant, perhaps by his order, but Grant had fallen back from his original position and retreated by a different route from that taken by Lewis and the latter therefore missed him. Both Lewis and Grant were captured by the French. Captain McDonald, who had led the center, was killed early in the fight and his men fell back in confusion. Captain McKenzie was made a prisoner, and those of his men who were not killed or captured were chased away. In less than a half hour everything was in confusion.

Several attempts upon Grant's part to take a stand failed, and his only hope was to make a hasty retreat. Just when the rout promised to rival Braddock's defeat of three years before, a partial relief came from an unlooked for source. Captain Bullet, stationed about two miles in the rear with the wagons and baggage, heard the sound of battle and hastened to the rescue. Knowing that his fifty men amounted to nothing in the face of the enemy, he concealed them in the bushes and behind rocks and kept up such an effective fire that the enemy greatly overestimated his force, and to a great extent ceased firing. Bullet then resorted to a stratagem. He and his men marched boldly toward the enemy with arms reversed as if they meant to surrender. The Indians, being past masters in the art of treachery and undoubtedly with sinister designs, fell into the trap and pretended that they were going to accept Bullet's men as prisoners. When within a few yards of the Indians, Bullet commanded a deathdealing volley to be thrown in their faces and in the next instant the little command charged with bayonets. The Indians never withstood the bayonet, and by this means were temporarily routed. Bullet's men kept up the fight, refusing quarters or to surrender, until two-thirds of them were killed, and they were driven to the Allegheny where some escaped by swimming across and others were drowned. It was learned afterward that the audacity of the onslaught convinced the Indians that a much larger force which they feared, was in waiting nearby. Meanwhile Grant's army, though with little order, made the best of its way back to Loyalhanna camp, that is, Fort Ligonier, with a loss of two hundred and seventy-three men. This loss fell most heavily upon the Highlanders because, like Braddock's men, they had fought in the open, while the provincial troops had concealed themselves and fought more nearly according to the methods of their savage enemy.

This battle occurred near where the Allegheny Court House and the Frick Building now stand. Grant and Lewis were held as prisoners a short time and then were exchanged. Both were kindly treated by the French officers. Grant was a man of ability, though he did not display it on this occasion. His stolen march was probably unobserved by spies only because of its improbability and foolhardiness. Two years later Grant was made governor of Florida. He afterward won high renown in the English army and fought the colonists during a part of the Revolutionary War, being at the battles of Germantown and Monmouth Court House. He commanded at the latter battle, and defeated General Charles Lee. After the Revolution he was a member of the British Parliament and died at his

country seat near Elgin, Scotland, May 13, 1806, aged eighty-six years.

Grant's forces were cut to pieces on September 14, 1758, and the troops had marched from the scene of action at Ligonier to Fort Duquesne in three days. Stragglers reached the camp at Loyalhanna on the 17th bearing the sad news to Colonel Bouquet. He was by no means discouraged, but at once set to work to strengthen his position until Forbes and his army should arrive. Flushed by this victory over Grant, Bouquet had little doubt but that the enemy would soon storm his gates, and so it was, for, on October 12, the foe was in battle array about the camp at Fort Ligonier, they having approached the fort from the southwest. There came about twelve hundred French soldiers, but only a few hundred Indians. The small number of the latter was due to the fact that many of them had, by this time, deserted the French and gone to their homes, as was their custom, to lay in a stock of venison before the cold weather came so that their families might not perish during the winter.

The French and Indians who gave battle at Fort Ligonier were under the command of De Vitri. He commenced the action almost immediately after his arrival. The firing began about eleven o'clock in the forenoon and lasted four hours. The battle was fought on or near the ground where the town of Ligonier stands. The army at the Loyalhanna numbered about twenty-five hundred men on its arrival from Bedford, but nearly three hundred were lost in Grant's fiasco above described, leaving only about twenty-two hundred. Bouquet was not present at the battle, but was stuck in the mud at Stony Creek, near Stoyestown in Somerset County. Colonel James Burd commanded the fort in Bouquet's absence, and was undoubtedly one of the ablest colonels of the colonial period. The enemy made but little impression by their four hours' fight. After nightfall they resumed the attack, but Colonel Burd threw mortar shells into the woods in which the French and Indians were concealed and they were soon glad to retreat. The loss to the American army was sixty-three officers and men, killed, wounded and missing; and that of the enemy was much larger, though the exact number has never been known. The French were employed, we know, most of the night in carrying off their dead and wounded. Securing nothing by this foray, De Vitri's command with great difficulty made their way back to Fort Duquesne. In order to subsist on the journey they were compelled to kill and eat their pack horses.

The enemy during the battle was probably on lower ground than Burd's troops, though the location of the battle is not clearly out-

lined in any of the reports, which, so far as yet found, are very meager. It is known, however, that Burd was on the ground preparing for the coming of the enemy and that he was easily cunning enough to entrench his army on high ground and compel the enemy to attack him. He was also preparing to erect and was already erecting a fort, and it is likely that the army was encamped near the place selected for its location. That Burd and his army did not follow them up and capture them is evidence that the Colonel was well-satisfied to allow them to retreat; yet on the other hand, Forbes' army with its provisions had not yet arrived and the commissary may have been too weak to support a captured army. A letter written by Captain Burd to his wife, the original of which is now in the possession of the Historical Society of Philadelphia, may be of interest here. It is the first letter in existence that was written from Ligonier. It is as follows:

Camp at Loyalhanna, October 14, 1758.

My Dear Love:

I have just time to acquaint you that the French army, consisting of 1200 French and 200 Indians, commanded by Monsr. De Vitri attacked me on Thursday, the 12th, at 11 a. m., with great fury until 3 p. m., at which time I had the pleasure to see victory to the British army. I had the honor to command. The enemy attempted on the night of the 12th to attack me a second time, but in return for their most unmelodious Indian music I gave them a number of shells from our mortars which made them retreat soon. Our loss on this occasion is only 63 men and officers, killed, wounded and missing. We have only buried —— of our dead and six of the enemies. The French were employed all night carrying off their dead and wounded, and I am apt to think carried off our dead through mistake. I received your last letter wherein you hoped I might obtain my wish to our taking Duquesne. We shall try it soon. I am hearty and with greatest regard my dear Sal your ever affectionate husband, I am

JAMES BURD.



CHAPTER IV

THE FORBES CAMPAIGN, CONTINUED.

CHAPTER IV.

The Forbes Campaign, Continued.—The General's Physical Weakness.—The Seven-March Movement to Remain at Fort Ligonier Till Spring.—Washington's Great Peril.—Result of Slow Progress Westward.—The Bloodless Victory at Fort Duquesne.—Credit of Expedition Ascribed to Forbes.—Washington Meets Mrs. Custis, His Future Wife.—Character of General Forbes.—The First Roads to Cross the Mountains.—Death of Forbes; His Character.

Forbes' army had mostly arrived at Loyalhanna by November 1 and the General himself reached there on November 6. He was yet suffering greatly from his malady. In journeying from Bedford he was carried most of the way on a litter swung between two horses, but at intervals his pains were so severe that the litter was carried by men that his excruciating pain might be relieved. Most commanders, under such difficulties, would have resigned, but the determined Scotchman was not easily discouraged, and there lay his great strength as a commander. In addition to all this, he was a diplomat as well as a soldier, and by the slowness of his march westward he accomplished two very important objects which all writers now accredit him with having had in view all the time.

First, he knew of the hunting fever which comes over the Indians in the fall and he was waiting until they would leave the fort before he would attack it. Second, through all his weakness he was working through Sir William Johnson and Christian Frederick Post to bring about a treaty with the Indians by which their wrath would be appeased and they would be called from their hostile attitude toward the approaching English army. In both these missions he succeeded. The treaty conference was held at Easton, October, 1758. It was very largely attended by representatives of the Five Nations; by the Mohegans and the Delawares, and other kindred tribes. This treaty resulted in a peace that was most pleasing to the English and most disastrous to the French. It was brought about mainly by Forbes' diplomacy, and to him should be given the credit.

In the meantime, Burd, Bouquet and Washington had about completed a fort and place of deposit at Ligonier, for on every hand were signs of winter. Laurel Hill and Chestnut Ridge, both in full view of the men of the camp, were covered with snow. A council of war was held and the consensus of opinion was that with the little knowledge of the country intervening between the army and Fort



HENRY BOUQUET

Duquesne, with the terrible lesson which they had learned by Grant's foolhardy expedition, with no road cut except the path over which Grant had marched, and with winter coming on, it would be unwise to attempt to cut a road and march an army that distance. Forbes' army, it must be remembered, at least a part of it, had consumed fifty days in marching from Bedford to Loyalhanna, a distance of fifty miles, and the General had been greatly reduced by the journey. The outlook was so gloomy that at least a temporary abandonment of the expedition was contemplated. Indeed it was so gloomy that the place of deposit and so much of the fort as was completed were at once put to use and the army set about to prepare winter quarters and to remain at Fort Ligonier until spring. The army had crossed the Alleghenies and Laurel Hill by "hewing, digging, blasting, laying facines and gabions to support the track along the sides of the steep declivities, or worming their way like moles through the jungle of swamp and forest." Both horses and men were well nigh exhausted. All fall the rain came down in torrents which tore up their road on the mountain-side, while in the valleys it was churned into mud by the wheels of the wagons and by the tramp of the animals. The teams had to draw their own oats and corn as well as the army supplies. As a result they were overworked and underfed, and the long pull of over two hundred miles through the forest had made their condition a most wretched one indeed.

But about this time several stragglers from De Vitri's army were taken and from them valuable though not entirely reliable information concerning the weakness of the enemy was obtained. Still later, on November 12, the command ran across another squad of De Vitri's men who were yet lurking around Fort Ligonier, their mission being undoubtedly that of spies. They were attacked and one of them was killed, while three were taken prisoners. One of the prisoners proved to be an Englishman who had been taken from his home in Lancaster County by the Indians. His testimony concerning the weak condition of Fort Duquesne was believed and it corresponded entirely with that of the other prisoners. It was, therefore, resolved to push rapidly forward and try to capture it. But before leaving Ligonier a circumstance occurred which undoubtedly involved Washington in great danger, and this may well be related here.

To quote from Washington's own words as printed in "Scribner's Magazine" for May, 1893:

The enemy sent out a large detachment to reconnoiter our camp and to ascertain our strength. In consequence of our intelligence that they were within two miles of the camp a party commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Mercer of the Virginia line, a gallant and good officer, was sent out to dislodge them. A severe conflict and hot firing ensued, which lasting some time and appearing to approach the camp, it was believed that our party was yielding the ground, and upon which, with permission of General Forbes, I called for volunteers and immediately marched at their head to sustain our troops. Led on by the firing until we came within less than a half mile of the enemy and the firing ceasing scouts were detached to investigate the cause and to communicate with Colonel Mercer. Our troops advanced in the meantime, and it being dark, and the intelligence not having been fully disseminated among Colonel Mercer's corps, they took us for the enemy, who they supposed were approaching from another direction. Mercer's troops began firing a heavy fire on ours and drew fire in return, and in spite of all the exertions of the officers one officer and several privates were killed and many wounded before a stop could be put to it. I was, in accomplishing this, never in more imminent danger, being between two fires and knocking up with my sword the presented pieces.

It is worthy of note that Washington, in his last years, with the memory of all the dangers of the Revolution; indeed, with the memory of a life of warfare fresh upon him, believed and carefully wrote down that near Ligonier this most imminent danger in battle had occurred. The location of this occurrence is entirely problematical but it is supposed by those who have investigated it as far as possible to have taken place near where the Forbes Road crosses the Four Mile Run, about two miles south of Idlewild picnic grounds.

In preparing for the hard march on Fort Duquesne the army was divided into three brigades. One of these was under command of Colonel Washington, and it was his duty to open up the road. It must be remembered that it was on this occasion that Washington for the first time was placed in actual command of a brigade, though he still held the rank of colonel. This promotion came to him at Ligonier. Washington claimed the privilege of leading the advance column from Ligonier because, as he said, "From long intimacy with these woods, and frequent scouting in them, my men are at least as well acquainted with all the passes and difficulties as any troops that can be employed." The request was granted, and, on November 12, he began the journey, with about fifteen hundred men. Colonel Armstrong, the hero of Kittanning, followed him the next day with about one thous-

and men, who were mostly Pennsylvania soldiers. Forbes left Ligonier on November 17 with over four thousand men, having left a force in the garrison at Ligonier. They opened up the western part of what has since been known as the Forbes Road.

The army was twelve days in constructing the road and marching from Ligonier to Fort Duquesne, a distance, by their route, of fifty-six miles. Notwithstanding the rumors about the weakness of Fort Duquesne, the army moved west with great caution, allowing the enemy no opportunity to repeat the surprises of Braddock and Grant. There were a few Indians with them and these and some of the more daring Americans were used as scouts in all directions.

It may interest the reader to know something of the condition of the fort just before its capture. Much has since been learned from French manuscripts and letters, notably, those of M. de Vandreuil, Governor-General of Canada. He made an order at that time that all posts convenient to the Ohio should send French and Indians to Fort Duquesne. It is further learned from the same source that M. Dumas, the commandant of Fort Duquesne, in the early summer of 1758, did not intend to defend it but was planning to meet Forbes' army and surprise it as Beaujeu did with Braddock's. The Governor-General further said in a letter: "Fort Duquesne, in its present condition, could not offer any resistance to the enemy; it is too small to lodge the garrison necessary on such an occasion. A single shell would be sufficient to set it on fire, too, that it would be impossible to extinguish it because the houses are so close."

In the summer of 1758 the number of French and Indians at Fort Duquesne was much larger. Army records show that almost regularly three thousand rations and sometimes more were daily issued. But in October the number of daily rations had fallen to one thousand and eighty. Christian Frederick Post wrote that in September the garrison consisted of about fourteen hundred, but was of the opinion that they would call in French and Indians on short notice and be able to meet the Forbes army with at least three thousand troops. This was probably very nearly correct, but in November the militia of Louisiana and Illinois left the fort and went home; the Detroit and Wabash Indians would not remain longer; and, more than all this, the supplies which had been shipped to Fort Duquesne had been seized and destroyed or taken by Bradstreet at Fort Frontenac.

M. Ligneris was the new commandant at Fort Duquesne, and, with starvation staring his troops in the face, was compelled to dismiss many of his forces and await the coming of Forbes' army almost in despair. There was a custom among the Indians of going

home after a battle or an extended hunting expedition, whether the result was successful or otherwise. James Smith, whom we have quoted before, says that, "After Grant's defeat, the general opinion was that Forbes' army would go home as the British had done under Dunbar after Braddock's defeat." The French were anxious to have the Indians stay, or at least all they could support, but they were away from their squaws and many of them returned to do their regular fall hunting, as General Forbes had anticipated. This accounted for the small army at Fort Duquesne. Further, the Indians were of the opinion that Forbes' American soldiers and even the redcoats were learning the Indian or backwoods method of warfare, and they were not anxious to meet them in battle. But all these matters, we need scarcely suggest, were likely unknown to the English when they contemplated going into winter quarters at Fort Ligonier, and it was only an intimation of them that prompted them to change their purpose and move hurriedly forward to Fort Duquesne. Understanding these matters, the reader will be prepared for the bloodless victory which awaited the army on its arrival at the Fork of the Ohio.

When Forbes left Ligonier, Washington had progressed twenty-six miles and was at a point about eight miles northwest of Greensburg. Forbes' affliction was such that he could not sleep at night without a chimney and an open fire, and Washington in his letters makes mention of having built him chimneys at the places marked out for his army to camp at night. (See Sparks' "Letters of Washington"). On November 24, the advance army encamped near Turtle Creek and by that time Forbes' army had overtaken it. Provisions were very scanty and the weather so rough that many advised a retreat to Fort Ligonier. It was due to the self-willed Scotch commander that this advice was not countenanced. The scouts during the night, reported a cloud of smoke arising above Fort Duquesne, and soon after that, others arrived with the information that the fort had been burned and abandoned by the French and Indians. Men on horses were sent rapidly forward to put out the fire. At midnight the sentinels on guard at Turtle Creek heard a dull heavy volley in the direction of the fort. On the morning of November 25, the march with a strong advance guard was resumed. Forbes was carried on his litter, and the troops moved in three parallel columns. The Highlanders, under Colonel Montgomery, were in the center; the Royal Americans, under Colonel Bouquet, on the right; and the Provincials, under Washington, on the left. By thus contracting their forces and moving in parallel lines, they presented a more formidable body to any ambuscading enemy that might attack them. By the tap of the

drum at the head of these columns, they marched slowly through the entangled forest all day.

About dark they came to the open plain surrounding the fort, and saw the smoking walls of Fort Duquesne with the towering hills beyond the Monongahela as a background. They found the fort almost destroyed, and around it were the smouldering ruins of over thirty houses pointed out by their blackened chimneys still standing. To make the fort burn more readily, the French had taken the roofs of their houses and had laid them around and against it before it was set on fire. The French had laid two powder mines, one under each magazine. One of these was sprung, the report of which was heard by the guards of Forbes' army. This ruined everything near it, but in their haste to get away they forgot or neglected to blow up the other, and in it the army found some supplies—about sixteen barrels of ammunition, many guns, irons, etc., and a cartload, so the account says, of scalping knives. In their haste to leave the fort they burned five of the prisoners whom they had taken from Grant's army and delivered the others over to the Indians, who tomahawked them at once. The mantle of charity must be widened greatly if it is made to cover this act of treachery on the part of the French, for they were supposed to be fighting under the rules of civilized warfare; nor could they reasonably blame this inhuman conduct entirely on the Indians. The army found many dead bodies unburied about the fort.

As the Americans and English approached the fort, upon each side of the path they found a number of stakes driven into the ground, each stake having the bark peeled from it so as to show its white surface. Upon each was the head and kilt of a Highlander who had been killed or wounded at Grant's defeat. The Provincials were in front and were the first to behold these horrible scenes, but they passed them in the line of march without any special manifestations of wrath, but when the Highlanders came in sight of them, their fury knew no bounds. They were maddened, not only by the barbarous outrages upon the bodies of their unfortunate comrades who had been so recently sacrificed, but they were further exasperated by the exhibition of their kilts, for they knew that they had been called "petticoat soldiers" by the Indians in derision of their peculiar style of dress. The infuriated Scots broke from their places in the ranks, threw away their guns, drew their swords and rushed by the Provincials in foaming rage, determined to wreak their vengeance upon the Indians of the fort, or on the French troops who had permitted this outrage and this insult. They would undoubtedly have made short work of either Indians or French had they found them, but all

the French and Indians had fled and the Scots' wrath subsided into a solemn and relentless vow for revenge upon their allied enemies.

Fort Duquesne stood close to the bank on the immediate point of land formed by the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. It was a square structure in its main part and at each corner was a diamond-shaped projection or bastion, upon which were mounted the large guns, while the projections beyond the main walls enabled a gunner or rifleman to command the approach. The main structure was made of square logs which formed the outer and inner surface of the walls, while the space between the logs was filled with earth, thus presenting to an approaching enemy a wall of logs and earth from eight to ten feet in thickness. The sides facing the river were protected from attack only by the water and by a high bank. The sides facing the land were surrounded by a deep ditch, or moat, crossed by a drawbridge for those entering the fort. Inside the structure were the barracks of the soldiers, officers' quarters, guard-houses, storehouse, etc., all built of logs and boards. It had but very little, if any, masonry or stone work. Close to the ditch on the outside were the cabins and huts for the Canadian and Indian troops, these being made of boards and bark. For a distance greater than the fire-arms of that day were effective, the forest was entirely cleared away from the land surrounding the fort and the stumps had been cut off level with the ground. On this cleared land, outside of the space occupied by the wagons, were the cornfields and gardens planted by those in the fort.

George Bancroft, the ablest of American historians, attributed the success of this campaign largely to Washington, but again we doubt that, but for his eminence in after life, he would not have been so glorified by the great historian. Francis Parkman, who investigated the history of the expedition more thoroughly and who wrote with more accuracy than did Bancroft, has given us a glowing description of it in his matchless style. In this, he unhesitatingly gives to Forbes, notwithstanding his long continued illness, the highest meed of praise for the successful termination of the expedition. But still more importance should be attached to the words of Bouquet who, in a letter to Chief Justice Allen, says that, "After God, the success of the expedition is entirely due to the General. He has shown great prudence, firmness and ability. No one is better informed than I am, who had an opportunity to see every step that has been taken from the beginning, and every obstacle that was thrown in his way." To General John Forbes, therefore, we believe is due a great credit of the success of this expedition.



WILLIAM PITT.

Bancroft says that Armstrong's own hand raised the British flag over the ruined bastions of the fortress. "As the banners of England floated over the water, the place, at the suggestion of Forbes, was with one voice called Pittsburgh. It is a most enduring monument to William Pitt. * * * Long as the Monongahela and Allegheny shall flow to form the Ohio, long as the English tongue shall be the language of freedom in the boundless valleys which their waters traverse, his name shall stand inscribed on the Gateway of the West."

An important incident in the life of Washington resulted directly from this campaign, and may as well be related here. The Virginia forces which were assembled at Winchester preparatory to marching against Fort Duquesne were sadly in need of arms, tents, etc. Wash-

ington was finally ordered to Williamsburg to lay their condition before the House of Burgesses with the hope of securing further aid. He set off promptly on horseback. In crossing the Pamunky River on a ferry, he fell in with a Virginia planter by the name of Chamberlain who lived nearby, and who, with true Virginia hospitality, claimed Washington as his guest. Washington pleaded the urgency of his journey to Williamsburg in declining Chamberlain's invitation, but finally, being further importuned, consented to remain for dinner, which was an earlier meal in those days than now.

Among the guests at Chamberlain's was a charming young widow, Mrs. Martha Custis, a daughter of John Dandridge, a Virginia gentleman of patrician birth. Her husband had been dead about three years and had left her a large fortune as fortunes were in that early time. She was of fine form, dark hair and eyes, with a frank and engaging manner. It is believed that Washington had never met her before, for it must be remembered that he was absent on the frontier most of the time for several years. Washington had ordered his servant Bishop to have his horses ready to resume their journey promptly after dinner. The horses were at the door, but for once their master loitered in the path of duty and remained with his host until the following morning. Though his stay was brief, his time with the charming widow was well improved, for, before he had traveled west with his troops, they had mutually plighted their faith, and they were married January 6, 1759, a few weeks after the close of Forbes' campaign.

General Forbes' by sheer power of his iron will forced his army through the gloomy wilderness, and though debilitated by disease, succeeded on the way in bringing about a treaty with the Indians, largely by reason of which the French were compelled to surrender Fort Duquesne without a contest. His victory, as we have said, opened the great West which has since been filled with America's most thrifty people. His campaign broke up, to a great extent, the long standing alliance between the French and the Indians, and did much to relieve Western Pennsylvania from the horrors of the tomahawk and the scalping knife. He opened the first road into Pittsburgh from the well-settled East, and there is no doubt but that he gave the Iron City the name of which all of its busy citizens are yet so justly proud. If any man connected with Western Pennsylvania after Arthur St. Clair, deserves a public monument, that man is John Forbes.

It is but in recent years that General Forbes began to receive due credit for his campaign. The object of his expedition was of much greater moment than to achieve a military triumph. His purpose, or

that of the expedition, was to give permanent protection to the people who had already settled west of the mountains and to those who were clamoring for land in this section, upon which they might settle and build homes. In view of a permanent occupation, Forbes, in laying his plans, had displayed much better judgment and forethought than had Braddock. Forbes had provided for a base of supplies, which connected his army with the East. With this in view, he strengthened old forts and built new ones, so that he had a line of forts which afforded places of deposit, one about every fifty miles, to the Susquehanna River. Braddock did not look to the future in this way. It is doubted by military men of to-day whether, even had he succeeded in capturing Fort Duquesne, he could have held it with his imperfect connection with the east, and with nothing in the west upon which his army could subsist, when once the French and Indians would recover and present a united front before his gates.

It was Forbes and his expedition which opened up the way to the west. The Appalachian mountains are composed of a series of parallel ranges separated by long valleys. The system is over one hundred miles wide and nearly fourteen hundred miles long, extending from the Green mountains in Vermont nearly to the Gulf of Mexico. These mountains presented an almost insurmountable barrier to the westward expansion of the settlements of the East. There were but two natural highways leading to the country west of these mountains: one at the St. Lawrence and one at the mouth of the Mississippi River, and the French, as we have seen, were well entrenched at both of these entrances.

A careful glance at the physiographic features of the mountain system in our state will show that inland access could be gained to this section by two distinct routes. The one passage was by the Potomac to Cumberland and thence across the mountains to the waters of the Youghiogheny. The other was up the Juniata to Bedford and then across the mountains to waters falling into the Allegheny River, and this route was the one which Forbes took. Be it said to the credit of General Braddock that he was the first man to build a road across the Allegheny mountains. Prior to the coming of Braddock and Forbes all communication between the transmountain region and the East was carried on along these routes over Indian paths alone. These two men therefore built the first roads across the mountain wall of the Appalachian system and opened up the way into the great valley stretching from Pennsylvania to the Rocky mountains. For over a hundred years the English were hemmed in by these mountains and confined to the tidewater region of the Atlantic. They thought this

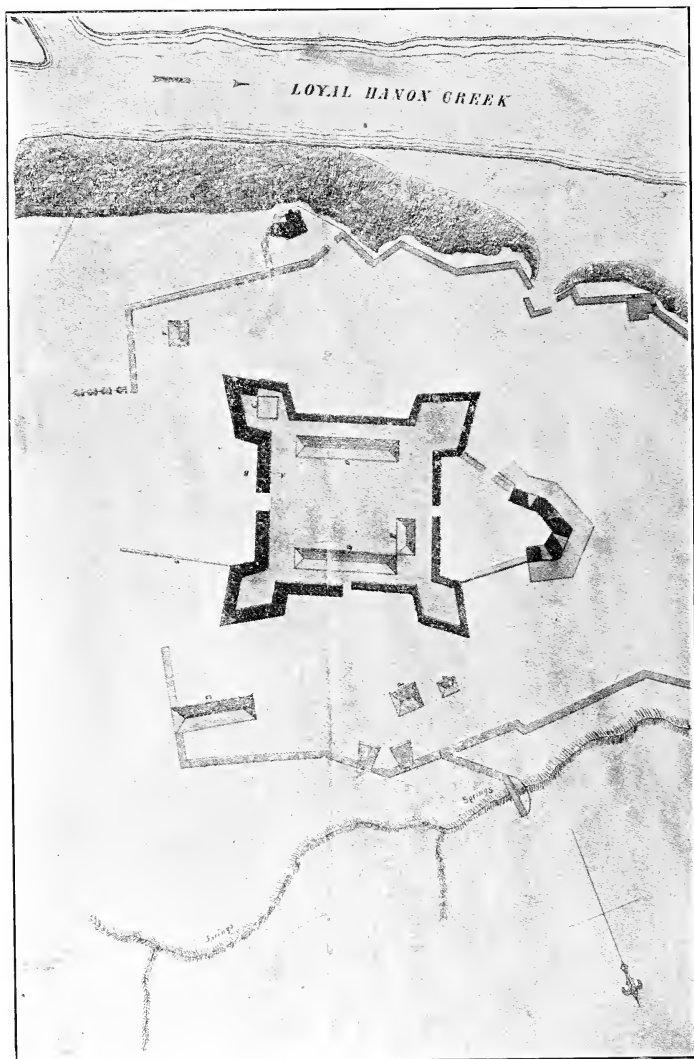
region was over-populated and were seeking the very outlets which Braddock and Forbes opened. The Forbes Road was shorter and better suited in every way, to those who were traveling westward. At its terminus the settlers took passage down the Ohio River in boats, and thus the Forbes Road remained for thirty years the chief highway which bore a thrifty people towards the setting sun, where they builded new homes and founded great states.

General John Forbes was born in Scotland in 1710. He was educated for the medical profession but when quite young abandoned it for the military, entering the English army, and became a lieutenant in the Scotch Dragoons. He won the highest praise from his general, Lord John Ligonier, and from other superior officers, and was quartermaster general in the army of the Duke of Bedford. He was unmarried and about forty-eight years old when he reached America. Few men have left their names so indissolubly associated with the early history of Western Pennsylvania as John Forbes. Though a man of gentle birth, he was of simple tastes. Unlike Braddock, he detested ceremony and dealt fairly with the colonists, who formed a great admiration for him. It is said that when the tide of affairs was against him on this campaign he swore most violently, but he may be pardoned for this in some degree because of his illness, and, furthermore, profanity was a very common vice among the English officers of his day. All through the American campaign just described he suffered intensely from a general breaking down of his system. From Fort Duquesne he was carried all the way to Philadelphia on a litter, borne generally by horses but part of the way by men. He reached Philadelphia on January 18 and he remained during the winter. He died March 13, 1759, in the forty-ninth year of his age. His body was buried in the chancel of Christ Church in Philadelphia.



CHAPTER V

THE ROUTE TAKEN BY BRADDOCK AND FORBES



FORT LIGONIER
The Oldest and Most Important Fortification in Westmoreland County

CHAPTER V.

The Braddock Road.—The Forbes Road.—The Route From Cumberland to Braddock.—The Route From Bedford to Pittsburgh.—The Investigation Made by Representatives From Harvard University.—The Section From Ligonier to Hannastown.—The Bushy Run Section.—Early State Maps.—Early Patents and Surveys, Etc.

In the summers of 1909 and 1910, Professor John Kennedy Lacock, of Harvard University, came to Southwestern Pennsylvania for the purpose of determining the true location of the Braddock and the Forbes Roads. He brought with him Dr. George P. Donehoo, an acknowledged authority on all matters pertaining to the American Indians; Dr. Henry W. Temple, professor of history in Washington and Jefferson College, who has for the past five years represented the Washington district in the National Congress; and Dr. William C. Farabee, professor of anthropology in Harvard University, who has since been sent twice to South America in the interests of his science. All were in the prime of life, and each of them had intellectual attainments which enabled them to be experts in the business of pathfinding. They were paying their own expenses, and though they were thoroughly posted in our history, they had no interest whatever in the location of these historic roads, except to determine and make known the exact routes taken by the armies of Braddock and Forbes. There were others who came with them and, indeed, they were joined by many citizens of the counties through which they passed, but the greater part of the work was performed by the four gentlemen above named.

They brought with them from the eastern libraries, a world of material in the form of maps, papers, surveys, old documents, etc., which were entirely new to our people and which pointed out the routes taken by these armies, with almost unerring certainty. They walked over and examined the routes from Cumberland to the Braddock battlefield, and from Bedford to Pittsburgh, and collected all the material they could in the form of warrants, patents, deeds, surveys, traditions, etc. These and references to them were verified in the county seats, in the Land Department at Harrisburg, and compared with materials in the eastern libraries. This latter work was done by Professor Lacock. The year following they again went over both roads and were able to locate definitely almost every rod of each road to their entire satisfaction.

The guiding star on the Braddock road was "Orme's Journal," while on the Forbes Road they were guided mainly by "General Forbes' Marching Journal to the Ohio." Those who were with them will readily recall that they were quite as anxious to disprove, as to prove, the accuracy of these documents, their sole desire being to determine the path which the armies had taken. In many sections the road can be followed by scars on the ground, for it must be remembered that both roads were used as public highways for long years after they were first opened up. With long experience in path-finding, they were able to discern scars and marks in the mountains made a century and a half ago by the heavy army wagons, that were invisible to the casual or unskilled observer, but which were very plain to him when once pointed out by them.

One of the pleasant features of the first trip over the roads was to notice how accurately the topography of the country, particularly in the mountains, corresponded with the old journals made when the roads were opened up. It frequently happened that the map-bearer would remark that, if we were on the right path, the road should bend to the north or perhaps we should cross a stream in say about a half of a mile. In every instance, the stream or the deflection was found as the journal indicated. At every turn of the road also, a reason for the deflection was found, such as an impending hill, a deep swamp, or a narrow ravine. These matters all helped to corroborate the accuracy of the journals. The reader must not forget that the "Forbes' Marching Journal" was merely a dotted line, representing a road a hundred miles long and twelve feet wide, passing over mountains, streams and valleys, through a dense forest, through which the rays of the sun could scarcely penetrate. To make such a journal, and to get the many deflections, the streams, mountains, camps and redoubts all to correspond with the topography of the country, proved almost conclusively that those who made it were not only with the army from day to day, but were men of remarkable aptitude for detail and men renowned for the accuracy of their work as well.

The Braddock Road, it must be remembered, leads from Cumberland to Braddock, near Pittsburgh. A brief but general outline of it is as follows: Leaving Cumberland in a westerly direction, it follows almost on the line of the National Road, often but improperly called the National Pike, passing Frostsburg, Grantsville, Addison, Somerfield, Farmington, Fort Necessity, Great Meadows and Jumonville. It is thus about eight miles south of the present towns of Confluence and Ohio Pyle Falls. Whilst the National Road rarely ever follows the exact line of Braddock's march in the part described, it likewise

rarely ever gets more than a mile away from it. Braddock in the main, followed the old Indian trail which had been followed by Cresap and by Washington and which was then known as Nemocolin's path. To be sure his great work was to widen and improve it, overdoing it in these matters as Washington thought. A short distance before reaching Jumonville, the road strikes out for the north and passing Jumonville in a northerly direction, passes Mount Braddock to Connellsville, where it crosses the Youghiogheny at Stewarts Station, below the mouth of the Possum Creek to a point on the opposite side of the river near the mouth of Mounts Creek, a half mile below Connellsville. Between Connellsville and the battle ground there were yet some highlands to be crossed which, although trivial in comparison with the mountains he had already traversed, were rugged enough to present serious difficulties to an army already well worn by previous exertions.

The road strikes the boundary line between Bullskin and Upper Tyrone Township in Fayette County. It follows this line in a northeasterly direction for about a mile and a half, with a few noticeable deflections until it reaches the Valley Works. There the course takes a northeasterly direction in almost a straight line to Pittstown. From there it passes in the same direction to the farm of John W. Truxell, now the Elmer E. Lauffer farm, where the army bivouacked on the night of July 1. There the line turns almost due north, passing over a swamp crossing Green Lick Run and thence keeping a straight line west of Fairview Church to a point a short distance west of Hammondville. The line crossed Jacobs Creek a short distance from the place where Welshonce's Mill once stood. On the west side of the creek the road follows the township line about a mile and a half to Eagle Street in Mt. Pleasant, and, while still within the limits of that town, it crosses the Robbstown and Mt. Pleasant Turnpike. From Mt. Pleasant, the course is that of the township line between Mt. Pleasant and Hempfield Townships on the east and the line of North Huntingdon, East Huntingdon and South Huntingdon Townships on the west and south respectively. About a mile north of Mt. Pleasant is a very deep scar in an orchard on the John McAdam farm, a trace of which continues to be visible for some rods farther north. A short distance beyond this farm there is a marked depression of over five hundred yards on the property of the Warden heirs. The road then skirts a great swamp of several hundred acres to the eastward and keeps on the Edwin S. Stoner farm, near Belson's Run, which is a tributary of Sewickley Creek. The line then crosses Belson's Run southeast of Combatto's store to a private or secondary road known

as Braddock's Lane and this it follows for three-quarters of a mile until it reaches the township road. It then keeps the present township line to Sewickley Creek at a point of intersection between Hempfield and South and East Huntingdon Townships, one-half mile southwest of Hunkers.

After crossing Sewickley Creek the road veers away to the northwest, following a slight depression farther on, south of David Beck's residence. Continuing in practically the same straight line it apparently follows the boundary line between Sewickley and Hempfield Townships, and thence runs westward along this line to the D. F. Knappenberger farm, and this was probably the place of the sixteenth encampment called Thickety Run. This place is located about a mile southeast of Old Madison, and from it the road seems to follow the township line northwestward. After fording the Little Sewickley, it passes northwestward through the John Leasure farm, and some trustworthy scars are shown on the John C. Fox farm. At this point, about a mile northwest of Little Sewickley, it crosses a township road over some falls between John C. Fox's house and barn, and thence the very perceptible traces keep on the same straight line to the William B. Howell farm. From a point one-fourth of a mile southeast from the Howell house, it follows the present clay road to a point as far beyond, and thence continues westward to the Hezekiah Gongaware farm. Then the line is unquestionably the present township road for a quarter of a mile, and in the same direction it passes about a quarter of a mile south of the Byerly schoolhouse. At less than one half mile from the Byerly schoolhouse, it joins the present township road again and thus continues to Circleville except for one short stretch a few rods to the east of the road. In Circleville the road seems to pass east of Long Run Church and a few rods northwest of it, it crosses the Pittsburgh and Philadelphia Turnpike, now the Lincoln Highway. Here, in the neighborhood of Circleville and Stewartsville, the army encamped again.

At this point General Braddock, after causing an examination of the country between the camp and the fort, abandoned his design of approaching the fort without crossing the river. This was determined because of the high hills and deep, rugged ravines and precipices to the east of Circleville and Stewartsville. He, therefore, turned westward at almost a right angle at or near Stewartsville, most likely at the Charles Larimer barn. The route strikes out in a shorter line corresponding with the present county road and follows it about a mile, then intersects the White Oak Level Road about a half mile east of the boundary line between Allegheny and Westmoreland Counties.

It then follows down the Valley of Long Run, past Samson's old mill, and crosses Long Run at or near the present bridge, to a point two and one-half miles westward where the army encamped at a very favorable depression now known as McKeesport. It is likely that he encamped about two miles north of the Monongahela River where a magnificent spring is found, and the spot is called Monongahela Camp.

On the morning of July 9, the army turned into the valley of Crooked Run which is now known as Riverton Avenue in McKeesport, and forded the Monongahela to the southwest side of the river in order to avoid the narrow pass on the northeast side. The route then follows down the southwestern bank of the Monongahela River through the section now occupied by the thriving borough of Duquesne, and fords the river a second time a short distance, about one-half mile, northwest of the mouth of Turtle Creek where, on the northeastern bank of the Monongahela, the battle began. Between the first and second crossings of the river, the advance army was led by Lieutenant-Colonel Gage. The high hills and ravines which forced them to twice cross the Monongahela, are clearly visible on the right bank as one passes down the river from McKeesport to Braddock.

The Forbes Road leads from Bedford to Pittsburgh, a distance of about one hundred miles. Except to travel over and improve the road east of Bedford, Forbes did nothing to connect his name with it, for it was opened up before his army came to America. The location of the road from Bedford to Pittsburgh is in the main, not a matter of conjecture, for a "journal" of it was kept which was sent to the British War Office in London. This journal is now in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia. The road passed northwest across Bedford, Somerset and Westmoreland Counties according to the journal, which is published in the map accompanying these pages. The journal is labeled "General Forbes' Marching Journal to the Ohio," and is signed "John Potts." The course which the army took is indicated by a dotted line, but there are no courses and distances given. It gives mountains, streams and forts, and it also gives each day's journey, marking the camps where the General and his staff rested at night. The word "Journal" comes from the French "jour," meaning a day, and in that sense it was used in the "marching journal." The modern use of the word journal as a literary production was not thought of in this instance. It gives each day's march. It will be seen that Forbes reached Ligonier from Bedford on the seventh day, and that he reached Fort Duquesne on the fourteenth day.

Briefly outlined, the road took the general direction from Bedford—6

ford to Pittsburgh that was afterward taken by the Old State Road and later by the Turnpike, now known as the Lincoln Highway. The road passed near the present villages of Woolfsburg, Schellsburg, three miles north of Buckstown, Stoystown one mile north of Jenners Cross Roads, etc. In the western part of Somerset County it is from one to two miles north of the Lincoln Highway. It crossed Laurel Hill from Somerset County into Westmoreland on a line almost parallel with the Highway, but about two miles north of it. It crossed the crest of the mountain and came down the western slope, and crossed Laurel Run near the Penrod place and near Willow Grove Schoolhouse. From there, as was generally done in its entire course, it took the dividing ridge as nearly as possible, between the brooks that flow into Mill Creek and those that flow southward into the Loyalhanna, and come westwardly, passing the Thomas, the West, the Singer, the Schmertz and the Denny farms to the Loyalhanna, where a camp was established and where Fort Ligonier was built.

Thus far there is no material dispute as to the location of the road. For many years it was supposed that from Ligonier it bore off towards the north and crossed Chestnut Ridge in the direction of Millwood, thence crossed the southwestern part of Derry Township and crossed the Loyalhanna at Cochran's Ford, about two and a half miles below, that is, north of Latrobe, and then journeyed almost directly west to Hannastown and thence by Bushy Run battlefield to Murrys ville and to Fort Duquesne. There was no doubt but that for perhaps as many as seventy years this was generally called the Forbes Road, but we have now abundant proof that Forbes and his army did not go that way. It was the "Marching Journal" above referred to which first created a doubt as to the correctness of this route. Since then a great deal of evidence has been discovered which we believe proves beyond all reasonable doubt that the army crossed the Loyalhanna at Ligonier in a southerly direction. Mr. George Dallas Albert, who wrote of it with great care in 1882, described the road as leading north from Ligonier and thence across Derry Township as above indicated. But when Mr. Albert wrote "Frontier Forts," vol. 2, he had seen a part of the evidence discovered since 1882, and in that work the Forbes Road is given as going south from Ligonier, crossing Chestnut Ridge in the direction of Youngstown, etc. The "marching journal" shows clearly that he crossed the Loyalhanna a few rods below Fort Ligonier, near the present iron bridge on the road leading from Ligonier to Donegal. From the Loyalhanna he journeyed southward and through the present Valley Cemetery until he passed over the Galbreath farm and around the hill west of Ligonier,

when he again turned westward, passing south of the Fry farm and over the Withrow farm to the Two Mile Run and then crossed both it and the Four Mile Run and over Chestnut Ridge in a comparatively straight line, going west and bearing slightly to the north in the direction of Youngstown, but keeping south of that place so as to remain on higher ground. Crossing the Nine Mile Run south of Youngstown he passed on to Twelve Mile Run and then turned northward, leaving the monastery buildings on the right, and crossed the Pennsylvania railroad near Beatty's and there passed Unity Church and so on to Hannastown.

After leaving Hannastown the Forbes Road continues in a north-western direction, passing the McFarland redoubts, thence to Stony Springs school house and Stony Springs wood, and thence to the road leading from Greensburg to New Salem (Delmont), intersecting the latter road at a point three and a half miles north of Greensburg. The army then followed closely on the line of the present New Salem road to Detar's school house, and thence turned northward, leaving the farm buildings of the J. Howard Patten farm to the right, and thence on to Murrysville. At a point near Detar's school house, but a few hundred feet north of it, Bouquet, in his famous march in 1763, left the Forbes Road and followed nearly the present line of the Claridge road, passing the farm of George M. Marshal, to the Bushy Run battlefield on the farm of John L. Wanamaker.

The idea that Forbes crossed the Loyalhanna at Ligonier and not at Cochran's Crossing is confirmed by many facts and circumstances that are very convincing to those who will look into them without prejudice. For instance, the brooks which flow into the Loyalhanna from the south were named Two Mile Run, Four Mile Run, Six and Seven Mile Runs, Nine Mile Run, Twelve Mile Run and Fourteen Mile Run. These numerals represent the distance from Fort Ligonier that they were crossed by the early line of travel; they can represent nothing else; and this was a very common way all over the Colonies of naming brooks in the early days. These names are shown on maps and writings only that are dated after the Forbes road was built, and are used by all early writers on Western Pennsylvania. This must prove that the early line of travel was across these streams. Furthermore, the streams flowing into the Loyalhanna from the north, which would have been crossed by it had the Forbes road taken the northern route from Ligonier, have modern names, which in no way connect them with Fort Ligonier. It is indeed impossible to explain why these streams from the south should have borne such names at all unless they were crossed by the line of early-day traveling, that is, by the

Forbes road. They were not named by travel on the State road, because they bore these names before it was built. Furthermore, the State road did not go to Fort Ligonier, but a mile south of it, and the fort was abandoned before it was built. A lame explanation has been made, suggesting that their names might indicate the distance of their mouths from the fort. That is practically true of the Two, Four and Nine Mile Runs. But the Fourteen Mile Run flows into the Loyalhanna only a half mile from the mouth of the Nine Mile Run, or about nine and a half miles from the fort, while the Twelve Mile flows into the Nine Mile Run. The Forbes road therefore must have crossed all these runs and by the "Marching Journal" it crosses each one at about the right distance from the fort to give it the numeral name it bears.

Standing at Fort Ligonier one can readily see why the short bend to the south was necessary after leaving the fort, for a high and steep hill to the west prevented the army from taking that course directly, while by the deflection to the south they avoided the hill. That the "Marching Journal" corresponds exactly with the peculiar topography of the country at Ligonier is a strong evidence of its accuracy and this feature is furthermore clearly noticable in scores of places between Bedford and Pittsburgh.

But let us consider the early maps of Western Pennsylvania. Evans' map was published by authority of the British Parliament. It was made by Lewis Evans and is dated June 23, 1755. On it are shown the leading trading paths generally, but it shows only one from Ligonier to the fork of the Ohio. This one crosses the Loyalhanna at Ligonier and keeps about a mile from the mouths of the creeks emptying into it. The Forbes road not having been built then, these creeks are not named. Now all authorities agree that Major Grant took this southern trading path in his hurried march to Fort Duquesne in September, 1758, for he passed Breast Works Hill, near the mouth of the Nine Mile Run. Christian Frederick Post speaks of this in his diary and then says that they kept on the old trading path to the Ohio. It was the custom of the English armies in America to use the old Indian trading paths in making new roads, for they were nearly always wisely selected by the redskins. Braddock had done this in laying his line of march and it was generally done because it was easier to widen an Indian trail into a military road than to survey and construct a new one. Forbes' army followed the Indian path from Bedford to Ligonier and why should he then leave it and cross Derry township by an entirely new route? And when the "Marching Journal" confirms this, why should there be a controversy about it?

William Sculls' map of Pennsylvania was published in 1770 and

was dedicated to Thomas, Richard and John Penn. This map shows the Forbes road crossing the Loyalhanna near the fort and thence crossing Chestnut Ridge and crossing the Two, Four, Nine and Fourteen Mile Runs. It was made to induce settlers to locate in Western Pennsylvania, which was just then being opened up for settlement and sale of land which had been purchased from the Indians in 1768. Of course the map-makers under the circumstances would put on it all the roads in existence. But it gives only two, viz., the Braddock road and the Forbes road, the latter going by the southern route as stated above, crossing the Loyalhanna at Ligonier.

Father Felix Fellner, O. S. B., of St. Vincent's College, made drafts of tracts of land from Survey Book No. 1 in Greensburg. These drafts he subsequently connected and formed a line of farms from Youngstown to Beatty, each draft showing the Forbes road. Thus William Todds' house is situated on the "Great Road to Fort Pitt," while William Lochry's farm, John Proctor's fort and house, are on the same road. William Grier's draft has the road marked as the "Road to Pittsburgh," and in the James Hunter farm it is called the "Forbes Road or Great Road to Ft. Pitt." These farms were surveyed in 1787, on orders of survey dated April 3, 1769. They show the Twelve and Fourteen Mile Runs.

The New Purchase Registry in the Department of Internal Affairs in Harrisburg further describes farms along this same road as follows: Morrison farm, three hundred acres, on both sides of Four Mile Run, bounded on the south by the "Great Road leading from Ligonier to Fort Pitt." Hugh White, three hundred acres, located on Six Mile Run, on both sides of "Great Road leading from Fort Pitt to Ligonier." This tract is on Chestnut Ridge. John Pollock, three hundred acres, on Seven Mile Run, on the north side of road from "Ligonier to Fort Pitt." James Gurdie, three hundred acres, between Ligonier and Fort Pitt, on Seven Mile Run, west from Ligonier. Arthur O'Hara, three hundred acres, located on Nine Mile Run, on south side of "Great Road." Mary Rowan, three hundred acres, located on the east side of the Twelve Mile Run and on both sides of the "Great Road." William Lochry, three hundred acres, located on the south side of the Great road between Ligonier and Fort Pitt. William Grier, three hundred acres, located on the north side of John Proctor's plantation, up the Fourteen Mile Run, on both sides of the "Road that leads to Fort Pitt." James Hunter, three hundred acres, located on the "Forbes Road," at the Fourteen Mile Run. Joseph Hunter, three hundred acres, on the north side of "Forbes Road on the Fourteen Mile Run,"

adjoining the above lands of James Hunter and John Proctor. This land now belongs to and is a part of the St. Vincent Archabbey Farm.

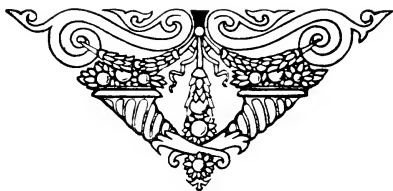
The reader must understand that the Forbes road, the Great road, the road to Fort Pitt and to Pittsburgh, were different names for one and the same road, now called uniformly the Forbes road. Father Felix, who worked out and will stand over the above quotations from survey and patents, is professor of history in St. Vincent's College.

The road across Derry township is found first on Howell's map of Pennsylvania, published in 1792, which shows almost conclusively that it was not laid out in 1758. There is a road petition recorded in the Quarter Sessions Docket in the prothonotary's office of Westmoreland county, which sheds some light on the question in hand. It is recorded in the Quarter Sessions Docket labelled "1773 to 1776," on pages 66 and 67, and was filed at the April session of court in 1776. It is as follows:

Upon the petition of a number of the inhabitants of the townships of Hempfield, Derry and Fairfield, in the County of Westmoreland, humbly showing that they labor under great inconvenience and difficulties for want of a public road or highway to mill and market. Therefore they pray that the court would be pleased to appoint proper persons to view the ground and make report to the court and if they see cause to lay out a public road or highway to begin at or near Charles Wilson's on Beaver Dam brook (near New Salem) and from there (by courses and distances the nearest and best way and least injurious to the inhabitants) over the Chestnut Ridge to the mill of Arthur St. Clair, Esq., or near, and from there to John Smith's at the Two Mile Spring from Ligonier.

The court appointed George Redding, Thomas Galbraith, John Guthery, Robert Barr and James Wilson, and ordered that they or any four of them should lay out the above road if they upon examination saw fit to do so, etc. This road, if laid out as prayed for, would cross the Forbes road near Hannastown, would cross the Loyalhanna about at Cockran's ford and would go up the Chestnut Ridge and cross the valley at St. Clair's mill, one and a half miles north of Ligonier and intersect the Forbes road at the Singer place, that is at the Two Mile Spring, situated about two miles east of Ligonier on the Forbes road. It would, in other words, be almost exactly the road which, for many years, was erroneously called the Forbes road. Now, if the Forbes road was originally laid out by that route in 1758, why would the citizens along that line petition for it in 1776? St. Clair's mill was the first in Western Pennsylvania and the people desired a road leading to it. They would already have had a road to it in 1776, had the Forbes road taken the northern course from Fort Ligonier.

Arthur Lee, who, during the Revolution, in company with Benjamin Franklin, represented the Colonies in their efforts to secure financial assistance from France in 1782, passed over the Forbes road to Pittsburgh. In his diary, which has been published, he says that after stopping at Fort Ligonier over night the next morning he crossed the Loyalhanna and then crossed Chestnut Ridge and in the afternoon reached Hannastown. Does any one think he would have written it this way had he crossed Chestnut Ridge first and crossed the Loyalhanna afterwards?



CHAPTER VI

THE BEGINNING OF PITTSBURGH

CHAPTER VI.

Building of Fort Pitt.—Who Named the Forts Bedford, Ligonier and Pitt.—Beatty Preaches Sermon.—William Pitt's Instructions.—Delays in Moving Army.—General Stanwix's Conference With Indians.—The Temporary Fort at Pittsburgh.—Census of Pittsburgh.—Tardiness of Pennsylvania Authorities in Supporting Army.—The Quakers, the Germans, the Scotch-Irish.—The Penns' Lands Not Taxed.—The Defense of the Southwest Left to the Western Pioneers.—Encroachment on Indian Territory.

All of the written material which has come down to us from 1758 indicates that the winter of that year set in very early. We have seen that the mountains were covered with snow before Forbes' troops left Fort Ligonier early in November. The cold chilly weather annoyed the soldiers in their passage to Fort Duquesne and their first night there was one of great hardship and discomfort. The army had been lightly equipped purposely for rapid traveling and each man carried but little else than a blanket and light arms. All shelter in the abandoned fort had been destroyed, a blinding snowstorm came from the west and the cold continued all night and for several days. Fires were kindled and rations were eaten under such shelter as the meagerly equipped army could extemporize. The usual sentinels were posted in every direction from the abandoned fort. Thus passed the first dreary night of the English soldiers at Pittsburgh. The following morning, work was begun on a place of shelter for the troops which were there, and for those who must remain to guard the ground which had been captured after the long contest and by the loss of so much life and property. The fort they built was but a temporary one to house them over the winter and until a better one could be provided.

It is generally understood that the name Pittsburgh was taken from the fort, but the writings of that age do not bear out this supposition. The temporary structure was not called Fort Pitt, indeed there was no special name given it at all. Griffs, in his "Life of Sir William Johnson," published in "Makers of America," says that it was named Pittsburgh by Washington. This is incorrect. General Forbes, in a letter, says that he, Forbes, named the place, not the fort, for the great commoner, William Pitt. Many writers have attributed the honor to Washington, but we believe that but for his prominence in after life he would never have been mentioned in that connection at all. There was, it is true, nothing around the fort but ruins. No town, no name, no place of habitation except the tramped and war-

marked ground, yet Forbes, on the next day after the arrival of his troops, wrote a letter and dated it from Fort Duquesne, "or now Pitts-Bourg." This letter is published in the Colonial Record, volume viii, page 132. It is dated November 26 and is the first use of the name which, with a slight change in orthography, the place has borne ever since.

Some one in the same army had given English names to Fort Bedford and Fort Ligonier. This can scarcely have been Washington, who was but little more prominent in the army than Armstrong, and not so prominent as Bouquet, nor was he supposed to be so familiar with the English names. It is much more reasonable to suppose that Forbes suggested the first name, because the Duke of Bedford had been deeply interested in the campaign and was Forbes' special patron, and that Forbes also suggested the second name, because he had served under Lord Ligonier in the English army, Ligonier being one of the most noted military men of his day. It was the custom also, and it is yet, for the commander to name the fort erected by him. Now the capture of Fort Duquesne was the main object of the expedition. For this, the English army had twice crossed the Atlantic Ocean, and when the long-delayed possession was an actual reality it was quite likely that the general in command named this most important post in remembrance of the man who, far above all others, had been instrumental in sending the army to America—the great war minister, William Pitt. This is entirely reasonable without the fact that Forbes had dated and written the letter above referred to, in which for the first time the name of the city is written.

Nor was Fort Pitt mentioned in the writings of the day even by the military inhabitants of the place for more than a year after the name Pittsburgh was used regularly. Colonel Hugh Mercer, who remained there all year as late as July and September, 1759, dated his correspondence from Pittsburgh and does not mention Fort Pitt at all, though he had charge of the temporary fortress in which the troops were kept. General Stanwix, who, December 8, 1759, dated a letter from "Camp at Pittsburgh" and spoke of the military works in that place, does not even then name Fort Pitt. Finally, however, Stanwix wrote a letter on December 24, 1759, and made mention of Fort Pitt, but only incidentally in the body of the letter. This letter, which is the first mention of Fort Pitt of which we have any record, is found in Pennsylvania Archives, volume 3, page 696. So it appears that more than a year elapsed after the capture of Fort Duquesne before we have any mention of Fort Pitt and that the temporary fort was never called Fort Pitt. It will appear later on also that by that

time the real Fort Pitt was then wellnigh completed. From the foregoing we take it as an indisputable fact that the name Pittsburgh is older than Fort Pitt, and that the place bound in by the mighty arms of the Ohio, and covered as it was by the spoils of victory and defeat, was, from almost the moment of its dominion by the English, known and called by the great name it still bears.

The chaplain of Colonel Clapham's regiment of Pennsylvania soldiers was Rev. Charles Beatty, of the Presbyterian faith. To him came the duty of preaching to the army. Standing on the ruins of the dismantled fort, the first Protestant sermon was preached west of the Allegheny Mountains in Pennsylvania. The day, November 26, 1759, had been set apart by special orders as a day of public thanksgiving. It was the first observed in this section of the State. On Tuesday following a large detachment of Pennsylvania soldiers under Captain West was detailed to bury the dead of Braddock's army and to perform a like service to the dead of their own army who had perished on Grant's Hill the preceding September. With Captain West and his troops went Sir Peter Halket, the son and heir of Sir Peter Halket, who so bravely fell while guarding the baggage in Braddock's army. The son had made a journey to America with Forbes' army mainly for the purpose of finding his father's body, and also that of his brother who perished in the same battle.

After reaching the field the guide conducted them to the location of the baggage in the battle, and, after some search, two skeletons were found, one of which was identified by Sir Peter Halket as that of his father, because of an artificial tooth which was yet remaining in the jaw and which he knew his father had worn. A grave was dug, a Highland plaid was spread over them and both skeletons were interred with the usual military ceremony. This incident would probably have been lost to us, but for the fact that Captain West was a full brother of the renowned painter, Benjamin West, whose biographer, Galt, has preserved it. Over the skeletons had drifted the dead leaves of four successive seasons, and upon their removal they found evidence that the bodies of many who perished had been devoured by wild animals and others who were wounded, but unable to leave the field, had crawled to places of seclusion and perished of starvation. The bones were buried in a trench dug in the frozen ground.

While this was being done and indeed at once upon the accession of the army, General Forbes began the erection of a temporary fort and pushed the work with all possible speed, for there was no telling how near to the dismantled fort the stealthy enemy was lurking. It is now known from the French archives that the greater part of the

enemy had gone up the Allegheny river to Fort Machault, now Venango. Many of them had gone down the Ohio and were yet at Logstown, twelve miles from Fort Duquesne. Still others had gone to the Illinois regions, but the vigilant Scotchman knew that his army was daily watched by spies. The main part of Forbes' army left the Ohio again on December 3 and slowly proceeded to Philadelphia, leaving Colonel Mercer in charge of the camp, with over two hundred men, and with him were left instructions concerning the completion of the temporary barracks or fort. It was located on the banks of the Monongahela, about two hundred yards up the river from Fort Duquesne. It was probably completed early in January, 1759. On January 8 Mercer reported a force of two hundred and eighty men, and that the works, as he styled the temporary fort, though put together in a very hasty manner because of the extremely cold weather, was capable of some considerable defense.

On March 17, 1759, the report of the garrison showed that twelve of the forces had died since January 1. Those remaining were ten commissioned officers, eighteen non-commissioned officers, three drummers, three hundred and forty-six rank and file fit for duty, seventy-nine sick, and three unaccounted for, making in all a total of four hundred and fifty-six. Of the rank and file twenty were Royal Americans, eighty were Highlanders, ninety-nine were Virginians and one hundred and thirty-six were of the First and eighty-five of the Second Battalion of Pennsylvania. The names of the officers at that time are not given, but on July 9 they were as follows: Colonel Hugh Mercer; Captains Waggoner, Woodward, Ward, Clayton, Morgan, Smallman and Prentice; Lieutenants Matthews, Hydler, Biddle, Conrad, Kennedy, Sumner, Anderson, Hutchins, Dangerfield and Wright; the Ensigns were Crawford, Morgan and Crawford. On the death of General Forbes, as noted in the previous chapters, General John Stanwix was made commander of His Majesty's troops and of those to be raised in the province. This announcement and that of the death of General Forbes was made on March 15 by General Jeffrey Amherst, who was commander-in-chief of the English armies in America.

On January 23, only two months after the fort had been captured by the English, William Pitt wrote a letter to the general showing that his keen intellect was alive to the importance of retaining the possession of the entire Ohio valley, and that as war minister of England he thoroughly comprehended the situation in America. After expressing for King George II. his great delight over the success of the loyal soldiers on the Ohio, the letter bore express orders to restore the dismantled fort as speedily as possible or erect another in place of

it which should be of sufficient strength in every way to maintain the possession of the Ohio, and to cut off all trade between the west and southwest Indians, and to protect the British colonies from the incursions to which they had been subjected ever since the French had built the fort, and, furthermore, to make themselves masters of the navigation of the Ohio. He also instructed them to secure an alliance again with the several Indian nations and to so treat them that they would be dependent on His Majesty's government.

But the French were equally alive to the situation. The Indians had left the fort and gone to Fort Machault, or Venango, collecting at that place and at Presq' Isle, a large force of Indians and French with the evident intention of descending the river and retaking the fort which they had been forced to abandon the previous fall. The forces were under Captains Aubrey and Ligneris. But in June, General Prideaux and Sir William Johnson, with their forces, had moved against the French of Niagara, and these forces in Northern Pennsylvania were forthwith marched to the Niagara to defend that position. The temporary fort on the Ohio would have offered but little resistance had the French and Indians who were collected in the north attacked it. John Ormsby wrote a letter which is published in Craig's "History of Pittsburgh," in which he said that the little force on the Ohio knelt behind their weak fortress and prayed for deliverance in the hour of danger. The success of the English arms at Niagara undoubtedly saved the little camp on the Ohio, for, had the French succeeded, they would evidently have moved at once on the works near old Fort Duquesne.

Shortly after General Stanwix was appointed he arranged to go to the Ohio with his force to begin the erection of a permanent fortification, suggested by Pitt—one that would do honor to the English army and insure a permanent possession of the Ohio valley. But he, like Braddock and Forbes, had great trouble with the Pennsylvania authorities to secure the full share of supplies and men that were due from the province. He had marched as far west as Bedford, and, with the summer advancing rapidly, on August 13, 1759, wrote to Governor Denny as follows: "It is with reluctance that I must trouble you to again open this subject, but being stopped in my march for want of sufficient and certain successions of carriages I am obliged to have recourse to you to extricate me out of the difficulty."

In another letter he said: "All our delays are owing to the want of carriage. The troops are impatient to dislodge and drive the enemy from their posts on this side of the lake, and by building a respectable

fort on the Ohio secure to His Majesty the just possession of that rich country."

By this time there were many Indians around the camp at the fork, who pretended great friendship to the English. They came there as they had been accustomed to come for many years to attend conferences and councils among their people. A treaty had been held in July, 1759, and it was attended by great numbers. In order to keep their good will they had to be fed by the garrison, which was not overstocked with provisions, and the Indians showed no signs of leaving the place as long as the rations held out. Most of the provisions of the garrison had to be brought out on horses from the east over the Forbes road, and on August 6 Colonel Mercer wrote that on account of the Indian drain on his supplies he was unable to save out an ounce of provisions between the convoys from the East and had been compelled to reduce his force to three hundred and fifty. On the same day Captain Gordon, the chief engineer, had arrived with a number of artificers to build the fort. Under Mercer's instructions they began at once to prepare building material for the fort, but Mercer delayed the selection of the location until General Stanwix arrived. Stanwix reached the place late in August and on September 3, 1759, with additional skilled workmen and laborers brought for that purpose, began the erection of the fortification known ever afterward as Fort Pitt. On September 15 Mercer wrote of the peace and tranquility at the place since Stanwix had arrived and of the rapid work on the fort.

Though no enemy appeared, Stanwix had many difficulties to contend with. To insure the safe transportation of supplies he had to keep soldiers stationed all over Western Pennsylvania. Many were at Fort Ligonier and at Fort Bedford, while Colonel Burd was forming a post at Redstone Creek, near Brownsville, and the greater part of Mercer's battalions had been scattered along the Forbes road between the Ohio and Carlisle. In the letter referred to, dated at Camp of Pittsburgh, December 8, 1759, Stanwix reported to Governor Hamilton that the building of the proposed "works" was being carried on and that he was now forming a winter garrison of three hundred provincials, one half to be of Pennsylvania and the other half of Virginia soldiers, and four hundred of the First Battalion of the Royal American Regiment would be left under command of Major Tulikins. These, he said, he hoped to cover well under good barracks and to supply them with provisions for six months from January 1. He spoke also of the provisions necessary for the Indians who lounged around the place. They were undoubtedly a constant drain on the garrison; they seemed to have no idea of helping themselves or of

leaving the place so long as the larder of the fort was full. Nor did they ever fail to attend a conference when they wanted something to eat or drink, or when their supply of ammunition and blankets needed replenishing.

In the fall of 1759 General Stanwix held a conference with the Indians which was very fruitful of good results. It was the policy of the English government, as well as the provinces of Pennsylvania and Virginia, that all military authorities should put forth every effort within reason to conciliate the Indians and keep on good terms with them. General Stanwix was an officer of great military efficiency and remained in the new fort until the spring of 1760. On March 17 he wrote to Governor Hamilton that he would leave for Philadelphia as soon as the waters subsided, for he had practically finished the work in a defensible manner and would leave the garrison in good health, in excellent barracks and with seven months' wholesome provisions after April 1. The inside finishing of the works, he said, could be prosecuted under cover and the men be asked to work only in good weather. The winter had been a very inauspicious one for fort-building and the spring so far had been but little suited to outdoor work. He wrote also that the works would give a strong security to all the southern provinces, and answer every end proposed for His Majesty's service. Although it was used as a fort in 1760, it was not really finished until the summer of 1761, when it was completed by Colonel Henry Bouquet.

It occupied the ground between Third street, West street and Marbury street, the present Penn avenue of Pittsburgh passing almost through the center of its site, with one of its points extending up to and across Liberty street and also reaching the Monongahela. It was between the site of Fort Duquesne and the temporary structure built by Mercer. The old blockhouse, which is still standing on its original location, was close to the side of the fort wall next to the Allegheny river. The blockhouse was not on the bank of either river, but was nearer the Monongahela. The fort was a five-sided structure, though the sides were not equal as has been erroneously stated, and had a large bastion at each of the five corners. The earth around the fort was dug out and thrown up so as to enclose it with a rampart. At each side of the fort away from the river, facing the present city, this rampart was reinforced by a revetment of brickwork which was built entirely perpendicular, thus presenting an additional obstacle to an approaching enemy. On the other sides of the fort, that is, next to the rivers, the rampart was made of earth but was not covered with brick-

work and its surface, as presented to an approaching enemy, was not so perpendicular nor so formidable. To remedy this, a line of pickets was implanted at the foot of the sloping ramparts. Around the rampart was a wide ditch which could be filled with water when the river was moderately high. In the summer time when the river was low and the ditch was dry, the officers and men frequently played ball in the ditch, knocking the balls against the brick rampart. This ditch extended from the most northern point, that is, the angle of the bastion of the extreme corner near Marbury street, down to where the street strikes the Allegheny. This ditch was still visible in the boyhood of Mr. Craig, author of a history of Pittsburgh, perhaps in the early twenties, for he wrote in 1848 and 1850. Another part of the ditch he says extended to the Monongahela river and a third end or debouche from it reached the river about the end of Penn avenue.

General Stanwix left Fort Pitt on March 20, 1760. A communication from Pittsburgh of that date, published in the "Pennsylvania Gazette," notes that he was escorted east by thirty-five chiefs of Ohio Indians and fifty Royal American soldiers. It speaks very flatteringly of his work during the past winter, not only in building the fort but in cultivating the friendship of the Indians as well. The works, it says, are quite perfect between the Allegheny and the Monongahela rivers and that eighteen pieces of artillery were mounted on the bastions. The casements, barracks and storehouse were sufficient for a garrison of one thousand men and officers, and the article further glories that the British domain in the Ohio Valley is established forever. General Stanwix left in Fort Pitt about seven hundred men, of whom one hundred and fifty were Virginians, one hundred and fifty Pennsylvanians, and four hundred from the First Battalion of the Royal American Regiment.

The termination of the war between England and France, by the fall of Quebec and the surrender of Montcalm on September 13, 1759, was of great advantage, generally to the colonies and to Southwestern Pennsylvania in particular, for thereafter the French were less hostile and the French posts, being now in the possession of the English, all were in harmony with the colonial troops and with the force in our section. General Monckton was made commander of the department and reached Fort Pitt on June 20, 1760. It was his purpose and that of the colonial authorities to perfect the line of forts from Montreal to Fort Pitt. To accomplish this, he marched four companies of Royal Americans, and also one company commanded by Colonel McNeil, all under the command of Colonel Henry Bouquet, to take charge of Presq' Isle. Shortly after these, Colonel Hugh Mercer followed with

three companies of the Pennsylvania regiment under Captains Biddle, Claphan and Anderson, and still later two other companies under Captains Atlee and Miles followed.

Many statements have been made as to the cost of Fort Pitt. Some of them place it as high as sixty thousand pounds. Arthur Lee, of Virginia, who visited it in 1784, and who seems to have investigated its cost, says that it cost the English government about six hundred pounds. Either estimate may be correct, for the first probably includes the entire outlay for materials and also the transportation wages of soldiers and skilled workmen who erected it. The second estimate may not include the cost of labor performed by the soldiers who were stationed at the fort and who undoubtedly dug the entrenchments, prepared the lumber, burned the brick, etc., and performed the greater part of the labor of constructing it. It was proved afterwards that it was strong enough to withstand any attack made by the Indians, but it could not long have endured an attack of the artillery even of that day of small guns. The location of Fort Pitt would not be selected by modern military experts if the intention was to protect the city, since it was in full view, and entirely commanded by the high hills beyond the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers, whose summits were scarcely a half a mile by air line from the fort, but for its day and purpose it was, indeed, an ideal location.

Almost at once when occupied by the English, a village sprang up around its walls. With the rude log huts of the fur traders came a mixed population of camp followers and settlers, some of whom were soon in a primitive way engaged as merchants. Access to the place was easily gained by canoes, rafts and other slight crafts from every direction by the three rivers. It had been, moreover, a favorite place of meeting for the Indians since they first inhabited Southwestern Pennsylvania, and hither came the red man, now that a market was open, laden with the results of his season's trapping; coming by water in his frail bark, or mayhap by the same Indian paths which were trodden by his dusky ancestors in the dim past. The two great roads, Braddock's and Forbes, terminated here, and on these came many who embarked on the Ohio for the Great West. While it was mentioned as a name repeatedly in 1758 and 1759, the first real mention of Pittsburgh as a town was by Colonel Burd in 1760. He was in command of the Augusta regiment, as his Pennsylvania troops were called, and reached Pittsburgh on Sunday, July 6, 1760, and remained on duty until November. In his journal is the following, which may be called the first census of Pittsburgh: "21st Monday (July, 1760). To-day numbered the houses at Pittsburgh and made return of their

number of people, men, women & children, that did not belong to the army. Number of houses, 164. Number of unfinished houses, 19. Number of huts, 36. Total, 201. Number of men, 88. Number of women, 29. Number of male children, 14. Number of female children, 18. Total, 149. N. B.—The above houses exclusive of those in the fort.” But in April, 1761, Colonel Claphan took a census and gave the number of houses as one hundred and four, with a population of three hundred and thirty-two.

In the winter of 1760-61 Colonel Vaughn, with a regiment known as His Majesty's Regiment of Royal Welsh Volunteers, was garrisoning a number of posts of communicating with Fort Pitt. General Amherst wanted these troops for service elsewhere and he requested the Governor to call for troops to volunteer to take their places. The request met with the usual refusal on the part of the Supreme Executive Council. General Monckton, of Fort Pitt, urged the project in a letter to Governor Hamilton and insisted on at least four hundred Pennsylvania troops. The matter was laid before the council, but its consideration was deferred. When brought before them again they refused and gave as a reason that since the reduction of Canada and the withdrawal of the French, there remained nothing for the regular troops paid by the nation but to guard these posts and for that reason it was not necessary to enlist additional men. Monckton then applied to General Amherst, the commander-in-chief, who, on February 27, 1761, urged the Governor and assured him that Vaughn's regiment must and would be removed. He requested that three hundred troops be raised in Pennsylvania and on March 13, in pursuance of this urgent appeal from a higher authority the required bill was passed.

This tardiness on the part of Pennsylvania authorities to assist in the defence of the southwestern border was encountered by all military expeditions and lasted up until the Revolution. There were several causes which unitedly produced it. The Quakers of Philadelphia and those of the Quaker counties nearby were the thriftiest people in Pennsylvania and were not only religiously opposed to war, but had become somewhat intolerant of all other religions. They were also hostile to the sons of William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, who had with one exception become Tories and were regarded as renegades from the religion of their revered father. The Quakers talked of the exceeding sinfulness of war. They wore broad-brimmed hats, defied Lindley Murray in the use of the English language and devoted themselves to the acquisition of wealth and to the enjoyment of the comforts it brought. The middle counties had been settled largely by German peasants who, having known only servitude in

Europe, were delighted with the enjoyment of the liberty they found in their new homes. They hated the idea of military service for it but reminded them of the oppressive army of Germany from which they had fled. Speaking only the German tongue, they knew little of the operations of the French and English on the Ohio, and cared still less whether they lived under English or French dominion, so long as they could increase their families and their herds and widen their productive acres.

The Penn heirs, moreover, had large tracts of unsettled and unproductive land in the southwest which the eastern people thought should be taxed, and particularly did they think this if they were to turn out as soldiers to defend it from the French encroachment. But the Penns had had a law passed which precluded the possibility of taxing it until it was opened up, first, purchasing it from the Indians, and second, by the erection of counties embracing it. Benjamin Franklin was without doubt the intellectual and political leader of the province and of the Supreme Executive Council. The feudalism of the Penns was extremely obnoxious to him. With his great foresight, however, he saw all the dangers of the French operations on the Ohio, and while he was opposed to any administration measure of the council which would add material strength to the Penns, he was willing to put forth his best efforts, not only to repel the French as he did in the Braddock campaign, but to protect the settlers and afterward to work by any other means to that end that would not strengthen the feudal tenure of the proprietaries. Then there was the Virginia claim of which the reader will learn later, but briefly, it was claimed by the Virginians at that time that this territory of Southwestern Pennsylvania was not included in the grant of King Charles II. to William Penn. The section was, moreover, largely peopled by Virginians who claimed that they were still living within the bounds of the Old Dominion and whose claim was strengthened by the fact that Virginia had done more to wrest it from the French than any other colony. They would not, under any circumstances, take up arms for Pennsylvania. This left the defence of the southwest largely to the pioneers west of the Allegheny mountains. They in turn were mainly composed of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, German Lutherans and Irish Catholics, all of whom were so bitterly intolerant of each other that a united effort on their part was scarcely possible. Upon their heads fell the full burdens of border warfare in its severest forms.

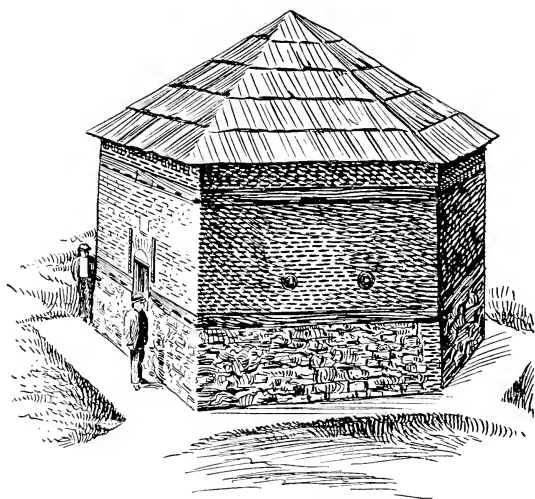
Governor Hamilton seems to have left little undone to appease the wrath of the Indians. A store or trading house was set up by him at Pittsburgh near Fort Pitt, and the Indians traded with this house

and were furnished with all kinds of goods and supplies and these at law rates. But the efforts of those in authority, in the province at best, but temporarily allayed the wrath of the Indians. With the great victory of General James Wolfe at Quebec in September, 1759, the French dominion on the St. Lawrence was practically ended. As has been observed, the habits of the Indian peculiarly suited him for an alliance with the French. The red men were greatly attached to the French, and were extremely displeased with the termination of the French and Indian war, resulting as it did so adversely to their friends. The region around Fort Pitt and to the east was one of perfect peace so far as the French were concerned, and the efforts of the strong fortification and military provisions generally in Southwestern Pennsylvania deterred the Indians from passing them in their incursions. The effect of the strong garrison at Pittsburgh was felt all over Southwestern Pennsylvania, Maryland and Western Virginia, but a still greater effect was to draw the settlers to these regions and open up territory farther west.

Many settlers who had been driven from their frontier homes, with the protection now offered them by these western military operations, felt safe to enter upon their lands again and these were already increasing in numbers and rapidly hewing out homes for themselves in the wilderness. No one noticed these encroachments upon the Indian domain, his birthright, as he thought, more than the Indian himself. In silence he nursed his wrath which grew gradually. In 1762, however, they repeatedly attended treaties with the English, most likely actuated by purely sinister motives. On November 3, 1762, the preliminary treaty between Great Britain and France was arranged and this culminated in the signing of a definite treaty between these two powers, on February 10, 1763. By this treaty all the territory between the Allegheny river and the Mississippi river, with Canada as well, was ceded by the French government to the English. This was apparently more than the Indian in his wrath, aggravated by constant English encroachments, could endure. The result was that great uprising, by far the greatest in Indian history, was set on foot by Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas, and this we must consider in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VII

PONTIAC—BOUQUET—BUSHY RUN



Block House at Fork of the Ohio, built 1764, by Henry Bouquet. Still standing, now the property of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Allegheny County.

CHAPTER VII.

Pontiac, the Greatest of Indian Leaders.—His So-called Conspiracy.—Extent of Uprising.—The Opportune Time.—Appearance at Fort Pitt.—The General Attack.—Captain Eucyer in Command of the Fort.—Fort Bedford Assists Fort Ligonier.—Importance of Bedford and Ligonier.—The Country Exhausted by French and Indian War.—General Amherst Almost Powerless to Respond to Cry for Help.—Colonel Henry Bouquet at Carlisle.—Great Excitement in Pennsylvania.

Pontiac had been steadfast in his friendship with the French, actuated by both natural inclinations and by self-interest. He had fought the English side by side with the French, and as a young warrior he had led his tribe with Charles Langdale at the unfortunate defeat of General Braddock. The English supremacy, to his accute mind, meant the loss of the hunting grounds of his fathers and the gradual extinction of his entire race. He thought that he and his friends could unite all western Indian tribes between Mackinaw and Fort Pitt, and by one blow exterminate the English forts, kill and drive the settlers back across the mountains or into the Atlantic ocean and restore to the Indian his just heritage of hunting ground. The provocations given in the last of the last chapter helped to bring him to this point. He was an Indian of marvelous resources. All writers have rated him as preëminently endowed with courage, resolution and eloquence, and as the ablest leader the American Indian race ever produced. Parkman says that "He could govern with almost despotic sway a race unruly as the winds, and his authority was derived chiefly from the force of his own individual mind."

He was born in the Catawba Indian tribe, but was captured when a child by the Ottawas, whose chief civil ruler, or sachem, he became by the sheer force of his superior ability and courage. At Braddock's defeat he formed a supreme contempt for the English soldiers, and doubtless at that time the seed of the great uprising was sown in his fertile mind.

Late in 1762 this mighty leader sent representatives to all the northwestern tribes of Indians. They visited all the tribes between the Upper Lakes, the Mississippi and the Ohio rivers, and journeyed from camp to camp bearing the war belt of wampum and a tomahawk stained red as a symbol of blood, and to each they bore the same message from Pontiac. The Indians almost universally approved and adopted his plan. The blow all along the line of English civilization

was to be struck at the same time, the time to be indicated later on. Each tribe was to destroy its nearest English garrison, and then all were to unite and exterminate the frontier settlements. Except a few small tribes, the whole of the Algonquin race of Indians were thus united, with the Wyandottes and Senecas, and other small tribes from south of the Ohio. Except the Senecas, the entire Iroquois race was kept out of the conspiracy by the efforts of Sir William Johnson. His power among the Indians of New York surpassed that of any man of his time, but with all this he was forced to exert his utmost strength to quiet their feeling and prevent their union with Pontiac in his confederation. Of the twelve English forts west of Fort Pitt thus assaulted, nine of them fell. Those which were closest to Pittsburgh which were overpowered were Presq' Isle, Le Boeuf and Venango. The only ones of those assaulted which withstood the attack were Fort Detroit, Fort Niagara and Fort Pitt. The first fort east of Fort Pitt, fifty miles distant, was Fort Ligonier, commanded by Captain Archibald Blane. East of that, fifty miles further, was Fort Bedford, commanded by Captain Lewis Ourry. The country west of Bedford was but sparsely settled. Both Forts Ligonier and Bedford were built in almost unbroken forests with here and there a log cabin and a clearing near them. The forts were on the Forbes road, and along it were scattered the log cabins of a few adventurous pioneers. The great object of Pontiac's war in our section was to capture Fort Pitt. This was then under command of Captain Samuel Ecuyer, a bold and daring officer who had come to America from Switzerland. On May 4, 1763, he wrote to Colonel Bouquet expressing his fears that trouble with the Indians was imminent. His suspicions were excited by the actions of the Delawares and Shawnees, which he thought betokened mischief.

Pontiac showed great cunning in planning his conspiracy, as it has been called. He selected a season when the Indians could conceal themselves readily in the leafy groves, and when the settlers were likely to be busily engaged with their growing crops. It was well for the pioneers that the lieutenants of Pontiac were not able to execute his plans with the shrewdness and diplomacy which he manifested in laying them, for otherwise they might have indeed been exterminated, driven east of the Allegheny mountains if not into the sea as he had prophesied.

A leading feature of his plans was that the attack should be made on all forts, blockhouses, settlements and individuals at one and the same time, indeed the same hour. A grand council of the Indian tribes was held which fixed the time of the attack, designating it by a

bundle of rods which was sent to each tribe. Each bundle contained as many rods as there were days intervening between the day of the council and the day fixed upon which the general attack was to be made. Wondrous shrewd was this arrangement in the absence of calendars with which we reckon time to-day. One rod was to be taken from the bundle every morning, and when but a single rod remained, the outbreak was to begin. The rods in each bundle, of course, had been counted by the shrewd Pontiac and those who delivered them to the various tribes had extracted a rod each day from each bundle and each contained therefore the exact number of rods necessary when given to the tribe. But a squaw of the Delaware tribe had secretly extricated three rods from the bundle in the hands of her people, and it thus happened that the attack on Fort Pitt was precipitated, though it was made simultaneously at the time fixed by the council on all other posts and settlements included in the conspiracy. This squaw may have done this to hasten the destructive wrath of the Indians on Fort Pitt, though it is generally supposed that her purpose was to frustrate the plans of Pontiac and that her act was one of friendship to the garrison.

The first appearance of the enemy around Fort Pitt was a party of Indians coming down to the bank of the Allegheny river driving a number of packhorses laden with skins and furs. They built fires and encamped there all night, and in the morning crossed the river to Fort Pitt. Their furs were of great value, and, in exchange for them, they wanted little else of the traders than bullets, hatchets and gunpowder. The authorities of the fort, by their actions, thought that they were spies, or, at all events, were there with some sinister designs. They had scarcely left the place when the news came that Colonel Claphan and one of his men, two women and a child had been murdered by a party of Indians led by a Delaware Indian named Wolf. This had been followed by the news that the Indians of a small town up the Allegheny river had left their wigwams as though they had gone on the warpath. The day following, two soldiers were shot within a mile of Fort Pitt, though before that they had gone about over the hills without apparent danger.

A messenger was sent to warn the forces at Fort Venango, but he was soon driven back, having been fired at and wounded. Then came a trader named Calhoun with the news that at eleven o'clock on the night of May 27 Shingass, chief of his tribe, and several warriors had come to his cabin and warned and begged him to leave the country, for they did not wish to see him killed in cold blood. They assured him that the Ottawas and Ojibwas had begun a war of extermination,

and had captured Detroit and Sandusky and all other interior forts. They said too, that the Delawares and Ottawas were following their example and were murdering all traders and settlers whom they could apprehend. Calhoun was the employer of thirteen men, and they left at once, but Shingass and his warriors forced them to leave their guns behind and in return gave them three warriors to direct them to Fort Pitt, and therein lay the treacherous design so characteristic of the race at that time. The three guides led them to the mouth of Beaver Creek, where the Indians were in ambush and where a volley of shots was fired into them, killing eleven, while Calhoun and two others ran for their lives and escaped to Fort Pitt. This convinced the commander of the fort that the uprising was a general one, that his post was surrounded by a most vicious band of hostile Indians. He determined to defend the fort as best he could and accordingly made every preparation for an attack.

At this time two groups of cabins, one called Lower Town and the other called Upper Town, were built around the fort. The cabins of Lower Town were close to the fort, while those of Upper Town were on higher ground, a short distance up the Monongahela. Nearby lived a man named Thomas, while George Crogan, the celebrated Indian agent, explorer and scout, lived a few miles up the Allegheny river. Ecuyer's first move was to tear down the houses and cabins near the fort and burn them, so that the Indians could not fire them and thus drive the soldiers from the fort. The strictest discipline, which in times of peace had not been rigid by any means, was at once enforced. Because of the false economy of the provinces the garrison was very weak, for all that the captain could muster, counting soldiers, traders and backwoodsmen, was three hundred and thirty men. Then there were in the fort about one hundred women and more than that many children. Most of the women and the children belonged to the settlers who were temporarily at the fort while they were building or preparing to build cabins in the vicinity. The fort was, therefore, greatly crowded and hard to keep clean, and in spite of every precaution on the part of Captain Ecuyer, disease broke out and he was compelled to provide a smallpox hospital which was located under the drawbridge. The outrages upon the community continued. Death was almost certain to any one who ventured outside of the fort walls. The Indians moreover fired all night at the sentinels, thus making the siege almost a perpetual one. The woods near the fort were filled with prowling warriors, and as the days advanced their numbers increased.

From Alexander McKee, the commander learned that the Min-

goes and Delawares had recently sold skins and furs worth about three hundred pounds, and invested all this money in powder and lead. One day Sergeant Miller and two others ventured up to Grant's Hill, contrary to orders, whereupon Miller was killed and the others escaped by running for their lives. At the fall of Fort Venango, not a man escaped to tell the tale. At the fall of Presq' Isle two men escaped into the forest and one of them, Benjamin Gray, a Scotchman, reached Fort Pitt, haggard and half-starved, ten days afterward. At the fall of Fort Le Boeuf, on June 18, Ensign Price was commander and escaped into the woods with a small force of men. On June 25 two of these men reached Fort Pitt and the next day the ensign and five others reached there. On June 27 four men and a woman from the fallen fort came in and with them came Benjamin Gray from Presq' Isle above mentioned. As it happened they reached the vicinity of the fort when the vigilance on the part of the Indians was somewhat relaxed, but there is no account of the number who were killed in their attempts to reach this place of safety. On June 22 a party of these Indians drove away the horses and killed the cattle that were grazing near the edge of the woods. Immediately when these were out of the way, an attack was made on all sides of the fort, but the assailants were so far away that only a few of the soldiers were killed. The soldiers in the garrison discharged their heavy guns, and the bursting shells among the Indians frightened them and for a time drove them away in confusion. At night fall the firing slackened somewhat, though the entire night was made hideous by the war whoops of the foe and by the occasional flashes from their guns.

At nine o'clock the following day, several warriors approached the fort, apparently with no fear, and stood on the edge of the ditch while one of them named Turtle Heart addressed the garrison. His story was that they came in great friendship to warn the English that six great nations of the Indians had banded together, that Sandusky, Detroit and other forts had fallen and that the Indians were on their way to Fort Pitt and would soon arrive. They advised the garrison to go at once, with their women and children, to the eastern settlements, which Turtle Heart said was their only safety. These friendly Indians would protect them from the few bad Indians who were already around the fort, but this they could not hope to do when the western tribes arrived. Captain Ecuier told them that they must be mistaken about the western forts being captured, and that the garrison had plenty of provisions and ammunition, and was able to contend with all the nations of Indians who might attack them. He also told them that they were satisfied, and meant to remain where they were.

Then he told them that in return for their kindly feelings in telling them of these matters, he was bound to tell them of an army of six thousand English which would soon arrive at the fort and that another of three thousand had come up the lakes to punish the Ottawas and Ojibwas, and a third had come to Virginia where the Cherokees and Catawbias had united with them and these were also coming to Fort Pitt. He advised them to go to their homes and squaws and children at once, but told them not to tell the other Indians lest they too escape the vengeance that was soon to overtake them.

In a letter written at this time the captain says that he further gave "Turtle Heart, out of regard to him, two blankets and a handkerchief from the smallpox hospital," and he adds, "I hope the present will have its desired effect." The captain's advice undoubtedly alarmed the visiting Indians, for the day following most of them withdrew toward the west from where they expected their allies.

A part of the ramparts of Fort Pitt had been damaged by the floods in the spring and as soon as the Indians temporarily withdrew this was repaired and a line of palisades was set up at the foot of the rampart. The barracks were strengthened so as to be entirely bullet proof, and to the strongest part the women and children were assigned. The entire inside of the fort was of wood and a fire engine from which water could be thrown was improvised, so that if the Indians should use burning arrows the flames could be put out from the inside. But several weeks passed with but little trouble, the enemy being again engaged in exterminating smaller settlements in the immediate vicinity of the forts that had already fallen.

During July but little was done to annoy the garrison except by a few small bands of Indians who hung around the fort, but these, on all occasions, manifested the inherent malice of the race, and were sufficiently strong to cut off all possible communication with the eastern settlements. No letters were written during this time, for they could not be sent out and, resultant upon this, the most effectual means of preserving the story of their trials is lost to us.

On July 26, a small body of Indians appeared at the gate bearing a flag which had been presented to one of them by an English officer. They were admitted and were found to be chiefs high in standing in their tribes. Among them were Shingass and Turtle Heart and others who had called before. They made a long and, from the Indian's standpoint particularly, not an unreasonable plea. They admitted all the depredations the race had committed, but claimed that the English had brought it all on themselves. It was their country, which had been given them by their fathers, and into this the English had

marched armies, built forts, cleared lands, though time and again the Indians had warned them to remove. "This land," said they, "is ours and not yours." They said they had a message from the Ottawas at Detroit which informed them that a great body of Indians would soon join them and strike the English at the fork of the Ohio. They assured the garrison that no harm would be done them if they peaceably left the fort and went east, taking their wives and children, "But if you stay you must not blame us for what may happen," they said.

This statement was, of course, not a reasonable one to Captain Ecuyer, who wasted words on them by telling them that the forts were built to supply the Indians with clothes and ammunition. He then refused to abandon the fort and said: "I have warriors, provisions and ammunition to defend it three years against all the Indians in the woods and I shall never abandon it as long as a white man lives in America. I despise the Ottawas, and I am much surprised at you, the friendly Delawares, proposing to us to leave these places and go home. This is our home. You have attacked us without reason or provocation. You have murdered and plundered our settlers and traders. You have taken our horses and cattle." With a few other words of admonition, he threatened to blow them up if they appeared again and advised them to go home at once, and the emissaries departed. No one can blame the captain for meeting them in the way he thought his straitened circumstances demanded, yet all must have a feeling of sympathy, because of the hardships which the progress of civilization had inflicted on these unfortunate tenants of the wilderness, and this feeling goes far to extenuate the bad faith and cruelty which marked their conduct during the whole uprising.

When the Indians could not thus gain the fort by flimsy pretexts of friendship, they began a general attack. The first night after the conference the fort was surrounded by great numbers of them. They crawled under the banks of the rivers and dug holes with their knives and in these burrows they were well concealed from the fort. The whole bank was lined with them, and from every burrow there sped a bullet or an arrow whenever a soldier's head was exposed. The day following, the attack on all sides was opened at sunrise and kept up without a moment's cessation until dark, and the same was repeated for five succeeding days.

The soldiers were strictly ordered to lay close by their parapets of logs. Thus for days and days they watched their stealthy enemy, and in reality more than paid back each shot from them. Lying side by side by these parapets were the soldiers in the red uniform of the Royal Americans and the backwoods riflemen, clad in homespun gar-

ments, or the fringed hunting shirt so common on the frontier. Many of these had learned, in this school of experience, to fight with a skill which even surpassed that of the Indian warriors themselves. The soldiers within the fort enjoyed it, and were only prevented by the stern rules of the captain from charging on their assailants and fighting them at close quarters. In broken English, Ecuyer directed, encouraged and applauded them for their bravery. The Indians shot fire arrows from their bows, but none of them took effect. The war-whoop of the enemy was terrible, and the women and children in the barracks clung to each other in agonizing fear from day to day.

The attack was thus carried on for five days and five nights, yet so thoroughly bullet proof was the fort that no one was killed, and only seven were wounded. The captain reported that they were certain of having killed and wounded twenty warriors without counting those that they could not see. "Not an Indian," said he, "could show his nose without being pricked with a bullet, for I have some good shots here. Our men are doing admirably, our regulars and the rest; all that they ask is to go out and fight. I am proud to have the honor of commanding such brave men. I only wish the Indians had ven-



SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON

tured an assault." The captain himself was one of the wounded and he reported the casualties in the following words: "Only two arrows came into the fort, one of which had the insolence to make free with my leg."

While these methods of warfare, with its adverse results, may seem like leading a forlorn hope on the part of the Indians, yet on the contrary it could not otherwise than have succeeded had they been permitted to keep it up, as was evidently their intention, for it must be remembered that all supplies and all communication were cut off from the fort. Nor could the fort have held out much longer, for notwithstanding Captain Ecuyer's boasts to the Indians as noted above, they had but a small supply to begin with, so small indeed that from the beginning of the siege those in the fort were put on half rations of bread and meat. The only possible result, therefore, would have been that the garrison would be finally forced to surrender because of starvation. The force within the fort was outnumbered by the Indian besiegers so that the prospect of victory by boldly leaving the fort and battling in the open was almost equally remote.

But the Indians around the fort had spies out, and when, on August 1, the rumor of an approaching army reached them, at once the force was moved away to another field. They knew that they would be powerless as against one army within the fort and another marching on them from the east. Hence they marched out to surprise the advancing army on the way, hoping to deal with them as Beaujeu and Dumas had dealt with Braddock's army. How clever this scheme of the great leaders, Pontiac and Gulasuta, was and how nearly it came to succeeding, will be more readily appreciated if the reader will begin with the march of the approaching army and follow it to the decisive battle which followed the removal of the Indians from the forests around Fort Pitt and from the burrows in the banks of the river.

It must be remembered that while the object of Pontiac in Pennsylvania was first to capture Fort Pitt, he did not confine his hostilities to this region. Pontiac's forces extended as far east as Bedford and Carlisle and even reached and overran the frontiers of Maryland and Virginia. Settlers in all these regions were driven from their homes and took refuge in forts and blockhouses, while scalping parties covered the communities with devastation and blood. Fort Pitt, even before the siege, had to be supplied mostly by packhorse trains under a military guard by way of the Forbes road. If, then, Fort Bedford and Fort Ligonier fell before the Indians, the soldiers in Fort Pitt would soon be forced to surrender or starve. Ligonier had been sur-

rounded, and failing to take it, the Indians tried to burn it by shooting arrows, with inflammable substance attached, over the stockade to the combustible buildings inside. Fires kindled this way were many times extinguished.

Captain Ourry knowing that Bedford was in less danger than Ligonier, it being nearer the eastern supplies and troops, weakened his own garrison to send support to Fort Ligonier. He selected twenty riflemen, all strong young men, accustomed to the hardships incident to a life in the wilderness, and directed them to make their way as rapidly as possible over the mountains to Fort Ligonier. The Forbes road was closely watched by the Indians, so these young men struck out through the trackless mountains and soon appeared on the hillside east of Fort Ligonier. Being unheralded they dared not approach the fort lest they be mistaken for the enemy and fired on by those whom they sought to relieve. But fortunately they were discovered and fired on by the Indians surrounding the fort, and with this certificate of good faith and character they were recognized by the watchful soldiers in the garrison who opened its gates to welcome them, and, moreover, fired on their pursuers.

The relief thus sent came none too soon, for the force was nearly exhausted, though they had plenty of provisions, ammunition and water. For weeks and weeks no one dared to leave the stockade. Domestic animals wandering outside were killed at once by the besieging Indians. The enemy doubtless knew of the military stores in Fort Ligonier ready for Fort Pitt, and that to secure these would force the stronghold on the Ohio to surrender, and that the devastation of the western settlements would surely follow. Rumors of all these matters were carried from Fort Pitt and Fort Ligonier and Fort Bedford to Carlisle. All united in asking that an army march at once to their relief. This army, it is true, must come from Philadelphia, and would require weeks of marching over the entire intervening Appalachian system of mountains, but it was the nearest assistance the besieged garrison could call on.

The French and Indian war had been a long one, and with the treaty of peace on February 10, 1763, the army had been largely disbanded, so that when Pontiac's war came it found the resources of the country wellnigh exhausted. Therefore, when the appeal of Fort Pitt for assistance was made to the commander-in-chief, General Amherst, it found him almost powerless to render any material aid. Nor could he in his northern post appreciate the magnitude of the uprisings on the part of Pontiac's Indians. He regarded it as an uprising such as had often been threatened and as often met bravely when it came by

the sturdy pioneers of the southwest. He accordingly wrote to Colonel Bouquet, saying, "Fort Pitt, or any others commanded by officers, would certainly never be in danger from such wretched enemies." In the same letter he asked for further information concerning the progress the savages were making and upon receipt of this promised to execute certain measures which he had in mind for the defence of the frontier. His purpose in reality was to march an army from the north and, going down by the lakes, relieve Presq' Isle and Fort Le Boeuf, and then proceed to Fort Pitt. Like Braddock, he doubtless underestimated the power of the enemy, regarding them as untrained savages, and, therefore, not equal to the King's regulars.

The appeals for assistance were sent largely to Colonel Bouquet, and came not alone from Fort Pitt, but from Forts Ligonier and Bedford as well. With each advancing week the news grew worse and worse, and Bouquet was all this time communicating regularly with Amherst. Finally the latter, with considerable inconvenience to his plans, placed the Forty-second and Seventy-fifth regiments, which were then at Philadelphia, under Bouquet's command and directed him, "If he thought necessary, to proceed to Fort Pitt." On July 3, 1763, Bouquet was at Carlisle when an express rider sent by Colonel Ourry, commander at Fort Bedford, brought the news of the fall of the Forts Presq' Isle, Le Boeuf and Venango. This added to the already great excitement and unrest among the people in the Carlisle region. The regiments intended for Fort Pitt had, in the meantime, moved to Carlisle and were there preparing for the long westward march under Bouquet. The commander, with his usual zeal, was trying to recruit and build them up. But it must be remembered that the community surrounding Carlisle was already overrun with Pontiac's Indians. Almost every house, stable and shop in Carlisle and in the military barracks at that place was filled to overflowing, and even the woods and fields around the town abounded with settlers and their families, many of whom were on their way to Philadelphia and were abandoning their homes perhaps forever.

This excited condition of the community prevented Bouquet from securing the proper transportation and from adding any material strength to his forces. Indeed, such was their great need and fear that he was compelled to share his own scanty provisions with them. The savages overran the country far east of the Allegheny mountains and carried death and desolation everywhere they went. Hundreds of farmers were murdered and their wives and children, if not murdered, were carried off as captives. The property destroyed and stolen can not be intelligently estimated in dollars and cents at this

day. On the 30th of July the courier rode into Carlisle. He was at once surrounded by an anxious crowd and his tale of woe struck horror to the bravest pioneers. "The Indians," he said, "will soon be here." Bouquet spread the alarm by messengers sent in every direction. The messengers were met by fugitives on every highway or bypath, all hurrying to Carlisle for refuge, and men were sent out to warn the living and bury the dead. They found only death and desolation and were sickened by the horrible spectacle of groups of hogs tearing and devouring the dead bodies of men, women and children.

In addition to the troops sent him by General Amherst, Bouquet had two companies of his own regiment, the German-Swiss and the Royal Americans, but of the Seventy-seventh Regiment he received only a part and even these were so debilitated by long service and sickness in the south that Amherst assigned them to Bouquet's command with great reluctance, regarding them as only fit to recuperate in hospitals. With as much expedition as possible, Bouquet prepared his little band for the westward march. His mission was not by any means an inviting one. Except for the narrow road which Forbes, Washington, Bouquet and Burd had cut five years before, his way for the main part lay through an almost unbroken forest. Near Fort Pitt. in the gloomy wilderness before him, lay the bleaching bones of Braddock's army, and these dead in numbers far exceeded all the soldiers in his army. To march west with such a force, only one-fifth of Braddock's army and scarcely one-fifteenth of Forbes' army, and at such a time, seemed almost foolhardy to the military men of that day.

Nor did his soldiers know anything about Indian warfare, save what he taught them as they marched west, for they had been recently in the West Indies, where they were engaged in fighting the Spaniards. But the dauntless Swiss colonel was a most excellent teacher; he was able at all times to match in shrewdness and cunning with the most wary Indian warriors of that day. Washington prophesied that his force would never reach Fort Pitt. Indeed, all things being considered, we believe Bouquet's march to the relief of Fort Pitt must ever rank as the most stupendous undertaking of our colonial history. Finally, on the 17th day of July, he set out with a force of about five hundred men, of whom the most effective were the Highlanders from the Forty-second Regiment. As the heavy wagons of the convoy moved slowly westward through the streets of Carlisle, guarded by the barelegged Highlanders in kilts and plaids, the excited crowd gazed upon them with silence, for they knew that their only hope of relief centered around this doubtful enterprise. The haggard looks

and thin wan frames of the wornout soldiers, at least sixty of whom were unable to march at all and were carried in wagons, added to their doubts. Bouquet hoped that these would recuperate as he marched westward and would be able to reinforce the small garrisons which he passed along the route. He reached Shippensburg, at the base of the eastern slope of the Allegheny mountains, on July 20. There his army found a starving, frightened, grief-stricken multitude. According to his report there were thirteen hundred and eighty-four inhabitants gathered there, consisting of men, women and children, many of whom were obliged to sleep in barns, stables, cellars and sheds, and all of whom had been frightened from their homes by the depredations committed by Pontiac's Indians.

Not knowing that Ourry had relieved Fort Ligonier from Bedford, Bouquet sent thirty of his best men on a rapid and most dangerous march to relieve the little garrison under Colonel Blane, he having previously sent two small companies of advance troops to relieve Fort Bedford. The troops to relieve Fort Ligonier made the march and entered the fort much as Ourry's men had done, under the fire of the besieging Indians. All the way west, Bouquet saw the country devastated, met thousands of settlers fleeing from their homes in quest of safety, but he saw no Indians. Whole families were murdered and scalped within a few miles of his army, but so wary was the enemy that never in a single instance did Bouquet's army come across them. Word had reached him that Bedford and the surrounding country was filled with savages. He, therefore, meant to give battle to the enemy at Bedford, and indeed in that vicinity their depredations indicated their presence in great numbers, though they had not attacked the fort because his advance companies added to its well-known strength. But when his army arrived, no enemy was to be seen or met in battle. The little army reached Bedford on July 25, where he recruited his forces by inducing thirty backwoodsmen to accompany his army west.

Bouquet remained at Bedford three days to rest his men and animals. He had great difficulty in securing frontiersmen, for most of them had ties which bound them to remain at home to defend their neighbors or those of still closer kindred. Until he reached Bedford his lack of pioneers was one of the weak points of his army, for the Highlanders, though brave and daring as the knights of old, were almost useless as scouts or flankers necessary to protect the line of march and prevent surprises. In that capacity they invariably lost themselves in the woods, having spent their lives in towns and in the open country. Leaving Bedford on July 28 they reached Ligonier on August 2, having now marched one hundred and fifty miles from

Carlisle. Their arrival at Fort Ligonier brightened up the drooping spirits of the little fortress. All Indians about the fort vanished at once as his army approached. The fort had been completely blockaded, and, like Bedford, had received no word from the outside for weeks. One of Bouquet's strong points in this march was the vigilance with which he guarded against surprises. Riflemen from the frontier scoured the woods in front and were closely followed by the pioneers, packhorses, wagons and teams of oxen. Then came the cattle necessary to subsist the army, and these were followed and guarded by the regulars with a rear guard of backwoodsmen. The march was necessarily very slow, and the stifling heat of July and August in the dense forest added still more suffering and toil to the army, yet in less than four days, under all these difficulties, the train wound its zigzag way up and down the Allegheny mountains and across Laurel Hill, from Bedford to Ligonier, a distance of fifty miles.



CHAPTER VIII

BOUQUET'S STRATEGY WINS VICTORY

CHAPTER VIII.

Bushy Run, Continued.—The March to Bushy Run.—The Surrounding Forest.—The Advance Troops Attacked by Indians.—Guya-suta's Forces Fall Back to the Convoy.—Darkness Closes the First Day's Battle.—Bouquet's Letter.—Sir Jeffrey Amherst.—The Battle Renewed the Following Morning.—The Stratagem Resorted to by Bouquet.—His Great Victory.—His Second Letter to Amherst.—The Slow March to Pittsburgh.—Condition of Garrison.—Bouquet Carries the War into Ohio.—The Old Blockhouse.—Character of Bouquet.

From Ligonier west, the road, which the reader will remember had been opened up hurriedly by Washington and Armstrong five years before, was reported to be very bad. Furthermore, from certain unmistakable signs, Bouquet knew that the Indians had spies out and were watching every movement of his army, and that his train might be attacked at any time by the ambuscading foe. He, therefore, determined to leave his oxen, heavy artillery, wagons and knapsacks at Ligonier, and to move more rapidly with packhorses and a few necessary cattle. On August 4 the army, considerably lightened, resumed the march from Ligonier with three hundred and forty packhorses laden with supplies for the immediate relief of Fort Pitt, and with the soldiers each carrying only his blanket and light arms. Blane had added to Bouquet's army at Ligonier such forces as he could spare from the fort and it was further strengthened there by some settlers who were in the fort for safety. These settlers had been schooled in Indian fighting by the great teacher, Experience. Starting late on August 4, the army marched but nine miles that day, and encamped west of Chestnut Ridge, perhaps about three miles southwest of Latrobe. On August 5 they struck their tents shortly after daylight and began their march, hoping to reach Bushy Run, about eighteen miles northwest, where they meant to rest during the heated period of the day, and then push on thirteen miles further. The object of this was to pass certain dangerous ravines at Turtle Creek by night time, for the commander feared an attack would be made there should he pass them by day. To this end he had timed his march in leaving Ligonier.

The country through which they were marching was hilly, apparently intended for the lurking Indians, whose greatest strength lay in ambushes and surprises. A tall, dense forest spreading for countless miles around covered hill and dale. By one o'clock the tired and thirsty army was nearing Bushy Run, having traveled about seven-

teen miles. Among the troops added at Ligonier was Andrew Byerly and several of his neighbors. Byerly lived near Bushy Run at a place called Byerly Station, and, when Pontiac's Indians overran the community, with his wife and family he had taken refuge in Fort Ligonier. Byerly and eighteen Highlanders were in front, when suddenly the sharp rattle of musketry, mingled with the terrific warwhoops from the Indians, sounded through the woods. Twelve of the Highlanders fell almost instantly. The rear of the army rushed up to support the advance, but the firing only increased. The fire was returned, for a few Indians could be seen, and on these a general charge of fixed bayonets was ordered. This charge very soon cleared the ground of Indians, but only temporarily, for the assault very soon burst out in the rear, which showed Bouquet that his convoy of supplies was attacked.

The troops at once fell back and drove the Indians away from the supplies and formed a circle around the terrified packhorses.

The attack was led by Guyasuta, heading a band of warriors that had been collected from as far east as Ligonier. It included the besieging Indians around Fort Pitt who, it will be remembered, had left that place on August 1. They knew the ground well and fought from every possible place of concealment. The regular soldiers and Scotch Highlanders, though not accustomed to such warfare, inspired by their skillful commander, stood up bravely and resisted the enemy in splendid shape. Bouquet, it will be remembered, had been instructing them daily during their march in the Indian mode of fighting. Again and again bands of Indians, now on one side, then on the other, would rush toward the circle, trying to break in. They were fired at and regularly chased back by bayonets, but, escaping behind trees with great activity, very few of them were killed. The British suffered more than the Indians, for they were less accustomed to bush fighting, and necessarily had to remain at one place to defend the convoy. Thus the fighting was carried on for seven hours without intermission, and only ceased when the forest was darkened by the approaching night.

The soldiers encamped for the night in the same position that they occupied all afternoon, each soldier resting on his arms, and with sentinels posted in every direction. Thirst had quickened their march at one o'clock in the afternoon, when word was passed along that they were nearing Bushy Run, for it must be remembered that all day they were marching on a dividing ridge and had passed but few streams. But now the surrounding enemy forbade their removing from the high ground and not a drop of water was within the enclosure. Bouquet

wrote that night that their thirst was more intolerable than the enemy's fire. It is well authenticated that at great risk a few hatfuls of water for the wounded were brought from a spring near the battlefield, though it was supposed to be guarded by the Indians. The night was perhaps more horrible than the day. Bouquet himself was doubtful whether his army could survive the contest which he knew the rising sun would bring him. He, therefore, wrote an account of the day's fighting to Sir Jeffrey Amherst, of which the following is a copy. It was procured from the British war office in London :

Camp at Edge Hill,
26 Miles from Fort Pitt, 5th Aug. 1763.

Sir:—The second instant the troops and convoy arrived at Ligonier, where I could obtain no intelligence of the enemy. The expresses sent since the beginning of July, having been either killed or obliged to return, all the passes being occupied by the enemy. In this uncertainty, I determined to leave all the wagons, with the powder, and a quantity of stores and provisions, at Ligonier, and on the 4th proceeded with the troops and about 340 horses loaded with flour.

I intended to have halted to-day at Bushy Run, (a mile beyond this camp), and after having refreshed the men and horses, to have marched in the night over Turtle Creek, a very dangerous defile of several miles, commanded by high and rugged hills; but at one o'clock this afternoon, after a march of 17 miles, the savages suddenly attacked our advance guard, which was immediately supported by the two Light Infantry companies of the 42d regiment, who drove the enemy from their ambuscade and pursued them a good way. The savages returned to the attack, and the fire being obstinate on our front and extending along our flanks, we made a general charge with the whole line to dislodge the savages from the heights, in which attempt we succeeded, without by it obtaining any decisive advantage, for as soon as they were driven from one post, they appeared on another, till, by continued reinforcements, they were at last able to surround us and attack the convoy left in our rear; this obliged us to march back to protect it. The action then became general, and though we were attacked on every side, and the savages exerted themselves with uncommon resolution, they were constantly repulsed with loss; we also suffered considerably. Capt. Lieut. Graham and Lieut. James McIntosh of the 42d, are killed, and Capt. Graham wounded. Of the Royal American Regt., Lieut. Dow, who acted as A. D. Q. M. G., is shot through the body. Of the 77th, Lieut. Donald Campbell and Mr. Peebles, a volunteer, are wounded. Our loss in men, including rangers and drivers, exceeds sixty killed or wounded.

The action has lasted from one o'clock till night, and we expect to begin at daybreak.

Whatever our fate may be, I thought it necessary to give your Excellency this early information, that you may at all events take such measures as you think proper with the Provinces, for their own safety, and the effectual relief of Fort Pitt, as in case of another engagement,

I fear insurmountable difficulties in protecting and transporting our provisions, being already so much weakened by the losses of this day in men and horses, besides the additional necessity of carrying the wounded, whose situation is truly deplorable.

I cannot sufficiently acknowledge the constant assistance I have received from Major Campbell during this long action, nor express my admiration of the cool and steady behavior of the troops who did not fire a shot without orders, and drove the enemy from their posts with fixed bayonets. The conduct of the officers is much above my praises.

I have the honor to be with great respect,
Sir, &c.

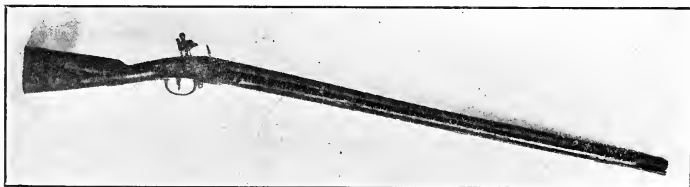
To His Excellency,
SIR JEFFREY AMHERST.

HENRY BOUQUET.

Well might the brave commander say that the condition of the wounded was truly deplorable. About sixty soldiers and a number of officers had been killed and wounded by the first day's battle. The wounded were placed in the center of the camp. The space occupied by them was surrounded by a wall of flour bags taken from the pack-horses. They were thus protected in some degree against the bullets which whistled around the camp all night. In addition to their wounds and the agony of thirst was the suspense of awaiting the issue of the battle which they knew would come with the morning light, without being able to take any part in it. Defeat stared the whole army in the face, and the wounded in particular knew that their only mercy in that event would be the tomahawk and the scalping knife.

Nor would victory insure the safety of the wounded, for but little increase in their numbers would render it impossible for the army to transport them to a place of safety. The camp, moreover, remained in darkness all night, for lights or fires would but have directed the aim of the Indians.

With the earliest dawn of the morning the battle was renewed from all sides at once, and except that it was more furious and that



The barrel of this gun was plowed up about 1828 by a man named Moore, on the Bushy Run battlefield (August 5, 1763). It remained in the Moore family until 1888, when it came into the possession of J. Howard Patton, who had it remounted. It shows the flint lock very well.

the Indians were seemingly more positive of victory, and, therefore, more venturesome, it was fought very much like that of the day before. The interior of the camp was one of great confusion during both battles. The horses were secured near the wall of flour bags which during the night and in the second battle screened the wounded soldiers. Many of the horses were hit by bullets. This would greatly frighten them and sometimes a number of them would break away and dash through the circle of troops and then tear madly through the wilderness. Thus the battle was kept up until ten o'clock, when the fertile mind of the commander conceived a masterly stratagem.

He knew that if the fiery circle of whooping demons could be brought and held together, he could easily defeat them. He knew, too, that from their increased audacity the enemy thought his army was about to surrender. So he ordered two companies under the command of Major Campbell (which formed a part of the circle) to fall back to the central part of the camp, while those remaining in the circle were spread out to fill up the gap made by the apparent retreat of the two companies and to cover their movement. The line forming the outer circle was also drawn in because of their fewer numbers remaining. The Indians, as was intended, mistook this for a retreat and, blood-thirsty for the numerous scalps and abundant provisions which apparently awaited them, with furious yells they rushed headlong toward the circle. But east of the circle was a depression or ravine covered by a thick growth of trees which concealed it from the Indians, who were swarming about, a short distance farther west. Through this depression, which is yet visible, Campbell's two companies ran rapidly, and very soon outflanked the furious assailants and opened fire on them.

The Indians were thus surprised, and, though many of them were killed at the first fire, they stood their ground until the Highlanders, with yells as wild and furious as their own, fell on them with bayonets. As was expected, they could not withstand a charge of bayonets, and they accordingly lost ground. But while the charge was in progress, Bouquet, with the eye of a true soldier, seeing the direction the Indians must flee when overcome with bayonets, had concealed in the bushes two other companies, under the command of Captain Bassett. They were taken from other parts of the circle with orders to await quietly the approach of the enemy. Pressed by the terrific Highlanders now maddened with hunger and thirst, the Indians passed directly in front of these two ambushing companies. At the proper moment, Bassett's companies arose and fired squarely into them and then charged them with bayonets. This completed their rout, and the

four companies drove them down the hill, firing as rapidly as possible, but giving the Indians no time to load their guns. Many of them were killed and the remainder of this division were scattered in hopeless confusion.

While this took place a smaller body of Indians had maintained a steady contest, and about an equal one, with those who still guarded the other side of the convoy, but when they saw their comrades fleeing in disorder through the woods and saw the victorious troops advancing to attack them with bayonets, they lost courage and ran for shelter. In a few minutes all was quiet and not a living Indian was left on the ground. There were about sixty of them dead, however, and among them several prominent chiefs and warriors. All through the woods the bloodstained leaves showed that many more of those who fled were most likely mortally wounded.

Bouquet's army took one Indian prisoner, whom most accounts say they killed as though he had been a wolf. Tradition, which is well founded, says that he was captured by a Highlander, who was very proudly taking him to Bouquet, when an over-zealous and indiscreet soldier shot him through the head, and was severely rebuked by Bouquet for doing so. It is not probable that a gallant officer like Bouquet would suffer a defenseless prisoner to be shot down like a dog if he could prevent it. Bouquet's loss was eight officers and one hundred and fifteen men, perhaps greater than that of the enemy. The first battle lasted about seven hours, and the second about six. Bouquet, with his army standing on the threshold of defeat and disaster, by his bravery and by this masterly stratagem, grasped from the very jaws of death the greatest victory, all things being considered, that was ever won over the Indians in America. The reader will be interested in reading the following modest letter from Bouquet, written on or near the field immediately after the victory was gained:

Camp at Bushy Run, 6th Aug. 1763.

Sir:—I had the honor to inform your Excellency in my letter of yesterday of our first engagement with the savages.

We took the post last night on the hill where our convoy halted, when the front was attacked, (a commodious piece of ground and just spacious enough for our purpose.) There we encircled the while and covered our wounded with flour bags.

In the morning the savages surrounded our camp, at the distance of 500 yards, and by shouting and yelping, quite around that extensive circumference, thought to have terrified us with their numbers. They attacked us early, and under favor of an incessant fire, made several bold efforts to penetrate our camp, and though they failed in the attempt, our situation was not the less perplexing, having experienced that brisk attacks had little effect upon an enemy who always gave

way when pressed, and appeared again immediately. Our troops were besides, extremely fatigued with the long march and as long action of the preceding day, and distressed to the last degree, by a total want of water, much more intolerable than the enemy's fire.

Tied to our convoy, we could not lose sight of it without exposing it and our wounded to fall a prey to the savages, who pressed upon us, on every side, and to move it was impracticable, having lost many horses and most of the drivers, stupefied by fear, hid themselves in the bushes, or were incapable of hearing or obeying orders. The savages growing every moment more audacious, it was thought proper to still increase their confidence by that means, if possible, to entice them to come close upon us, or to stand their ground when attacked. With this view two companies of Light Infantry were ordered within the circle, and the troops on their right and left opened their files and filled up the space, that it might seem they were intended to cover the retreat. The Third Light Infantry company and the Grenadiers of the 42d were ordered to support the two first companies. This manoeuvre succeeded to our wish, for the few troops who took possession of the ground lately occupied by the two Light Infantry companies being brought in nearer to the center of the circle, the barbarians mistaking these motions for a retreat, hurried headlong on, and advancing upon us, with the most daring intrepidity, galled us excessively with their heavy fire; but at the very moment when they felt certain of success and thought themselves masters of the camp, Major Campbell, at the head of the first companies, sallied out from a part of the hill they could not observe, and fell upon their right flank. They resolutely returned the fire, but could not stand the irresistible shock of our men, who, rushing in among them, killed many of them and put the rest to flight. The orders sent to the other two companies were delivered so timely by Captain Basset, and executed with such celerity and spirit, that the routed savages who happened that moment to run before their front, received their full fire, when uncovered by the trees. The four companies did not give them time to load a second time, nor even to look behind them, but pursued them till they were totally dispersed. The left of the savages, which had not been attacked, were kept in awe by the remains of our troops, posted on the brow of the hill for that purpose; nor durst they attempt to support or assist their right, but being witness to their defeat, followed their example and fled. Our brave men disdained so much as to touch the dead body of a vanquished enemy that scarce a scalp was taken except by the Rangers and pack horse drivers.

The woods being now cleared and the pursuit over, the four companies took possession of a hill in our front, and as soon as litters could be made for the wounded, and the flour and everything destroyed, which, for want of horses, could not be carried, we marched without molestation to this camp. After the severe correction we had given the savages a few hours before, it was natural to suppose we should enjoy some rest, but we had hardly fixed our camp, when they fired upon us again. This was very provoking; however, the Light Infantry dispersed them before they could receive orders for that pur-

pose. I hope we shall be no more disturbed, for, if we have another action, we shall hardly be able to carry our wounded.

The behavior of the troops on this occasion, speaks for itself so strongly, that for me to attempt their eulogium would but detract from their merit.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully, Sir &c.

To His Excellency,

HENRY BOUQUET.

SIR JEFFREY AMHERST.

P. S.—I have the honor to enclose the return of the killed, wounded and missing in the two engagements. H. B.

The following is a copy of the return to which Bouquet refers:

RETURN OF KILLED AND WOUNDED IN THE TWO ACTIONS AT
EDGE HILL, NEAR BUSHY RUN, THE FIFTH
AND SIXTH AUGUST, 1763.

CORPS	Capt's		Lieut's		Vol't's		S'rgt's		Corp's		Drum's		Priv's		Missing
	Killed	Wounded	Killed	Wounded	Killed	Wounded	Killed	Wounded	Killed	Wounded	Killed	Wounded	Killed	Wounded	
42d Regt. Royal Highlanders	1	1	1	1	...	...	1	2	1	3	...	1	25	27	...
60th Regt. Royal Americans	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	6	4	...
77th Regt. Montgomery's Highlanders	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	3	...	...	1	...	5	7	...
Volunteers, Rangers and Pack Horse Men	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	8	5
Total	1	1	2	3	...	1	1	5	2	3	1	1	43	46	5

KILLED—Captain Lieut. John Graham, of the 42d Regiment; Lieut. James McIntosh, of the 42d Regiment; Lieut. Joseph Randall, of the Rangers.

WOUNDED—Captain John Graham, of the 42d Regiment; Lieut. Duncan Campbell, of the 42d Regiment; Lieut. Donald Campbell, of the 77th Regiment; Volunteer, Mr. Peebles, of the 77th Regiment.

Total Killed	50
Total Wounded	60
Total Missing	5
Total of the Whole	115

When the battle was ended, the first duty of the army was to make litters on which to transport the wounded soldiers. They were also compelled to destroy many provisions and stores, valuable though they were after transporting them so far, but the loss of many of their horses made further transportation impossible. Then the army moved

to Bushy Run, where it encamped for the night on the banks of the cool shaded stream. They had scarcely formed their camp when they were fired on by a small party of Indians, who, however, were soon driven away. Fort Pitt was yet about twenty-five miles distant, and though the weakened and overburdened army marched as rapidly as possible, yet they did not reach the fort until the morning of the 10th of August. When the reader recalls the energy of Bouquet and his forces and the speed of their westward march, particularly from Bedford to Ligonier, he can form some idea of the crippled condition of the army, when he remembers that it took them four days to make this last journey from Bushy Run to Pittsburgh. All the way the soldiers were annoyed by attacking parties of Indians, but these were minor matters to an army which had survived such a march and such a battle.

For more than a century, tradition marked the place of this battle as the present hill or rounded knoll on the farm of John L. Wanamaker, about a mile east of Harrison City. Then came Bouquet's letters, which have been given in this chapter, which confirmed the tradition and marked out the spot so accurately that any one who reads them without prejudice cannot fail to determine the exact location of the battlefield. His letter, written after the first day's battle, is headed "Camp at Edge Hill." Now, the northern side of the Wanamaker hill is very precipitous—so much so that, notwithstanding the erosion, even to this day, it is almost inaccessible from that side. This prompted him to name the field "Edge Hill." Farther on in his letter he says, "I intended to have halted at Bushy Run, a mile beyond this camp." In the same letter he says: "The advance guard was attacked by Indians," and that the light infantry companies went forward at once to protect them, and that the infantry in their charge were able to "dislodge the savages from the heights." This was, of course, at the place reached by the advance guard when fired on, and was on the hill now belonging to Jonas Gongoware, it being higher than the ground farther east, and therefore designated by Colonel Bouquet as "the heights."

Then, Bouquet says that they discovered that the Indians had attacked the convoy "left in our rear; this obliged us to march back to protect it. The action then became general, though we were attacked on every side." The reader will remember that Bouquet's great object, after saving his army, was to save also the convoy, for he was marching to relieve a fortress which he knew was in a starving condition, and to have reached the garrison with an army of five hun-

dred men and no convoy would have been worse than not to reach it at all.

In the second letter he says: "We took post last night on the hill where our convoy halted when the front was first attacked, a commodious piece of ground just spacious enough for our purpose. There we encircled a while and covered our wounded with flour bags." At this point they fought from the time the convoy was attacked until darkness came. So that nearly all of the battle of the first day, and all of that of the second, was fought around the convoy, for he says farther on that "tied to our convoy we could not lose sight of it without exposing it and our wounded to fall prey to the savages, who pressed upon us on every side."

Now, in the strategy which he adopted there is still another "tie line," as a surveyor would call it, which marks the Wanamaker hill as the main point of battle. When he concealed the companies, apparently in retreat, he placed them on a part of the hill which the enemy could not observe. This must have been near a depression on the road on which they retreated. When they retreated, they of course retreated towards the east. Now, just east of the Wanamaker hill is a small ravine near which, at the foot of the hill, he undoubtedly placed the companies. Farther on he says that "the savages who had not been attacked were kept in awe by the remains of our troops posted on the brow of the hill for that purpose." After the battle was over, he says the four companies "took possession of the hill in our front," that is the Gongaware hill or "heights," and then moved on to Bushy Run.

In the years 1909 and 1910, in company with Colonel Richard Coulter, now General Coulter, of the American forces in France, Dr. Farabee, Dr. Temple and Professor Leacock, mentioned in a previous chapter, and many others, the writer thoroughly examined this location and tried to find some other place in the same community which would answer all the points as given above from Bouquet's letters. There is no section except the Wanamaker hill on the road leading from Jeannette to Harrison City, and about a mile east of the latter place, that will at all fit the Bouquet description; and when this tallies so closely with the tradition of the last one hundred and fifty years—a tradition which came down to us without any knowledge whatever of Bouquet's letters—we are led to believe that without doubt, the greater part of the battle of the first day, and all of that of the second day, was fought around the convoy which halted on the Wanamaker hill—"a commodious piece of ground just spacious enough for our purpose."

General Coulter, having given many years of his life to military matters, gave it as his opinion that an army of three hundred and forty pack-horses and five hundred men, with their accouterments, would just about fill the ten or twelve acres comprised in the Wanamaker hill, and that such an army on a narrow road would reach from the Wanamaker hill, "where the convoy halted," to the top of the hill on the Gongoware farm called "the heights" in Bouquet's letter. There is positively no location within the country, the topography of which would warrant Bouquet in calling it "Edge Hill," and which is also situated a mile east of Bushy Run, and which has a small ravine east of it, and which has lower ground, then rising higher to the west, which might be called "the heights," except the Wanamaker hill in Penn township. The Bouquet line of march passed over the apex of this hill and that is the spot on which the Bouquet monument should be located. Our people should see to it that it is not located elsewhere.

The garrison had neither seen or heard anything of the Indians since they had abandoned the siege on August 1. On the morning of the 10th the Indians passed the fort in a body, and, as they saluted it by the well-known scalp-yell, they displayed its barbarous trophies, for they had scalped all they could find of the soldiers killed at Bushy Run. The inmates of the fort, however, were shortly afterwards delighted to see Bouquet's army marching down, bringing food and soldiers to their relief. This relief came none too soon, for famine was close at hand. In a letter to Bouquet on August 2 by Captain Ecuyer, the brave captain says: "I have but four legs of beef and no flour." This was indeed a limited commissary upon which to subsist nearly six hundred men, women and children. Had the siege been kept up by the Indians a day or two longer, which would have been the case but for the rumored approach of Bouquet's army, Ecuyer would have been compelled to surrender. This would have meant the murder of most of those in the fort. But during the summer the gardens around the fort were cultivated and, strange to say, were not destroyed by the Indians. Doubtless they were so sure of capturing the fort that the besieging Indians preserved the gardens, intending them for their own use afterward. So the inmates of the fort had access to these when the Indians left on August 1. Spelt, called also German wheat, was ripe and, moreover, the rivers then abounded with fish, and the garrison was, therefore, reasonably well subsisted from the time the Indians left it until the arrival of Bouquet's army with its relief.

Bouquet had been ordered to march from Fort Pitt to relieve Forts Venango, Le Boeuf and Presq' Isle, but these forts had fallen and his army was in such condition that a further march was out of

the question. Shortly after his arrival at Fort Pitt, he sent to Fort Ligonier for the stores and heavier guns left there. What he had already done excited great joy throughout the country, particularly among those who realized the incalculable difficulties of a campaign against the Indians.

After the conspiracy had spent its force, Pontiac went back to Illinois, and for a short time remained with a tribe of Indians near Joliet. He was killed by being stabbed in the back by an Indian, who had been instigated to commit the deed by an English trader, who feared that Pontiac was about to arouse the Illinois Indians against the English. The Illinois Indians were held accountable for his death and the tribes which had so gallantly followed his masterly lead, united to chastise them for his death; so loyal were these red men of the forest to their great but misguided chief ruler.

The Indian Guyasuta, who commanded the forces at Bushy Run, was chief of the Senecas, and with him were many warriors of the Ohio tribes who had come to the siege of Fort Pitt. He too was a strong warrior, and in his savage way made a lasting impression on the times in which he lived. Though not by any means so powerful or so shrewd a character as Pontiac, he was strong enough to dominate the Western Pennsylvania division of Pontiac's war. Indeed in that day the war was sometimes, and not without reason, called Guyasuta's war. He was a real savage, without the "quality of mercy" in his make-up, and never made peace save when compelled to do so. When Washington made his remarkable trip to Fort Le Boeuf in 1753, Guyasuta accompanied him as a guide, and those who have read Washington's notes of this trip will be interested to know that it was he of whom Washington speaks as "The Hunter." Washington always thought well of him and paid him a visit at his house in 1770, at which time he says the chief treated him with great kindness. His home was on the Allegheny river, now the Darlington estate, near Sharpsburg, where he died and was buried on a tract of land which still bears his name.

The Indians around Fort Pitt were doubtless greatly disappointed with their defeat in 1763. Bouquet's army, as we have said, was unable to go north to retake the fallen forts, nor could he at this time press them beyond the Ohio. As soon after his arrival at Fort Pitt as his troops were rested, they were divided up and distributed among the frontier posts to remain in that service during the fall and winter. Early with the opening of spring, preparations were under way to send an army among the Indians to chastise them for the mischief they had done in Pontiac's war. The forces for this purpose were

recruited by Colonel Bouquet and concentrated at Fort Loudon, Pennsylvania, but the usual delay was encountered, and it was August before the army thus recruited reached Carlisle. The Quakers, as we have said, did not go to war readily and were therefore slow to assist him. Bouquet wrote to Amherst, saying: "I find myself utterly abandoned by the people I am ordered to protect. I have borne very patiently the ill usage of this province, having still hopes that they would do something for us and, therefore, have avoided a quarrel with them." Nearly two hundred of his men deserted before they reached Fort Pitt, but here, by Bouquet's request, he was joined by two hundred Virginians under Colonel Lewis. His army then numbered about six hundred, and were Pennsylvania and Virginia volunteers. They came west by the same route Bouquet's army had taken the year before, and reached Fort Pitt on September 17, the intended field of his operations being southwest of Pittsburgh. Its bearing on Western Pennsylvania and the salutary effects of his campaign on the prosperity and peace of our section were so direct that a brief account of it is in place here.

He left Fort Pitt early in October, and by slow marches in less than a fortnight pitched his camp in the midst of the Indian dominion in Ohio. The Indians had not forgotten the battle of Bushy Run. They knew of Bouquet's determined nature, and of his ability, even with a weak army, to outwit and overthrow them in a contest. He repeatedly baffled them in their attempts to ambuscade him, and made them in the end glad to sue for peace. They were scarcely allowed to molest his march farther than by these attempts to surprise him. His army, with the usual train of packhorses, cattle and sheep, had encamped on the banks of the Muskingum river. From his camp he sent out invitations to all the neighboring tribes to meet him in council. Nearly every tribe was represented by its chief.

Bouquet asked them that they enter into a treaty with him, binding them that thereafter they should live at peace with the border settlers, and that they should within twelve days deliver up all prisoners whom they had captured among the pioneers, and whom they yet held in bondage. They finally complied with these terms and entered into this agreement, which is known as "Bouquet's Treaty," and in Ohio, particularly, is indeed quite a noted one. The delivery of the prisoners had to be managed with great diplomacy on his part, lest the Indian fall on the prisoners and kill them. To prevent this he held some of the chiefs of each tribe as hostages for the safe deliverance of the prisoners. Thus it was that peace was again restored to Southwestern Pennsylvania settlements without further blood-

shed. The army at length on November 18 started back to Fort Pitt with seven hundred men, women and children made happy, many of them by thus being freed from captivity among the savages and restored to their homes from which they had been stolen. They reached Fort Pitt in ten days, just in time to escape the approaching winter.

Another work of Bouquet which grew out of this campaign is still preserved and serves to make the expedition an ever-memorable one to the people of the southwest and to Pittsburgh in particular. We refer to the old blockhouse. When his army reached the fort in August, 1763, he was not satisfied with it as a place of defense against an attacking body of Indians. The ditch, or moat, around the fort enabled the Indians to come within a few feet of it in dry weather and at the same time be protected against the guns of the fort by the banks of the moat. It is probable that he began the erection of a blockhouse or redoubt that year shortly after the battle of Bushy Run. It is certain that he finished it in 1764, but the time of the year it was finished is not known. It is situated about four hundred and fifty feet from the point where the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers unite to form the Ohio, and is about equally distant from each of these streams. The old blockhouse is of red brick, which the forces at the fort made and burned on the ground. Its slanting, five-sided roof was of the old-fashioned clapboards made from trees nearby, and doubtless very much like those of a more recent make which now protect the old structure from the rain. Near the center and also near the top of its walls are oak logs imbedded in the brick and extending around the entire building, and into these logs were cut thirty-three portholes, fifteen below and eighteen above, through which the soldiers could fire on a besieging enemy. These portholes were in two rows, one above the other, one row for the upper and one row for the lower story, for more effective action by a greater number of soldiers in times of necessity. The structure is in the main part twenty-two and a half by sixteen feet and has five sides, three of which are rectangular, the other two sides being each fifteen feet long and closing up the twenty-two and a half foot side next to the Allegheny river. For this reason, pictures of it taken from one side show apparently a four-sided structure, while those taken from another point show a five-sided structure. It is twenty-two feet high from the floor to the edge of the roof.

The inside of the building was and is yet provided with a stairway which wound up the two short fifteen feet sides next to the Allegheny river, going up to a narrow gallery extending around the build-

ing. On this gallery the riflemen stood when firing through the upper tier of portholes mentioned. The building was entered by one small door, and had no other means of receiving the sunlight except through the portholes. Above the door on the outside was a stone tablet set into the wall, with the inscription "A. D. 1764," and below is the name, "Coll. Bouquet." The carving is rudely done on a plain piece of sandstone, such as might have been found anywhere around the fort, but both the stone and its inscription are almost as perfect as though the workman had but recently finished them.

When the City Hall of Pittsburgh was built, the stone tablet was taken from the wall of the blockhouse, which by the way was not valued so highly then as it is now, and placed in the inside of the new building, at the head of the first landing of the stairway. On December 15, 1894, it was, by permission of the city council, and at the request of many patriotic women of Pittsburgh, taken from the City Hall and firmly cemented into its original position, where it is now and perhaps will ever remain. This blockhouse we have so carefully described is the sole existing monument of British dominion in Southwestern Pennsylvania, and is and perhaps will remain for all time by far the most precious historical structure of this section. It is the oldest and first brick house built in Pittsburgh, and so far as the writer can learn it was the first in Pennsylvania west of the Allegheny mountains.

Henry Bouquet was born on the northern shore of Lake Geneva, in the Canton of Vaud, Switzerland, about 1719. When seventeen years old he became a cadet in the Regiment of Constance and later entered the service of the King of Sardinia, in whose wars he advanced rapidly in position and was soon raised to the rank of lieutenant and later to that of adjutant. He entered the Swiss Guards as lieutenant-colonel in 1748. In 1754, when the war between England and France broke out, he came to America in the English service. He was an officer of high native ability and soon won the confidence of the people of Virginia and Pennsylvania. He distinguished himself under General Forbes in 1758 and was one of his chief advisers. More readily than any foreign officer of his day, Bouquet learned the best methods of fighting the American Indians. Few, if any, soldiers in our history have equalled him in this method of warfare. In a letter to Rev. Peters, dated September 30, 1763, Bouquet said concerning the battle at Bushy Run: "I never found my head quite so clear as that day and never saw such cheerful compliance with all the necessary orders. Such firmness and perseverance in the most horrid prospect of ruin and destruction struck me with unbounded admiration." He

was seemingly surprised that his head was so clear on that day, and he wrote in a modest, not a boastful spirit. The fact that great danger stimulated and quickened his mental powers, indicates that he was a born soldier in the highest sense of the term.

The crowning event of his military life must ever be his march to the relief of Fort Pitt and Southwestern Pennsylvania, and the battle of Bushy Run. The Assembly of Pennsylvania and the House of Burgesses of Virginia adopted addresses of gratitude, tendered him their thanks and recommended him for promotion in His Majesty's service. When peace with the Indians indicated that his services would no longer be needed in this section, King George III. appointed him a brigadier-general and commandant of the southern colonies. But a few days after his promotion he died in Pensacola, Florida, September 2, 1765, as is shown by his will, which is recorded in Philadelphia. His grave is unmarked and unknown. Nearly forty years ago efforts were put forth by Adjutant-General Richard C. Drum to locate his grave through the military authorities in the land in which he died. All efforts proved fruitless. He was probably buried in Pensacola, and the old cemetery which most likely held his remains was destroyed by the Spaniards under General Galvez in 1781.

A monument should be erected to Henry Bouquet by the people of Southwestern Pennsylvania. Aside from sharing in no small degree with Forbes and Washington the glory of taking Fort Duquesne and opening up the west, his march to the relief of the starving fortress in 1763 must always be considered one of the most marvelous in our history. The battle of Bushy Run, incidental to the march, brought a measure of peace and safety to the western frontier and is without a parallel in the annals of our usually unfortunate warfare with the American Indians. These efforts were put forth by one born in a foreign land, who sleeps, perhaps in our own territory, in an unknown grave. He dared to perform these services for the benefit of Fort Pitt, and the surrounding community. A monument to him, even though in tardy recognition to his services, would show that we appreciate the hardships he endured and the heroic efforts he put forth to found and nurture the civilization, the industry and the culture of Southwestern Pennsylvania, which to-day constitute our chief pride. It would be to all the world, and would bear down to future generations, an enduring evidence of the patriotic spirit of our people of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER IX

TITLES TO LANDS IN PENNSYLVANIA.



WILLIAM PENN

CHAPTER IX.

Land Titles.—The Grant to William Penn.—The Southern Boundary of Pennsylvania.—The Virginians Purchase Lands in Pennsylvania.—Treaties With the Indians.—The Reserved Privilege of the English Crown.—Military Permits.—Sir William Johnston.—The Treaty of November, 1768.—The Penns' Reservations.—The Divesting Act.—The Compensation.—The Purchase of 1784.

To thoroughly understand the difficulties by which Southwestern Pennsylvania was settled, and the methods by which titles to land purchased by the pioneers were granted, the reader must glance at our early history and at its effects upon the primitive settlements in this section.

All the present State of Pennsylvania was granted on March 4, 1681, by King Charles II. of England, to William Penn for marine services which his father, Admiral John Penn, had rendered the English government in European wars. The Court of Charles was financially embarrassed and he was glad to settle the debt due the admiral by granting to his son about twenty-six millions of acres of land in the New World. The debt was about ten thousand pounds, and the grant was directly to William Penn, so that our State was granted solely to an individual and not to a company or corporation or colony as most of the other States were. William Penn began a settlement at Philadelphia in 1682. It was, however, never called a colony as other settlements were, but a province, and this indicates in some degree that the government was under the direction of one man. The heirs and decedents of Penn were for more than a century called Proprietaries, and their civil administration was called a Proprietary Government.

From William Penn's first settlement in the province his policy was primarily one of peace with the Indians. Charles II. had jokingly said to him after the grant was made, that he very much feared that the Indians in Pennsylvania would scalp him, whereupon William, even then, replied that it was his purpose to deal kindly with them and to purchase the land from them. This declaration rather amused the King, and he remarked, "It is already yours. Why should you purchase it? I have granted it." Though Penn's title to the land was preëminent, yet he did purchase these lands from the Indians, these lands which were already his by a royal grant. A great deal has been said and written about Penn's purchases from the Indians, indicating that the price he and his agents paid them for the land was so

nearly nothing that the whole scheme of Penn was a farce. This would seem to be true until we recall the small price which Penn paid for the land. In reality, the amount which Penn by his father paid was less than one-tenth of a cent per acre, for ten thousand pounds at that time were valued at about twenty-five thousand dollars. Be that as it may, by these purchases from the Indians the province was saved much bloodshed, and only when the spirit of Penn and his charity in dealing with the Indians were forgotten and disregarded by the pioneers, or but nominally adhered to, were the settlements in Pennsylvania deluged in blood.

Penn's grant began at the Delaware river, near the fortieth degree of north latitude, and extended west in a straight line a distance of five degrees of longitude, and thence in a straight line north to Lake Erie. When it was finally surveyed, there was no doubt about its boundaries, but at the time of the first settlements here in the southwest, the boundary of Virginia conflicted with it, as was then believed. In 1609 the Virginia Company had been chartered by King James I. of England. By their charter, though it had been revoked in 1624, they laid claim to Southwestern Pennsylvania and Ohio and practically to all the land westward to the Pacific ocean. The Virginia authorities never disputed Penn's rights to the land for a distance of five degrees west from the Delaware river, but they claimed that by measurement this line would not reach beyond the Allegheny mountains, or at all events not west of the Monongahela river. This river flowing nearly north and the Allegheny river flowing nearly south would make, as it seemed to them, a natural and a reasonable boundary for Western Pennsylvania. The Virginians claimed further that they had fought for this territory around the fork of the Ohio to wrest it from the French and the Indians in the successive armies of Washington, Braddock and Forbes, and that the territory had been already settled to a considerable extent by people from their colony who had been guarded and protected in every way by Virginia. These claims, though apparently reasonable, were most arrogant in the main and, as we shall see, were ill-founded.

The boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland had always been in dispute, and in 1767 Lord Baltimore, Governor of Maryland, arranged with the Penns that two engineers should survey the land and forever determine the boundaries between the colony and the province. The surveyors chosen were Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, who came from England to do this work. Their authority, to be sure, extended west only as far as Western Maryland. The line they located has since been known as the Mason and Dixon line and

has perpetuated their names in history for all time. But the survey did not settle the line west of Maryland, though Governor Fauquier and many other prominent men of Virginia never seriously doubted its western location after that survey. The survey, moreover, never settled anything as to the western boundary of Pennsylvania, that is, the boundary running north and south, and the Virginia authorities continued to claim the land between the Monongahela and the Ohio rivers. They sold lands in that region at lower rates than the Pennsylvania authorities were selling them in the same sections, and the latter at first discouraged all settlements in the disputed territory until the boundary could be determined.

The reasoning on the part of both the Colony of Virginia and the Province of Pennsylvania was obvious. To Virginia it was a clear gain to sell this land at any price, for the authorities scarcely hoped to hold all of it under the ultimate determination of the controversy. But Pennsylvania, on the other hand, had plenty of land to sell in undisputed territory, and why therefore should they sell and improve lands which some day might, in part at least, fall within the limits of Virginia, or which by their improvements would quicken the zeal of the Old Dominion in claiming them? Then it was the province of the Proprietary Government to settle lands gradually as they came west, so that the frontier settlers might unitedly protect themselves from the Indians. But there was another reason far above all these why, so far as possible, they not only discouraged but prohibited all settlements in this section. William Penn not only purchased or repurchased his lands from the Indians, but he so thoroughly implanted this principle in the minds of his sons and representatives that, though he had been dead fully fifty years, when the first settlers came to Southwestern Pennsylvania, his sons were still at least pretending to follow his precepts in this matter.

It is probably true, and be it said to their credit, that the Proprietary Government never willingly permitted any one to settle in lands in a district which had not been purchased by them from the Indians, unless they were compelled to do so, as we shall see later. The Indians, it is true, were gradually receding before the white race and were forced to sell their lands or be driven from them without any remuneration. They were by nature a wandering people, and the white race as a whole were naturally progressive and some of them extremely aggressive. These purchases from the Indians were made at treaties held between them and the white men. Both races were in all cases represented. No territory was supposed to be ceded by the Indians to the white race, that is, purchased from them, except for a

valuable consideration on the part of the whites, and especially upon a mutual agreement entered into by a treaty between the representatives of the Indians and the white people.

These treaties, from time to time, secured the Indians in their possession of certain districts over which they were to have absolute dominion, and this security was in return for lands which the Indians, for valuable considerations, sold to the white race. The districts thus ceded to the whites were called "purchases" because they were at least supposed to be purchased from the Indians. It is true that sometimes with apparently but slight provocation, the Indians broke their treaties, but it is doubtful whether they, as a race, flagrantly broke a regularly authorized treaty without some considerable and unnecessary provocation or reason for doing so, given them by the white settlers.

At the treaty of Albany, in 1754, practically all lands lying west of the Susquehanna river were supposed to be ceded to the white race by the Indians, but the latter very soon discovered that their representatives in the treaty did not understand the location of this western country nor its boundary; nor did they understand the points of the compass as well as the white representatives in the treaty, for, by this treaty, they had parted with all their rights to lands as far west as Ohio. Much of this land they, in reality, meant to retain, and it had been virtually secured to them by former treaties between the white race and the Six Nations, a confederacy formed of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Senecas and Tuscaroras. To say the least, the purchases at the Albany treaty were illegally, if not fraudulently, gained from the Indians. So flagrantly unjust was this treaty and so full of deceit was it as perpetrated on them, that Governor Morris, in 1755, issued a proclamation in which he denounced the Albany treaty as little less than criminal and as an affront to the whole world. It took from the natives, he said, that which had been virtually ceded to them, and that which they had not knowingly parted with, and was, moreover, so sweeping in its dimensions that it left the Indians no country east of the Ohio to roam over and call their own. The white representatives of the Albany treaty defended their actions by giving out that they too were ignorant of the geography of Western Pennsylvania, and, by the terms of the purchase, had received a much wider territory than they expected or intended to gain. This may have been true, at least in part. The hardship of this treaty on the Indians aggravated them and was an additional incentive which prompted them to unite with the French in opposing Braddock and which spurred them on to the violence and bloodshed which fol-

lowed in the next three years after his defeat. The white race were made to pay dearly for the action of their incompetent, if not dishonest, representatives in the Albany treaty.

This was the great reason which at that time induced the Proprietaries to oppose and forbid the settlement of pioneers in South-western Pennsylvania, for our section had not yet been purchased from the Indians. They had no right to grant lands in this section if they kept faith with the Indians, except by right of the Albany purchase, which they admitted was fraudulently obtained. To grant them, therefore, would have been a violation of good faith. There were several of these treaties by which the lands of the Indians were purchased from them, but the treaties of 1682, 1718, 1736, 1754, 1758, 1768 and 1784 were the principal ones.

But far above and paramount to the rights of the Proprietaries were the reserved privileges of the English crown. At will, His Majesty had a right to send armies anywhere in America, to make conquests, to open and keep up highways, to establish military posts and to support a standing army in their midst, if he thought fit, or if his policy demanded it. When the English Crown secured the Canadas, as well as the boundless west, by the termination of the French and Indian war, the military posts built by the French fell into the possession of the English. These had to be kept up, and, for the purpose of supplying them alone, if for no other purpose, a communication had to be kept open between them and the eastern settlements which served as a base of supplies for the garrisons. Most of the forts, whether built by the French or English, were regularly garrisoned. Generally the commandant was an English officer. To these commandants were, therefore, delegated the powers, under certain restrictions, to grant military permits to a limited number of pioneers to settle on, cultivate and improve lands near the forts or on military roads leading from one fort to another. This was necessary for the subsistence of the garrison. The settlers, particularly after the first year, were able to raise farm products in abundance and were glad to sell a sufficient amount of them to supply the soldiers in the garrison. Perhaps in this way alone the garrison could be supported, for the reader will readily see how difficult it would be to transport provisions for the garrisons in Western Pennsylvania over the Braddock or over the Forbes roads.

The granting of military permits was a scheme of the great war minister, William Pitt, and was worthy of him, the shrewdest intellectual force of his century in England. The commandants did not grant absolute titles to these settlers, but titles which might be perfected

afterward by complying with such restrictions as the Proprietaries might require. The English government never even recognized the Indians' claim to the land, and, of course, never questioned Penn or his successors' title to it. In the meantime hundreds of settlers, fur traders, farmers and merchants, located in this region, some of them with military permits and others in direct disobedience to the mandate of the proprietaries. To restrain these illegal settlements, George III., King of England, as early as 1763, issued a proclamation to the effect that a line was to be drawn around the headwaters of all rivers in the colonies which flowed into the Atlantic ocean, and all emigrants were forbidden to settle west of that line. All the territory west of that line was reserved for the Indians, as far west as the Spanish territory, which was then west of the Mississippi river. Southwestern Pennsylvania was, of course, within the Indian territory.

If the anxious-to-go-west people ever heard of the King's proclamation, they paid no attention whatever to it. One writer says: "The hardy pioneer cared no more for the king's proclamation than he did for the barking of a wolf at his cabin door. The ink with which the proclamation was written had not dried before emigrants from Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania were hurrying into the valleys of the Monongahela." They squatted on land which they thought desirable and hoped finally to become its owners. It was wisdom on the part of the Proprietaries to keep these settlers out of the forbidden territory, for their presence was a constant menace to the Indians who did not and could not or would not believe that they were not there by sanction of the Penns, and, therefore, in violation of the treaty with the Indians. The red men laid in many complaints because of these encroachments, for they saw the inevitable result to their race.

General Gage was then commander-in-chief of the armies of the colonies and put forth every effort to stop it, but all was in vain. Finally, on February 13, 1768, an act of Parliament was passed which provided that any one having settled here without permission and who should fail to move after a written notice was served on him to do so should, after being convicted of this neglect, "be punished with death without the benefit of the clergy." There was also a severe penalty; imprisonment and fine imposed on those who even hunted deer or other wild animals in the prohibited district. Of course, these drastic measures did not apply to those who long before had carved out homes in the woods of this district, nor to those who settled by military permits. Many adventurous pioneers who were determined to come here evaded the law in a measure by securing military permits, and these were granted right readily by the accommodating commandants.

The permit gave the settler permission to live on and cultivate a certain tract of land which was fairly well bounded and described and, in return, the settler was to submit to all orders of the commander-in-chief, the commanding officer of the district and of the garrison.

Finally General Gage with his troops began to remove settlers by force, and a great many of them were so ejected from this section of Pennsylvania, but as soon as the soldiers returned to the garrison, the hardy pioneers moved again to their farms or clearings. It was impossible to enforce the law, for the penalty of death could not be inflicted on a whole community. So the settlers came despite the law and in increasing numbers, and the mutterings of the Indians became louder each month and each year. The fear of an Indian uprising was, of course, one great reason why the Proprietaries were so determined to enforce the law prohibiting settlers from this district. They were anxious to sell lands in districts that had been already purchased, but to have Indian incursions into settlements near the border, was but a poor way to induce settlers to purchase lands. Had there been nothing, however, to prevent the settlement of Southwestern Pennsylvania but the Indians, all of the valleys would have been filled up in a short time with an aggressive pioneer element who would have made short work of the Indian race. Settlers came west by both the Braddock and the Forbes roads, the only ones open at that time, and both of them crossing Old Westmoreland and terminating at Pittsburgh, made it a stopping place for all western-bound pioneers.

The Indians were always at war more or less with themselves and no doubt frequently killed each other, but when a dead Indian was found, the killing was invariably attributed to white settlers. In this connection, Colonel George Croghan, a brave, loyal and most capable diplomat, then living at Redstone, reported that many Indians had been killed by white settlers in times of peace, and insisted on the Proprietaries devising some means of stopping it. The settlers, it may be inferred, were an aggressive people accustomed to rough usage, and Croghan's representations have never been disbelieved. The leaders in this community saw in this situation only one result, namely, an Indian uprising. Accordingly, in April, 1768, a preliminary treaty was held at Fort Pitt, at which Colonel Croghan was the leader among the white representatives. There were from seventeen hundred to two thousand Indians present, among whom were the chiefs of the Six Nations, and there were also representatives from the Delawares, Shawnees and the Mingoes. Many presents were given to the Indians, but no agreement or settlement of the difficulties could be arrived at.

It was, however, a friendly meeting and the uprising among the Indians was somewhat allayed. During the summer the settlers came constantly and those who were here did not remove. By the close of summer, the authorities knew that unless something was done to prevent it, a general Indian war might break out at any time. At the meeting at Fort Pitt it was clear that the only safety was to purchase this territory from the Indians.

One of the most prominent men then in America was General Sir William Johnston. He lived near the present city of Johnstown and was, all things being considered, the ablest diplomat in Indian affairs in this country. He had managed many treaties, and was thoroughly honest and was trusted implicitly by both races. He had come to America in 1734, at the age of nineteen, because of a disappointment in love in Ireland, it is said, settled in Mohawk Valley in New York, where he gradually acquired and managed large tracts of land and traded continually with the Indians. He became very wealthy and built a stately mansion of stone which is yet standing. On its mahogany staircase are to be seen the marks of the tomahawk made by the Indian chiefs who were friendly to him, as a sign to all Indians that this house was to be spared from the torch. He was married to a German woman, and upon her death married a handsome Indian girl, this perhaps being the secret of much of his power with the race. He was clearly a leader, whether among the well-bred citizens of his native land or among the savages of America, adapting himself readily to the customs and habits of either. He had been a major-general in the French and Indian war, and, for these services, was knighted by George I., being known afterward as Sir William Johnston. The Crown also gave him large tracts of land, and these, with those he purchased, made him the largest landowner in America, excepting, of course, the Penns. He had a marvelous power in harmonizing discordant elements among the Indians and the white race and in leading or preventing Indian outbreaks.

The time had now arrived when the Indians of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Ohio were rapidly putting on their war paint. The trembling wife and mother scarcely knew when she parted with her husband and child in the morning as they went to their fields to work, whether she would ever see them again or not. Under these circumstances, all parties turned to Sir William Johnston as the chief arbitrator of the questions between the white and Indian races. He suggested and called a convention at Fort Stanwix in New York to meet in the fall of 1768. His chief assistant here was Colonel George Croghan. It was largely attended by the Indian chiefs and

other representatives of the Indian race and by white representatives. By his great power over the red men, most of the Indian grievances were redressed, tomahawks were buried, arrows were broken and peace and harmony secured.

The final treaty was reached on November 5, 1768, and by its terms the lands east of the Allegheny river as far north as Kittanning and southward and eastward of the Ohio and down to the mouth of the Tennessee river, "and extending eastward from every part on the said line as far as the lands between the said line and the purchased lands of settlements" were purchased from the Indians and conveyed to the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania. This was, of course, the most important of all the treaties for this section of Pennsylvania. It was held, be it remembered, at Fort Stanwix, near where the city of Rome, New York, is now built. The district is yet called the "New Purchase" and embraced the land which was afterward embraced in Westmoreland county, the parts most interesting to us being the present Westmoreland, Allegheny, Fayette and Washington counties. It was the last purchase made by the Penns from the Indians. The consideration paid them, it is said, was about ten thousand dollars in provisions and money and an unlimited supply of rum for the Indians. This, of course, opened up the territory in Southwestern Pennsylvania so that the Proprietaries could in good faith grant lands in this section south of the Ohio and east of the Allegheny river, if they saw fit to do so.

There was accordingly a great rush for land all around the headwaters of the Ohio and throughout the four present counties above mentioned. Perhaps the very fact of settlements in this section having been so long prohibited made the pioneer all the more anxious to locate here. Glowing descriptions of Southwestern Pennsylvania had been carried to the east by the soldiers who had passed over this territory in the armies of Braddock and Forbes, and each year the desire to settle here had increased among what they called the "overcrowded East." The East, they thought, was over-populated, and the anxious young men who wanted more land could not be provided for. We were not then very far removed from England with its large land estates. The use of coal had not been discovered and every landowner thought he should have enough timber to furnish fuel for him and his descendants forever. While they were necessarily wasteful of timber in clearing land, they nevertheless reserved an abundance. The people were almost entirely an agricultural people, and nothing so pleased them or tickled their fancy as unnumbered acres of land.

Particularly was this burning desire for large landed possessions true of those who had recently come from Europe.

It was the custom of William Penn and his successors to reserve for themselves surveys of land in each section of the country opened up for general sale and settlement. Their purpose in thus reserving land was to hold it until the improvements of the tracts surrounding it would make the reserve surveys more valuable. They generally reserved one acre for every ten they sold. This custom was begun in 1700 and was kept up constantly as they came westward for three-quarters of a century.

It was the policy of the Penns after 1770 to reserve five hundred acres out of every block of five thousand acres which they sold. This was for the Penns and their heirs. The land reserved was called manors. Over these manors the Penns had exclusive jurisdiction both as landiord and as judges in matters of law. There were two in the present County of Westmoreland. One was called the Manor of Denmark and surrounded the town of Manor. Bushy Run ran through it and it included the land upon which the celebrated battle of Bushy Run was fought. It contained four thousand eight hundred and sixty-one acres. The other was called Penn's Lodge. It was situated in Sewickley township and contained five thousand five hundred and sixty-eight acres. The Manor of Denmark included very fine agricultural land and the other, that of Penn's Lodge, is largely underlaid with deposits of coal. These were the only reservations in the present Westmoreland. The Penns did not long hold title to them, for the divesting act, passed June 28, 1779, took the title from the Penns, though not without recompense, and vested it in the Commonwealth.

The reader must now look into this matter and also into the manner adopted by the Assembly of divesting the title of the Penns to all other parts of the State. It has been intimated that a hostile feeling had gradually grown up between the Penns and the majority of the people of the province. The people were naturally opposed to large estates like those reserved by the Penns, for they thought that such extended domains savored of the landed estates of the Old World. They were opposed to a landed gentry holding unbounded acres under their original charter. Benjamin Franklin was a leader in this line of thought and for many years held that the entire scheme was but a miniature of the feudal system of England. Nevertheless, the power of the Penns and their title to the lands was not seriously disputed prior to the Revolutionary War.

Since the first settling of the province the political authority of the Penns, as granted to William Penn and his successors in the origi-

nal charter by Charles II., had been exercised by them or those whom they appointed. When the Revolution began, John Penn, the grandson of William Penn, was at the head of the provincial government. The political power of the provinces was mainly vested in him or rather in him conjointly with his uncle, Thomas Penn, who was a son of William Penn and who then resided in England. In the fall of 1779, Richard Penn, the son of Richard and grandson of William Penn, in company with Arthur Lee, of Virginia, was sent to England by the American colonies bearing the last of the many petitions of that body to the Crown. Richard Penn was there subjected to a very severe examination by the House of Lords. His testimony was so much in favor of the provincialists in their rising disputes with the Crown, that he incurred the wrath of the peers. He said: "When I left Pennsylvania they had twenty thousand men in arms," and he said further and there were sixty thousand men in the Province of Pennsylvania able to bear arms. Lord Littleton said: "With all the caution with which Mr. Penn guarded his expressions, he, nevertheless portrayed through the whole of the examination the strongest indication of the strongest prejudice." Richard Penn was in reality the only one of the Penns who was loyal to the American cause and who remained so during the Revolution. Had all the members of the Penn family been as loyal as he, they would doubtless have fared better with the law-making body of Pennsylvania.

The impression grew rapidly among the people that the proprietary tenure of the land within the limits of Pennsylvania and the rights which the Penns had reserved in the form of quit-rents payable from year to year, should not be allowed to continue. Particularly was this sentiment manifested when the State began to contemplate its ultimate freedom, and when the Penns were apparently opposed to the liberty of the people. The reserved powers of the Crown could not be interfered with at that time. This hostile feeling toward the Proprietaries grew very rapidly after the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It did not seem even reasonable thereafter that vast domains of unimproved lands should remain the property of the Penns who, in the very titles they granted, recognized and acknowledged their allegiance to Great Britain. This land, moreover, was unproductive so far as contributing to its share of the expense of the war then coming on was concerned. Controversy had often risen even in the days of William Penn, who died in 1718, over the quit-rents which patented land was subject to from year to year. The grievance of the citizens was, therefore, not new, but it was year by year growing more violent. The time had arrived when a remedy in the shape of a divesting act

which would take from the Penns their original rights must be applied. It is to the credit of the men of that day that, though in the midst of the Revolution when precipitate measures might have been overlooked, they met the question with firmness and dignity and without any unnecessary violation of the rights of others.

President Reed, in a message to the Assembly, in February, 1778, called attention to the character and effect of the claim of the Proprietaries, saying that, "To reconcile the rights and demands of the state with those of private justice and equity in this case will be worthy of your most serious attention." The Assembly took up the matter by giving due notice to John Penn of what it had in mind. He requested time to more thoroughly examine into the rights of the Proprietaries, of whom he was the acknowledged head. On March 18 his counsel asked for a further delay which was readily granted by the Assembly. After this, five days were given over to the argument of the question in the Assembly. On March 21 it asked for the opinion of Chief Justice McKean on the legal points of the controversy. The questions asked him were relative to the authority of the Crown to grant the original charter, the nature of the grant, the extent of the concession of the first purchase with the rights of the Proprietaries to reserve quit-rents, etc. These questions were answered very clearly by the Chief Justice.

At that time a great many men denied the right of the Crown to grant to Penn, and consequently denied the validity of the Penns' claim. They strenuously argued that the quit-rents were reserved to the Penns for the purpose of supporting the government, and should not be paid to them, but to the new government which was formed shortly after the Declaration of Independence. The Chief Justice denied these favorite propositions, taking decidedly the unpopular side of the controversy. The committee appointed by the Assembly refused to be guided by his opinion. They did not ponder as long as did the Chief Justice over the abstruse questions of law, but adhered firmly to the political question which confronted them and which controlled the situation. No one who looks at the question with the light of the present day will doubt for a moment that the continuance of the Penns' rights including their preëmptions and quit-rents was entirely incongruous and inconsistent with the republican institutions which came with the Revolution of 1776. The opinion of the Chief Justice and the report of the committee were, on April 5, 1779, ordered to be printed and the Legislature adjourned soon after that and before any action was taken.

The new legislature met in October and at once took up the sub-

ject and prepared a bill which was referred to the Chief Justice and to the chief legal adviser of the Assembly, now called the attorney-general. This bill was called the "Divesting Act" and was finally passed on November 24, 1779, by a vote of forty to seven. The minority vote entered a protest and John Penn wrote an able but short remonstrance against the proceeding and sent it to the Assembly. This remonstrance was printed in the journal. The act, as its name indicates, divested the Penns of all their proprietary interests in the public lands and of all quit-rents reserved from lands which had already been sold, but it carefully protected their rights in all private property, and regarded the various reservations in the State, among which was the "Manor of Penn" and the other reservations of lands mentioned above, as private property.

The Assembly did not take these immense possessions from the Penns without compensation, but allowed them one hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling money of Great Britain, amounting to about six hundred thousand dollars, for the rights of which they were divested by the bill. This money, with interest, was paid to them in full within eight years following the passage of the act. The law and its compensatory clause probably did justice to both parties, for, after the first irritation which the controversy engendered had passed away there was very little complaint on either side. The Penns, however, claimed, and not without reason, that the divesting act had been brought about by the action of Great Britain toward the colonies, and whereas, the Crown had assured to William Penn and his successors forever these lands in Pennsylvania, they set up a claim against Great Britain for their loss which they estimated at one-half million sterling. Recognizing the Penns as loyal subjects who had suffered because of their loyalty to the English government, the Crown agreed to pay them the additional annuity of four thousand pounds.

The most valuable of all the Penns' reservations was the Manor of Pittsburgh and it was surveyed on March 27, 1769, on a warrant which had been dated January 5. It included five thousand seven hundred and sixty-six acres and an allowance of six per cent. It lay between the two rivers at the head of the Ohio navigation and the Penns readily saw that it would one day be of great value. They also reserved the lands south of the Ohio because the hills were even then known to be underlaid with coal. But the reader cannot but readily see that, by the Stanwix purchase, the land west of the Allegheny and north of the Ohio had not passed from the Indians. Upon this land the city of Allegheny, now the North Side of Pittsburgh, was after-

ward built. It was claimed by the Indians, that is, by the Six Nations. Their claim included all lands west of the Stanwix purchase of 1768 within the charter limits of the State. For that reason, Westmoreland county had no civic dominion whatever over that section of the State, that is, over the land beyond the lands of the Stanwix purchase, until the 24th of October, 1784, when a second treaty was held with the Indians of the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix in New York. In this treaty (1784) an agreement was made between the commissioners who represented Pennsylvania and the Indians, whereby their title to all the land within the boundaries of the State that remained in them after the treaty of 1768 was passed to the white race, or extinguished so far as the Indian claim was concerned. The consideration was five thousand dollars and nine thousand dollars additional, which was expended in purchasing presents for the Indians.

But after this was concluded and the lands passed, the Delaware Indians set up a claim, and with them were united the Wyandottes, all claiming an interest in this same land. The same commissioners who had represented the State at Fort Stanwix were then sent to Fort McIntosh, where the town of Beaver now stands, and there, in 1785, they succeeded in making a final agreement by which they purchased the same lands from the Delawares and the Wyandottes. The deed, signed by both tribes, is dated January 21, 1785, and is in the same words, the same boundaries, descriptions, etc., as the Stanwix deed, except that the consideration of the lands is two thousand dollars. It was thus that the land north of the Allegheny river could not be legally settled until after the above date, and, as we shall see, it was then very rapidly taken up. The reader, by the above, will notice that the claim that all of the northwest was included in the County of Westmoreland is somewhat apocryphal at best. Westmoreland had no civic jurisdiction whatever in lands outside of the limits of the purchase, and whereas, the lands north of the Ohio were not purchased until October, 1784, and the purchase from the Wyandottes and the Delawares not made until January 21, 1785, the Westmoreland dominion, at best, over the new lands was of short duration, for Allegheny county was formed in 1788. The land office was opened for warrants for lands in the Stanwix purchase on April 3, 1769. The method of selling land adopted by the Proprietaries has been practically unchanged, except in the price per acre, even to this day.

From the foregoing will be learned that no warrant for land in Westmoreland county antedated April 3, 1769, though many of the settlements were made prior to that date. Those who had settled on

unimproved lands were now allowed to prove their titles by securing warrants and patents. A preference of location was shown to those who had served in the army and likewise to those who had settled by military permits, but warrants were not issued until 1772 to those who had settled on and improved lands without some show of right to do so. After that, as far as it was possible, without imposing on the rights of others, the land office authorities, when it came to granting titles, recognized the claims of the enthusiastic pioneer who had the hardihood to settle here in defiance of law and authority, and even at the risk, as we have seen, of suffering death, "without the benefit of the clergy." There were many titles in Westmoreland county which were involved in almost endless litigation. In some instances these lands were sold often more than once before the title from the Proprietaries of the commonwealth was possible, that is, prior to 1769. From these and kindred complications arose long litigation which, for almost a century, perplexed the minds of the ablest lawyers and judges our State has ever yet produced. They were called land-lawyers, a title which is almost unknown to our present generation.

So many references have been made to the military permits that we deem it proper to give a copy of one which in itself needs no explanation:

By Arthur St. Clair, Late Lieut. in his Majesty's Sixtieth Regt. of foot, having care of His Majesty's Fort at Ligonier.

I have given permission to Frederick Rohrer to cultivate a certain piece of Land in the neighborhood of Fort Ligonier, over a certain creek, which empties into the Loyalhanna known by the name of Coal Pit Creek: Beginning at a White Oak standing on a spring and marked with three letters F X R and running from thence to another tree marked with the same letters and standing on another spring called Falling Spring, and from these two marked trees to the said Coal Pit Creek supposed to contain two hundred acres: He the said Frederick Rohrer being willing to submit to all orders of the Commander in Chief, the Commanding officer of the District and of the Garrison. Given under my hand at Ligonier this 11th day of April, 1767.

AR. ST. CLAIR.



CHAPTER X

THE AMERICAN INDIAN.

CHAPTER X.

The Indians.—They Meet at the Fork of the Ohio.—Indian Relics in Abundance.—Whence Came the Red Men.—Their Implements of Warfare; the Bow and Arrow.—Physical Description; Their Wigs; Their Religion.—The White Race Taught Them Their Worse Faults.—Why They Killed the Settler.—Close Observers.—His Love of Bright Colors.—Their Extermination Inevitable.

Many years before the advent of the white man in Southwestern Pennsylvania, the Fork of the Ohio had been a favorite meeting place of the Indian race. They journeyed there from the north by canoes on the Allegheny river; the tribes of the west came up the Ohio and from the south they came by the Monongahela. Indian paths or trails, moreover, from all sections brought them either directly to the fork or to the waters of these rivers, by means of which their journey was more easily completed. They met there to hold councils of war and councils of peace. They met there to form treaties between the various tribes or to unite in the great hunting and fishing expeditions of the race. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that they put forth their best efforts to retain this section and that after it was in part taken from them, that they put forth their best endeavors to drive away and exterminate the encroaching white race. Resultant upon this fact too, Southwestern Pennsylvania became, in its early settlements, one of the most severely infested sections of North America, for, it having been made for long years a place of easy access to them by all their modes of travel, they perhaps terrorized our section more severely than any other section of Pennsylvania, if not of the entire country.

The early annals of Southwestern Pennsylvania are so replete with references to the Indians that it becomes us now to look into their tribal history, to learn something of their leading characteristics and their modes of life. All over Western Pennsylvania have been found relics in abundance which prove beyond doubt that they once roamed over these hills in great numbers, that is, great numbers for the Indians race, but, even without these, the beautiful nomenclature of our rivers, mountains, valleys, counties and towns prove their former presence in this community. It is difficult for the reader without great caution, to form a fair estimate of the Indian character, and he can do so only by remembering that the heartrending tales of his inhumanities have been written almost solely by his enemies. His

lips were sealed as to his side of his difficulties with the whites and the outrages which he perpetrated upon them, for he could not write his defense, nor could he even tell his story in a language which we could understand. Few of us, or indeed few nations, would wish to be judged or remembered entirely by the story told by enemies.

The traditions, customs and laws were preserved among the Indians in memory and transmitted orally only, and consequently the Indian's own story perished almost entirely with the ill-fated race or remained a tradition with the race which they were unable to transmit further. Stone implements, battle-axes, tomahawks, pipes, arrows and spearheads have survived the ravages of time and are almost the only tangible evidence left by the Indian of his long dominion in Pennsylvania.

Archæologists and philologists have alike for centuries speculated in vain as to the origin of this strange and pathetic people. It is idle to pretend that we know more of their early history and origin than that they were here when Columbus came to America and that their name was given them by him because of his error in geography. Thinking that the earth was round and that he could reach India, therefore, by sailing westward, when he reached the islands of North America he mistook them for the islands of India, and consequently gave the inhabitants whom he found here their present well-known name.

Prior to 1750 Western Pennsylvania was practically inhabited by the Indian race alone. It was never densely populated by them, as indicated above, as we understand density now, for, with their mode of life, no section was capable of sustaining more than an extremely limited number of inhabitants per square mile. As a race they lived very largely by hunting and fishing. Their women, it is true, cultivated small patches of corn, a cereal which has since borne their name, and many of them raised a few vegetables and larger quantities of tobacco. To do this, they cleared small tracts of land here and there, generally along alluvial bottoms, felling the trees largely by burning them with dry wood placed around their trunks. The race, however, knew nothing of fertilizing land. When the soil was exhausted, they abandoned their fields and removed to new sections. They knew something of the medicinal qualities of roots, herbs and flowers which grew in profusion in the wildwood and these they gathered and applied in times of external injuries or sickness with a considerable degree of success. Instead of vegetables and cereals, they subsisted largely on the meat of wild animals and on fish, and, for this reason, it required thousands of acres of land to support even a small tribe.

The land was necessarily public land, so far as the Indian was concerned. A tribe, it is true, exercised a temporary ownership over a certain section. This they readily abandoned if a locality more profitable for the pursuit of wild game presented itself, or when convenient firewood was wellnigh exhausted.

All Indians were prompt to help each other in distress. Some families and tribes were poor and improvident, while others were more prosperous. While any member of a tribe had food, the dependent and shiftless did not suffer, and the result of a successful hunting expedition was shared equally with their less fortunate friends if they stood in need of it.

Originally, they made all their own implements of warfare and of the chase. Their bows and arrows were made of wood. The former were stiffened with the dried tendons of the deer or buffalo, and the latter were tipped at the points with flinty stones known in modern times as arrowheads. Their bow strings were of rawhide made from the skins or entrails of animals. They also made rude axes from stone and with these and by fire they were able to fell large trees and hollow out their huge trunks, thus converting them into canoes. However, when they were first known to the pioneers of Southwestern Pennsylvania, they were provided with iron and steel implements and, in part at least, with firearms. Some of these they had captured or stolen from the whites; others were furnished them by thoughtless and unprincipled traders in return for skins and furs. But the alliance formed between the French and Indians and still later between the English and the Indians had aided them still more in this direction, for it brought them scalping knives, tomahawks and guns and powder, and they were also taught how to use these weapons to the best advantage.

It must not be supposed, however, that the introduction of firearms among the Indians induced them to abandon the bow and arrow. The best firearm known or used then was a flintlock, which was discharged by a spark made by the flint in the hammer striking a projection on the gun barrel. This spark fell into the "pan" where a small amount of powder called "priming" was placed when the gun was loaded. When this was ignited by the spark generated by the flint, it communicated its flame to the powder in the gun and the latter was instantly discharged. As may be readily imagined, the least rain or dampness would render the flintlock useless, but not so with the bow and arrow. This the Indian always kept with him, and so skillful was he in its use that he rarely ever missed his mark when at short range. In the hands of an expert Indian it was more feared than a

firearm, for the wound was more painful and the arrow was directed with scarcely less force or unerring certainty. Not infrequent has it been found that arrows from the bow of a strong-armed Indian have penetrated and passed entirely through a steer or a buffalo. Furthermore, its discharge made no report, and the unwary pioneer or the wild animal had little or no knowledge of the whereabouts of the hidden enemy. It was a weapon indeed peculiarly suited to an enemy whose strength lay largely in the stealthy manner in which he approaches his foe. It was used by the Indians in all of our earlier wars with them, and was used in the last generation by the Indians on the western plains. In General Arthur St. Clair's battle on the Wabash, in 1791, he put it on record that arrow wounds were more galling and more feared by the American troops than the wounds from gunshots.

The Indians inhabiting the eastern part of the United States, with whom the early settlers of Southwestern Pennsylvania came most in contact, are usually designated as the Six Nations, viz., the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, the Senecas and the Tuscaroras. Each of these nations had an unwritten form of government, and their unwritten laws were well understood by the Indians and were binding even on the humblest members of the race. Francis Parkman, who studied the race thoroughly, says that they lived together by thousands in a harmony which civilized nations might well envy. Each of these Six Nations was composed of smaller tribes, of from two to five hundred members. These tribes were separated widely from each other, so that they could have unbounded miles of hunting territory. Each tribe had its chief who exercised great power over his subjects. On the death of the chief, the office did not generally descend to his son, but to his sister's son or to the dead chief's brother, but, if the rightful heir was a weakling or a coward, or was otherwise incapacitated for leadership, the tribe did not hesitate to discard him and select another. The son of a chief, while he could not inherit the position from his father, could earn it by deeds of courage. Captain John Smith discovered and made a note of these customs even in 1610 among the early tribes in Virginia, and the custom is kept up even to this day.

The average Indian was tall and straight, with rough features, high cheek bones, Roman or aquiline nose, coarse straight black hair, dark penetrating eyes and beardless face. He had a swarthy complexion much darker than the darkest of our white race and it had a tinge of brown or red in it which gave him the well known name of "redskin," though this was something of a misnomer. His color is

more nearly represented by the color of copper. The Indian had more endurance and could run faster and jump farther than the average white man, for his entire life tended to fortify him in these feats of strength, and for this reason alone. On the other hand, the heavy labor incident to the pioneer destroyed the white man's fleetness of foot, and rendered him less agile and less able to cope with his Indian enemy in times of such contests. In war, when equally opposed, the Indian was almost invincible. He never, of his own volition, fought in the open, but took advantage of every possible ambushade. Familiar with all the phases of forest life, he sought to match the superior numbers and strength of his enemy by a thorough concealment of his whereabouts in battle.

The military training of the English and American armies, as military training was then, stood for but little when confronted by a foe who could fire and almost instantly disappear from view. Indeed, the serried columns of the drill master rather assisted the Indian in ambushades, and only when his methods of warfare were learned and somewhat adopted by us was the American soldier even comparatively successful in his contests with him. The Indian did not adopt this method through fear or cowardice, for when forced to fight at bay he proved himself not lacking in bravery by fighting with a desperation found only in infuriated wild beasts. His leading principle in warfare was self-preservation. He thought it foolhardy and unnecessary to expose himself in battle, as foolhardy as though the contest was between himself and a ferocious animal. His war parties only received the highest mete of praise when they returned, not only with abundance of scalps but without the loss of a single warrior. He employed every subterfuge and stratagem possible with him to entice the pioneer into the range of his arrow. His people had, for centuries, hunted wild animals by stealth, and he adopted the same methods in ridding himself of the new and more dangerous enemy which, in countless numbers, came upon him from the east.

When first known to the white man they were not necessarily a savage race. They went to war among themselves, but were not particularly hostile to our people until they began to displace them and to interfere, as they thought, with their long since acquired rights in the natural products of the wilderness. They thought it their duty to exterminate the white man, and the latter at length thought it no greater crime to kill an Indian than a rattlesnake. If the Indian seldom spared the life of a wounded or conquered adversary, he, on the other hand, asked no quarter when he himself was taken captive.

Washington Irving says: "He even takes a pride in torturing his persecutors and provoking their ingenuity of torture; and, as the devouring flames play on his very vitals and the flesh shrinks from his sinews, he raises his last song of triumph breathing the defiance of an unconquered heart and invoking the spirits of his fathers to witness that he died without a groan."

In Philip of Pokanoket the same writer tells of old men, women and children of the tribe who were forced to take refuge in some wooden buildings. These were then set on fire and amid the roaring of the flames were mingled the agonizing cries of the aged and of the children. The writer describes this affair and says that some of those who fired the building were afterward in doubt whether the burning of defenseless old men, women and children "was consistent with humanity and with the benevolent principles of the Gospel." In one of the early wars the Puritans found an Indian fort in flames. They shot down the naked inhabitants when they were attempting to escape, and the report ends by saying: "All were dispatched and ended in the course of an hour, our people being resolved by God's assistance to finally destroy them."

It is quite probable that for obvious reasons the early settler in his combats with the Indian met oftenest the larger and stronger specimens of the tribe. This led to the impression that they were, as a race, much superior to our own, but this is entirely erroneous. The white man compared well with the Indian in size and strength and, considering all circumstances, there was perhaps but little advantage on either side. Our women were, all things considered, equal to theirs in strength and greatly superior to them in form and physical beauty. The attractive Indian maiden of modern fiction is somewhat of a poetical creation rather than one found frequently in real life. Generally, the Indian woman was homely and one of average comeliness was an exception, and this quality the race has preserved even to this day, as one will see who travels in the west. But the Indian standards of æsthetics differed from ours, and, to his eye, the maiden of his race may have been richly dowered with personal loveliness and beauty.

Of the smaller tribes, the ones most commonly known to the early pioneers of Southwestern Pennsylvania, were the Delawares, Cornplanters, Muncies, Shawnees, Mingoes, Cherokees, Hurons, Miamis, Ojibwas, Pottowatomies, etc., and some of these are yet represented in the remnant tribes of the west. The raids made on Southwestern Pennsylvania invariably originated with one or more of the tribes above mentioned. They were then scattered over the country west of the Susquehanna river and north of the Ohio river, with a

few stragglers farther south and east. The Cornplanters, Shawnees, Miamis, Muncies and Delawares were the ones which terrorized our people most, but, if they were unrelenting to us, we must remember at least that the white man set the example.

The Indian built towns, but not as places of permanent abode, for the reason, as we have intimated, that they were often compelled to wander from one locality to another to subsist at all. The houses were called wigwams. The most temporary habitation which they constructed was circular in shape at the ground and the skeletons of them were made of poles which, standing on their ends, were made to converge until they came together at the top, this presenting a conical form. These converging poles were thoroughly covered with the skins of animals or with the bark of trees, with a small opening at the top for the emission of smoke. Thus the inmates were comparatively well protected from inclement weather. The wigwams being pointed at the top made it much less liable to be overturned by storms. It was usual, in this section, for each family to have a separate wigwam, though sometimes several families lived in a larger habitation. Many of their houses were built of poles, not unlike the early log houses of the white man. Not infrequently they were long and narrow, even as long as a hundred feet or more, and each one served for many families. There were always openings at the top for the escape of smoke and they were invariably filled with soot. Living almost constantly in smoke, many of the Indians had inflamed eyes in the winter time and resultant blindness in old age was not infrequent. Around the collection of wigwams or huts they often constructed rude fortifications made by digging trenches and surmounting the ground thrown from them with logs, stones, bark, etc. In these crowded habitations they cooked, ate and slept in winter time. Their beds were composed of twigs and leaves of trees covered with the skins of animals. Their best constructed wigwams or huts were so flimsy that they decayed and were gone a few years after they were abandoned.

The Indian has been widely represented as of a silent and morose disposition, but this, says Irving, is in some degree erroneous. When alone, in helpless captivity among the whites whose language he did not understand and whose motives he distrusted, he was invariably taciturn, but certainly not more so than the white man would have been in like circumstances. Parkman describes the Indians as continually visiting, chatting, joking and bantering each other with short witticisms. When among themselves, in their smoky wigwams or around the blazing campfire, they were exceedingly loquacious and mirthful. Deeds of valor, feats of strength and agility, narrow escapes

from captivity and death when on the warpath, the successes or failures of the last hunting expedition and amusing incidents at the expense of the white man, constituted very largely the younger Indians' conversation. The older members of the race regaled the youthful warriors with the oft-repeated heroic tales of incidents long gone by. It was thus that they handed down their traditions. An old Indian, wise among his people, frequently called all of the young Indians together and told them slowly and distinctly a certain story or incident which he either had lived through or which had been handed down to him from his ancestor. The next day he called them together again and repeated the same story and the day following, when he called them together, he made each one repeat the story as he had told it to them, correcting them if their version deviated materially from the original. In this way, and in this way only, the history of the race and its feats of heroism were handed down from generation to generation.

They had marriage ceremony which was generally celebrated with songs and dances, and their marital relations were comparatively well kept, though what they called a divorce was obtainable on the arbitrary caprice of either party. The relationship of father, grandfather, cousin, nephew, etc., was clearly defined among them. No Indian youth was allowed to marry a squaw of his own immediate tribe because of the possible relationship which might exist between them. There was a crude form of religion. They believed in Manitou, a Great Spirit, which rules the heavens and earth and with whom both good and bad Indians should live and hunt after death. They believed, however, in a distinction between the final home of the good, the brave warrior with many scalps to his credit on one hand and that of the cowardly, lazy Indian on the other. In keeping with this belief, they thought that animals would, in the next world, be admitted on equal terms with Indians. They believed that the Great Spirit sometimes endowed minor spirits with specific powers. This belief saved many a white man's life. If they once concluded that the doomed man had some special connection with the Great Spirit, as the prisoner was often able to make them think, his life was safe. Their system of worship was with songs and dances, and every great undertaking, such as going on an extended hunt or on the warpath, or their removal to a better locality, was begun with some ceremony of this kind. A similar ceremony ended the expedition; the first, to please the Great Spirit to induce him to favor their cause, and second, to, in a measure, express their gratitude for favors which the spirit had granted. But those who have investigated the subject of religion among the primi-

tive Indians believe that they had no conception of a supreme being until they came in contact with the civilized white man.

The first missionaries among them were Jesuit priests, who found no word in their language to express our idea of a supreme being, and the prevailing belief among those who have looked into it most thoroughly, it is that the idea of the primitive red man worshipping a Great Spirit before he was taught to do so by the advent of Christianity from Europe, originated and had existence only in the brain of sentimental writers and in the idle dreams of poets. Morally, the Indian did not compare with our race by any means, and should not be expected to do so, for we have had the advantage of centuries of civilization and education. But if we compare them with our race when, as a race, we had reached the stage of civilization in which we found the Indian, the only fair comparison, they undoubtedly equal us. If the reader of these pages is astonished at this statement, on recalling the cruel manner in which the Indian dealt with his supposed white enemy when in helpless captivity, let him remember that it is but a few generations since the ablest and best of the English-speaking people were tortured on the rack, confined in dungeons, mutilated and burned at the stake by the decree of the highest tribunal in English civilization, and that even in Massachusetts, men and women were burned for witchcraft, and that these barbarities were committed not by unlettered savages living in wigwams, but by a people who were making history, writing poetry, building cities and palaces which stand to this day and command the admiration of the world.

A leading characteristic of the Indian was his inability to forgive or forget an injury done him by the white race, yet, on the other hand, he has been credited with being equally mindful of favors shown him. With his understanding of the early settlers' encroachment upon his territory he was as Ishmael, who thought that every man's hand was against him. The pioneer was slowly but surely, by wanton warfare, working his exclusion from these hills and valleys which, to say the least, were his by inheritance, and his vindictive wrath was indiscriminately meted out against all palefaces. Too often his vengeance was wreaked with great severity on the innocent and unoffending and on the guilty alike. While he had also many other bad traits, those who labored long among them as missionaries, or who were long held captive among them, generally saw much good in them and became greatly attached to them. They were not all originally the treacherous race they have laterly been reputed to be. Few men of our later history have fought the Indian more valiantly or more successfully than General William Henry Harrison, whose fame, indeed, rests not

so much on his having been President, as upon the fact that he defeated the Indians in the battle of Tippecanoe; yet he, in after years, bore this testimony concerning them: "A long and intimate knowledge of the Delaware tribe, in peace and in war, as enemies and as friends, has left upon my mind the most favorable impressions of their character for bravery, generosity and fidelity to their engagements." It is fair in this connection to add, however, that the Delawares were more nearly a friendly tribe than any other.

It was undoubtedly the white race who taught them or induced them to adopt some of their worst habits. When first known to our race, they knew nothing of intoxicants, not even the simplest form of fermentation or distillation. They smoked tobacco and taught the habit to Sir Walter Raleigh, who perhaps introduced it into England, but this was their nearest approach to a stimulant or narcotic. Our people soon taught them the use of liquor, and bitterly did both races suffer from it. The Indians were apt students, taking to rum apparently intuitively, and it seemed to arouse only the baser principles of their natures. They would part with the finest furs to secure a taste of rum, and this exorbitant appetite in the end, perhaps did more than anything else to rob them of their vigor and reason and finally of all the lands they possessed.

The white race in Western Pennsylvania practically came first in contact with the Indians in purchasing furs and skins from them. They were naturally children of the wilderness and excelled in hunting wild animals. As a result, the Indian towns abounded with skins of the buffalo, bear, deer, wolf, beaver, otter, mink, fox, raccoon, etc. They shot these animals with bows and arrows or with firearms. They speared fish or caught them with rude hooks made of bone or drove them into ponds screened with small rods. They also fished with rude nets made from the twisted fiber of wild hemp. Animals and fish and all game birds were then extremely plentiful. The life the Indian led developed his senses of sight, hearing and smell to a degree which amazed even the shrewdest woodsman among the early settlers. He knew the habits of all wild animals and could detect their slightest movements in the forest, movements invisible to the eye of one unaccustomed to the woods. With these qualities he easily surpassed the average white man in procuring skins and furs and wild game. He was, by nature, suited to this style of life. It was not by any means a life of ease and comfort, but was mostly attended with great hardships and privations. Only when the weather was pleasant and wild birds, fruits and nuts were plentiful and when the forest abounded with game, was the life of the Indian one of even compara-

tive ease. They were often forced to live on the nuts, buds and bark of trees, and, at such times starvation stared them in the face. They shared their provisions with each other equally in times of hunger and it has been said that if one should starve through want of provisions, all would starve, so closely were they bound together.

The Indian did not recognize any special difference between an animal and a human being, be he red or white. When killing an animal he frequently performed incantations over its body to appease its spirit so that it or the spirits of surviving animals would not become hostile to him or his people. He killed animals, not wantonly, as we do wild game, but only for their skins or flesh or in self-defense in ridding himself of dangerous beasts. The wanton destruction of wild animals, so common with the white race, a few years ago, was utterly unknown to him. On the contrary he preserved animals to his utmost ability. The average Indian killed the white man as readily as an animal, for the former he regarded as his mortal enemy. Except in battle, he rarely ever killed an Indian. Murder among Indians was so rare that the race had scarcely a definite punishment for it, though their punishments for many other crimes were well defined. The Indian murderer and his friends were forced to give presents, sometimes of considerable value, as Indians viewed them, to the representatives of the Indian who had been killed. Where presents were refused by the dead man's family, the murderer himself was given over to them as a slave and he was made to hunt and fish for them and to assist in their support. The presents consisted of corn, skins, guns, objects of adornment, etc. The murder of a woman, because of her helplessness, demanded more presents from the murderer than that of a man. Her life was moreover more necessary for the increase of the Indian race than that of a man, hence a greater number of presents was required in atonement. Stealing was much more common among them and it was punished by allowing the injured party not only to take the goods stolen, but to take from the thief all the goods he possessed. For treason or betraying his tribe in any way, the offender was put to death, the chief of the tribe usually appointing an Indian to stealthily shoot him.

They had dogs in this section, but no other domestic animals. They did not have horses until they secured them from the pioneers and very few were used here. This was probably because they were inhabiting a mountainous wilderness, unsuited originally to horseback riding. The much vaunted Indian feats of horsemanship were confined almost entirely to the boundless prairies of the west where they captured and tamed wild horses. Their long journeys were performed

in this section on foot or in canoes. They had trails or paths through the dense forest or over mountain chains over which they journeyed, conforming in a great measure in most instances, to our modern main highways. They also traveled a great deal by water. Though they made canoes by hollowing out logs, they were cumbersome at best, and the canoe of birch bark was perhaps the Indian's favorite for rapid navigation. They had learned to calk the cracks or joints with the exudations of the pine tree and make them entirely waterproof. They also made canoes of the skins of animals, and, as late as 1832, Irving, in his "Tour of the Prairies," refers to crossing swollen streams in buffalo skin canoes, a canoe being made out of a fresh buffalo hide by means of small poles. In these frail barks, they floated up and down our rivers, past frowning wooded mountains and through beautiful valleys, dividing the limpid waters with wondrous speed, dreaming not that better methods of navigation, near at hand, would soon appear to force them from their hunting grounds and, in the end, practically work the extermination of their titles to all of this country.

Though the Indians were naturally a strong athletic people, capable of great endurance and enured to all manner of hardships, they did not increase rapidly in numbers. Their poorly constructed habitations, the necessarily unsanitary condition of such huts and their nomadic habits, superinduced great mortality among their children, and, perhaps, only the stronger ones survived. This, with their habitual outdoor life, accounted in a great measure for the unusual strength and vitality of the Indian warrior. Living as they have been described, they were almost necessarily filthy in their habits, and, as a result, were greatly subjected to infectious diseases, such as fever and small-pox. When these diseases broke out, they were extremely destructive to the race, for they had but little knowledge of how to treat them successfully. They believed that all sickness was a result of an evil spirit that pervaded the sick man and the Indian doctors sought by signs, magic and hideous noises to drive the demon from his patient. The result of such treatment on the longevity of the Indian race may be readily imagined.

Reference has been made to the Indian women who cultivated small fields of corn and vegetables. Upon them devolved all the hard labor performed by the tribe. This included also the skinning of wild animals and carrying heavy burdens of skins, dried meat, etc., when they were making long journeys. Their squaws were at best, little better than beasts of burden. Their hard life shrivelled them and made them appear older than their years. They were hideous, neglected and despised in their latter years, and, as a result, became more

fierce, cruel and vindictive than were the men of their tribe. In explanation of the custom compelling them to perform the hard labor, it may be said that such duties were invariably performed by women of all people of the world when in that stage of civilization or of barbarism. Their Indian household duties, as may be readily imagined from the style of their wigwams, were necessarily few. The warrior, whether hunting wild animals or on the warpath, needed agility, a steady nerve and great reserve power above all things else, and these would have been impaired by labor in the fields or by carrying heavy burdens. The Indian boy was taught from childhood to run, jump, fish, swim, shoot and fight, but not to work. He was taught to go hungry and endure all manner of hardships and pain without complaint, preparing him in that way for what he might expect in after life. For this reason, even as a boy, he exhibited the remarkable stoicism of his race, when the flames kindled by the pioneers crept around his limbs. With such training, it is not to be wondered at that the Indian scorned and laughed at the wails of agony of his victims when they felt the flames devouring their quivering flesh, while he himself endured such pain in silence and with a fortitude worthy at least of the proverbial stoicism of the Grecian philosopher or the Roman prisoner.

Leading a lonely life in the forest, the Indian became a close observer of the phenomena of nature. He had studied the heavens for signs of rain and clear weather and so mastered them that his forecasting was almost unerring. Long before he knew the white man he had discovered that there were four seasons which regularly followed each other, and had discovered further that these four seasons were measured by thirteen moons. By moons he accurately counted his own age and the ages of his children and kept account of the noted events of his monotonous life. All this was kept in his mind purely, for he had no method of writing or physically preserving the record of events. For which reason, as indicated above, we have no account or history of the Indians as kept by themselves.

A strong trait in the Indian character was his love of bright colors and ornamentation. He painted his face and body, wore ornaments in his ears and nose and dressed his hair with bright feathers and his rude deer-hide garments with fringe. It has been supposed that this originated with him as a means of protection, for, when in the dense forest, clothed only in the skins of animals, without some bright colors or ornaments, he might easily have been the victim of an arrow intended for a supposed deer or bear. But so long did they thus array themselves that it became a passion with them of which they have

never been able to divest themselves. A youth of the Indian race of the present day may be educated away from his people, yet almost invariably upon his first opportunity, he will again assume the garb of his tribe, and is generally discontented with any other life than that of the Indian. The Secretary of the Interior some years ago through the Indian agency sent dark clothes to a western tribe which, after the fashion of that day, were lined with red and white barred material. Visiting them shortly afterward, the Indian agent noticed that they had uniformly turned their garments wrong side out so that they might display the bright colored linings. Less than any other members of the human family do they seem able to discard their hereditary customs. As a result, it has been found almost impossible to civilize them or to induce them to engage in habits or callings of our enlightened age.

The early settlers in America found the Indian in undisputed possession of a land of singular beauty, of great fertility and natural wealth. To dispossess him of his hunting ground was to incur his undying hatred and wrath. To suffer him to remain, precluded the possibility of our present civilization, for the interests of the two races were directly opposite to each other. The Indian could subsist only in a wilderness or on an unbounded prairie; the white man's sole ambition was to conquer the forest and the prairie, to till and improve the wild lands and make them contribute to his welfare. It was the Indian's misfortune that he was contended to lead only a nomadic and uncivilized life; that he in his make-up was entirely void of ambition, knew nothing of progress and industry, and consequently he did not improve the country which he inhabited. The white man, on the other hand, was contented only with improvement and was most happy when living on the product of his own labor. The same peculiarly unfortunate situation confronted the early settler in Southwestern Pennsylvania as well as elsewhere. Had the Indian not been dispossessed, the Ohio Valley would, to this day, have been covered with its primeval forest and inhabited only by the red man and wild animals. It was inevitable, therefore, that for our present civilization the Indian should be driven back. Before the aggressive white man filled with industry and ambition, the indolent Indian slowly followed the setting sun until his course has been almost a direct retreat from the Atlantic ocean to the Rocky mountains and even west of that. And in this westward march he was somewhat blighted, though not exterminated, for many writers of to-day think that there are actually as many Indians in the west now as ever inhabited the eastern States.

The great misfortune is that the most humane methods in dealing with the Indians in dispossessing them of their lands were not always, or indeed not generally, adopted by the pioneers of this country. General Jeffrey Amherst suggested to Colonel Henry Bouquet to try to inoculate the Indians around Fort Pitt with smallpox by means of blankets, as the brave Captain Ecuyer had tried to do before. Bouquet, whose humanity, like that of Amherst and Ecuyer, is admitted by all, replied that he would do so and that he regretted only that he could not adopt the Spanish method of hunting them with English dogs. In this connection, before censoring our ancestors too severely, we should remember that they were a sturdy, industrious people, not lacking in intellect nor in the cardinal virtues of charity, affection and honor; and that they were surrounded by obstacles which cannot be appreciated by our present generation. They doubtless, dealt with the Indians as they thought the exigencies of the times demanded.



CHAPTER XI

FORMATION OF WESTMORELAND COUNTY.

CHAPTER XI.

Formation of Westmoreland County.—Brought About By Virginia Claims.—Arthur St. Clair the Leading Spirit.—The Act Erecting the County.—The Early Justices of the Peace.—The First Courts Held at Hannastown.—First Business of the Courts.—The County Officers.—The Elections.—Robert Hanna Prevents the Selection of a New County Seat.—Hannastown.—Militia Parade.

Efforts were repeatedly made in Southwestern Pennsylvania after the opening of the land office for warrants in this section (in 1769) to organize a new county, for it must not be forgotten that we were all these years in Cumberland county. Petitions were presented to the Supreme Executive Council and, in 1771, the County of Bedford was organized with Bedford as its county seat. Cumberland county had assumed civil authority in this community in a way, as early as May, 1770, when Thomas Gist, Dorsey Pentecost, Arthur St. Clair and William Crawford were appointed justices of the peace for that part of Cumberland county which lay west of the Laurel Hill. We can, however, find no authority for saying that they exercised their official functions in this locality.

The reader may wonder why, when settlers lived so remote from their county seat, they were so slow in securing the erection of new counties. The length of time intervening between the formation of counties coming westward is indeed remarkable. Philadelphia, Bucks and Chester counties were formed by William Penn when the province was founded in 1682. These three counties have always been known as the Quaker counties. Next coming westward was Lancaster county, formed in 1729, while twenty years afterward came York county, in 1749, and Cumberland in 1750. Twenty years then elapsed before another county was formed on the southern border, though counties in the northern and north central part of the State had been formed in the meantime. The explanation of this slowness in forming counties coming westward is simple. A new county had to be erected by an act of the council and the old counties had a preponderating influence in that body. The Quaker counties particularly were strong, and desired to retain their majority in the Assembly or Council. Had it not been for the desire of the Proprietaries to sell lands in newly-acquired districts, it is doubtful whether they would have followed each other as rapidly in their formation as they did.

On the formation of Bedford county, justices were appointed for that region of Bedford lying west of Laurel Hill, which, of course,

included the County of Westmoreland as it exists now. The entire territory to the Ohio was divided into townships. Taxes were assessed and roads were laid out, but all accounts show that for the preservation of peace, the justices were almost powerless. A turbulent element, composed largely of fur traders, had grown up here and had organized themselves into a body to resist the power of the justices. One or two deputy sheriffs who came here from Bedford to arrest them, were severely beaten and sent home. Some indictments were preferred against members of this unruly element, but the authority was too feeble; they were too far removed from the seat of justice for the county justices to be in any way efficacious. Bedford was one hundred miles east of Pittsburgh and the only communication was by the Forbes road, which was at best but a crude military way winding over three ranges of mountains, and, by that time, badly neglected. The road was at that time fitted for little else than pack-horse trains, but there came a constant stream of immigration to this section. There was, moreover, a growing desire to settle on the Ohio or on the banks of these navigable rivers.

Westmoreland, therefore, as it existed then, became an important section. Pittsburgh was the metropolis of the west, and from it supplies were sent down the river to the southwest, for even then Western Virginia and Kentucky were filling up with pioneers from the east. There was no town within the present boundaries of Westmoreland county at that time and Pittsburgh was really the only town west of the Alleghenies. All legal business had to be transacted in Bedford.

Arthur St. Clair was then living in Ligonier, where he had formerly been in command of the fort, as we have seen. He had come to America with the army of General James Wolfe and had fought with him at Quebec. He had later married a wealthy young woman of Boston, Phoebe Bayard, and had finally become chief agent for the Penns in Southwestern Pennsylvania, having resigned his commission in the English-American army. In Scotland he had received a superior education, and, being of a noble family, had all his life moved in the best of society. He had taken up his residence near Fort Ligonier, where he acted as an arbiter between the authorities and Indian tribes. He had great influence with the Indians, for he always treated them fairly. His relations with the Penns, the glamour of his military record under the romantic General Wolfe, his education, his manners and wealth gave him a high standing all over the community.

In 1772 petitions were circulated in the settlements between Laurel Hill and the Ohio, praying for the erection of a new county.

These petitions set forth in good form the disadvantages under which the citizens labored, and asked that a county be formed with its county seat west of Laurel Hill. This movement was headed by Arthur St. Clair, and all of the settlers apparently looked to him to manage the matter before the Council and before the Penns. Finally the Assembly took the matter under consideration and in due time passed the organizing act, which was dated February 26, 1773. The Governor who signed the bill was Richard Penn, and he named its officers, as was his duty, to serve until their successors could be elected. At that time, in selecting names for new counties, the Council, or those introducing the bill, had not gotten away from the time-honored English names, for we were yet under the dominion of Great Britain. The new county was, therefore, named Westmoreland after a county of the same name in England. Since it included most of the western part of the province, its name was peculiarly appropriate. The first section of the act erecting the new county sets forth that its formation was represented to be necessary by petition signed by the inhabitants of that part of Bedford lying west of Laurel Hill, and that a new county was, therefore formed, called Westmoreland.

The first section also gave the boundary which began at a point where the most western tributary of the Youghiogheny crossed the boundary line of the province; thence down the eastern bank of the river till it crossed Laurel Hill; following Laurel Hill northeast till it ran into the Allegheny Mountains; thence following those mountains along the ridge dividing the Susquehanna from the Allegheny river to the purchase line at the head of the Susquehanna river, and from there due west to the place of beginning.

The second section of the act secured to the inhabitants all the rights and privileges then enjoyed by other counties. It provided also for the election of a representative in the Assembly, defining the place of holding the election as at the house of Robert Hanna until a court house should be built. The next section declared the authority of the justices of the Supreme Court to be the same in the new county as it was in other counties, and authorized them to deliver the jails from capital and other offenders. The last section indicated that there should be a competent number of justices authorized by the governor to hold courts of general quarter sessions of the peace and general jail delivery and courts for common pleas. It also designated the time for holding courts, fixing the time on Tuesday before the Bedford term of courts in the months of January, July and October.

The act also provided for the collection of taxes which had been assessed in Bedford county, for the continuance of suits previously brought in that county, and appointed trustees for building a court house and prison and directed that the sheriff of Bedford county should superintend the first election.

Thus it was that Westmoreland county began its civil existence. It was the eleventh of the original provincial counties and was the last one erected under the hereditary proprietaries and under the reign of the English law. The territory included in Westmoreland, as indicated by the boundary given above, embraced practically all the southwestern part of Pennsylvania. For reasons explained in a previous chapter, the authorities did not feel safe in taking in any territory west of the Fork of the Ohio river, nor did they feel safe about the western boundary, for Mason and Dixon's line had not been completed farther west than the western part of Maryland. They left the southwestern region beyond the most westerly branches of the Youghiogheny to Virginia, but claimed all the territory as far west as the Ohio. At this time Virginia claimed practically all the territory in Pennsylvania west of the mountains, and this claim in reality brought about the formation of Westmoreland county, for, by this means, the Penns hoped to assert their claims as against those of Virginia. This was undoubtedly the force that moved St. Clair in the formation of Westmoreland, for Bedford county, as we have said, was too remote to spread any civil government over this section, and he above all others, as the agent of the Penns, was expected to protect their claims.

The claims of Virginia will be considered definitely in the chapter following this.

On February 27, the day after the erecting act was passed, the Governor sent to the Assembly a list of names of persons he had chosen as justices in the county courts and as justices of the peace. These names were:

James Hamilton, Joseph Turner, William Logan, Richard Peters, Benjamin Chew, Thomas Cadwalader, James Tilghman, Andrew Allen, Edward Shippen, Jr., William Crawford, Arthur St. Clair, Thomas Gist, Alexander McLean, James Cavett, William Bracken, James Pollock, Samuel Sloan and Michael Rugb

A few words of explanation concerning the duties and powers of these justices may not be out of place here. Any three of them had power to hold the ordinary common pleas and quarter sessions courts. The act of September 9, 1759, provided that "persons of the best discretion, capacity, judgment and integrity" should be commissioned

for the common pleas and orphans' court, and that they, or any three of them, should be empowered to act. All of them were appointed for life, or for good behavior. By the constitution of 1776, this term was limited to seven years, but the constitution of 1790 restored the former tenure. The act of 1722 provided for the appointment of a Supreme Court of three judges, afterward increased to four, before whom proceedings of the county could be reviewed. The members of this Supreme Court were necessarily learned in the law and they had further jurisdiction over capital cases, and, for this purpose, one of them was compelled to sit in each county twice a year. Treason, murder, manslaughter, robbery, horse-stealing, arson, burglary, witchcraft, etc., were crimes, all of which were punishable by death. Any three of the above justices, therefore, could hold the ordinary courts, but they could not try a case, the punishment of which was death. They were also justices of the peace and could separately hear cases as such officers do now. Some of the above named justices were really great men and are spoken of many times in this work. They were not learned in the law, but were men of high standing in the community and almost every one of them had a trace of the manners of the Old World about them.

The first court was held at Hannastown, on April 6, 1773. The minutes recite that "it was held in the thirteenth year of the reign of our sovereign Lord George III. by the Grace of God, Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King and Defender of the faith, etc., and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-three." William Crawford and two of the associates, whose names were not given in the minutes, sat on the bench that day and organized a court of quarter sessions of the peace, Crawford presiding. There, in a low two-story log house, overshadowed by the trees of the forest, were the great principles of English jurisprudence publicly meted out to the pioneer inhabitants, and this was the first place west of the Allegheny mountains where English courts were held and justice was administered by judicial authority. The court house was on the Forbes road, about three and one-half miles northeast of the present town of Greensburg.

The first business of the court was to divide the county into eleven townships and to name the townships. Some of the names had already been given, however, to localities in this section as townships in Bedford county. These eleven townships covered all the territory of Westmoreland county between Kittanning and the Youghiogheny river and between Laurel Hill and the Ohio, as is evidenced by their boundaries given in the minutes. The townships were named Fair-

field, Donegal, Huntingdon, Mount Pleasant, Hempfield, Pitt, Tyrone, Spring Hill, Manillin, Rostraver and Armstrong.

Pitt township included all of the present county of Allegheny east of the Allegheny river and south of the Ohio river and much that is now included in Westmoreland, Fayette and Washington counties. In the court minutes, its boundary is noted as beginning at the mouth of the Kiskiminetas river and running down the Allegheny river to its junction with the Monongahela river; thence down the Ohio to the western boundary of the province; thence down the westward boundary to the line of Spring Hill township; thence along that line to the mouth of Redstone creek; thence down the Monongahela river to the mouth of the Youghiogheny river; thence with the line of Hempfield township to the mouth of Brush Run; thence with the line of said township to the beginning.

Fairfield township to begin at the mouth of Roaring Run, thence down the Loyalhanna to Chestnut Ridge, thence with the line of Armstrong township to Laurel Hill, thence along the county line to where the Roaring Run crosses it at a point due east of the head spring of said run, thence down the run to the beginning. That part of Armstrong township that lies between the Laurel Hill and Chestnut Ridge shall be added to Fairfield township.

Donegal to begin where the line of Fairfield township intersects the county line, thence along that line to where the Youghiogheny crosses the same, thence down the north side of the Youghiogheny to the top of Chestnut Ridge, thence along the top of said ridge to the line of Armstrong, thence up the Loyalhanna to the mouth of the big Roaring Run, and thence up said run to the beginning.

Huntingdon to begin at the mouth of Brush Run, where it empties into Brush creek and to go along Byerly's path to Braddock's road, thence along said road to the line of Mount Pleasant township, thence along the line of Tyrone and Pitt townships to the beginning.

Mount Pleasant to begin where the Loyalhanna breaks through Chestnut Ridge, thence down the Loyalhanna to the mouth of Crabtree Run and up the same to the main road, thence with a due course to Braddock's road, thence with the south side of that road to where it crosses Jacob's creek, thence up Jacob's creek to the line of Fairfield.

Hempfield to begin at the mouth of Crabtree Run and running down the Loyalhanna to its junction with the Conemaugh, thence down the Kiskiminetas to the mouth, thence with a straight line to the head of Brush Run, thence down Brush Run to Brush creek, thence by a straight line to the mouth of the Youghiogheny, thence up the Youghiogheny to the mouth of Jacob's creek, thence up Jacob's creek to the line of Mount Pleasant township.

Springhill beginning at the mouth of Redstone creek and a due west course to the western boundary of the Province, thence by the Province line to the southern boundary of the Province, thence east with the southern boundary to where it crosses the Youghiogheny, then west along the Youghiogheny to Laurel Hill, thence by the line

of Tyrone township to Gist's, and thence with that line to the beginning.

Mauallin beginning at the mouth of Brown's Run, thence due east to the top of Laurel Hill and westward to the limits of the Province.

Rostraver beginning at the mouth of Jacob's creek and running down the Youghiogheny to where it joins the Monongahela, then up the Monongahela to the mouth of Redstone creek, and thence with a straight line to the beginning.

Armstrong to begin where the line of the county crosses the Conemaugh, then running with the river to the line of Fairfield, then along that line to the Loyalhanna, then down the Loyalhanna and down the Kiskiminetas to the Allegheny and up the Allegheny to the Kittanning, thence with a straight line to the headwaters of Twolick or Blacklick creek, and thence with a straight line to the beginning.

Tyrone beginning at the mouth of Jacob's creek, thence up that creek to the line of Fairfield township, thence by the Fairfield line to the Youghiogheny river, thence along the foot of Laurel Hill to Gist's, thence by Bird's road to where it crosses Redstone creek, thence down that creek to its mouth, and thence by a straight line to the beginning.

After the division of the county into townships, the minutes show that a grand jury was called and that John Carnahan was foreman. A number of constables were appointed and they were put to work at once, for several jurymen who were summoned had failed to attend. These were brought in by the constables and fined by the justices. A number of persons were also authorized to sell liquor, their names being Erasmus Bockavus, John Barr, William Elliot, George Kelly, and Joseph Erwin. The latter kept an inn at Hannastown in a log house which was owned by Robert Hanna, who was probably on the Bench when the license was granted and is supposed to have taken care of his tenant. There is, however, no evidence that any who applied for license were refused. The courts also fixed the rate to be charged by the tavern keepers who were licensed, and directed that the clerk of courts should make out a copy of these rates for every landlord who should pay the clerk six shillings for doing so. A copy of these rates was to be suspended in a prominent place in their hotels. The rates fixed by the justices were spread on the minutes and were as follows:

Whiskey, per gill, 4 pence; West Indian Rum, per gill, 6 pence; Continent. per gill, 4 pence; Toddy, per gill, 1 shilling; one bottle of West India Rum Toddy in which there shall be one-half pint of loaf sugar, 1 shilling and 6 pence; a bottle of continent, 1 shilling; Madeira Wine, per bottle, 7 shillings and 6 pence; Lisbon Wine, per bottle, 6 pence; West Toland Wine, 5 shillings; Grain, per quart, 2½ pence; Hay and Stabling, per night, 1 shilling; Pasturage, per night, or

twenty-four hours, 6 pence; Cider, per quart, 1 shilling; Strong Beer, per quart, 8 pence.

The incompatibility of officers to which we are accustomed now was, apparently, not thought of then, as is evidenced by the minutes of these early courts. One man could hold as many offices as he could secure. Arthur St. Clair was the first prothonotary and clerk of courts, which offices he also held in Bedford county before. He, that is his clerk, recorded deeds and performed all the business of the courts for a time. He was also appointed a justice of the peace and heard cases before him at his home in Ligonier and sometimes sat on the common pleas bench at Hannastown. Occasionally too, he conducted a case, perhaps, in the absence of a regular attorney. He kept the court records, and, during the time of the Indian incursions and during Dunmore's war, he took the records to his house near Fort Ligonier for safe keeping. John Proctor was appointed sheriff, a position which he held in Bedford county, although living west of Laurel Hill, his home being in what is now Unity township, near St. Vincent's Monastery. His sureties were William Loughry and Robert Hanna, and they were approved in the presence of Michael Huffnagle by Arthur St. Clair, all of whom were justices of the same court.

James Bryson was employed by Arthur St. Clair as his office clerk and remained in office some years after St. Clair resigned to enter the Revolution. Those who will take the time to examine the first court records as kept by Bryson will feel amply repaid and will be delighted by their legibility and artistic beauty. After more than one hundred and forty years they are almost as bright and legible as though they were written but yesterday, while many writings written almost a century afterward are rapidly becoming illegible because of the fading ink. James Bryson afterward became a prominent citizen and clerk of the courts of Pittsburgh. John Proctor, the first sheriff, was a man of sturdy qualities and, though appointed by the Penns, took sides against them when their Tory principles brought them into conflict with the people. He was a colonel in the militia of his day, of a regiment of associators brought into being by the gathering warclouds. During the Revolution he held many offices of trust and, with Thomas Galbraith, was appointed to seize the property of Tories in Westmoreland, most of whom were then centered in and around Pittsburgh. Later, he was a member of the Legislature of Pennsylvania. His last days were somewhat clouded, for his property was sold by the sheriff in 1791 and his family was left very poor. He was a Presbyterian and his house was used as a preaching place

before the church was built. He is buried in Unity Cemetery, near Latrobe, in a unmarked and unknown grave.

The election which was provided for by the erecting act was held in Hanna's house on October 1, 1773. Proctor was elected sheriff and was commissioned on October 18. Joseph Beeler, James Smith and James Cavett were elected county commissioners; James Kinkaid and William Wilson were chosen coroners; Benjamin Davis, Charles Hitchman, Christopher Hayes, Philip Rodgers, James McLain and Alex. Barr were elected assessors for the various parts of the county. William Thompson was elected the first assemblyman of Westmoreland county. All were sworn into office by St. Clair. The commissioners proceeded at once after their election, to adjust debts and to levy a county tax. For eight years the entire county voted at Hannastown. In 1783 two other districts were provided, but with the erection of Fayette county in one of them, the Redstone district fell almost entirely within the new county. The Legislature, therefore, changed the district so that those electors who still remained in Westmoreland should vote at William Moore's house in Rostraver township. The act of September 13, 1785, redivided the county into five districts. All lying north of the Conemaugh and Kiskiminetas rivers were to vote at Daniel Johnson's house. All in Ligonier valley, between Fayette county and the Conemaugh river, were to vote at Samuel Jamison's house. All in Huntingdon and Rostraver townships were to vote at William Moore's house in the latter township; those in the Fort Pitt district, now Allegheny county, were to vote at Devaux Smith's house, and all who were not included in these four districts were to vote at Hannastown.

It was scarcely supposed when the county was formed that the county seat would or could be located elsewhere than in Pittsburgh. It was then the only town in the county, and, though at its western border, so far as the real jurisdiction of the courts extended, it was the metropolis of all of Southwestern Pennsylvania. The trustees appointed by the Supreme Executive Council were: Robert Hanna, Joseph Erwin, John Cavett, George Wilson and Samuel Sloan. Robert Hanna had come from the North of Ireland and had taken up lands on the Forbes road, about thirty-four miles from Pittsburgh. There was even then considerable travel over the road and a demand for a stopping place between Pittsburgh and Fort Ligonier. To cater to this demand he had converted his log house into a tavern, but the law forbade the granting of a license to one who, by virtue of his office, could sit on the bench, and Hanna had accordingly rented his tavern to Joseph Erwin.

Hanna was undoubtedly a leader of men and a man of more than the average shrewdness. He rapidly induced other immigrants to settle around him, so that the place was, even as early as 1773, known as Hannastown. Erwin, being Hanna's tenant, readily sided with Hanna, and, in some way, they induced Samuel Sloan, who lived nearby, to vote with them in their refusal to select a permanent county seat. Thus, there were three out of five trustees who voted for Hannastown. The place had many disadvantages and only advantage over Pittsburgh, that is, it was more centrally located between Laurel Hill and the Ohio. It was temporarily selected with great opposition, particularly from Pittsburgh, and other settlements west of Hannastown. Aeneas MacKay, a merchant of Pittsburgh, on March 13, 1773, wrote a letter to Arthur St. Clair in which he greatly depreciated the selection of Hannastown. In the letter he says:

Everybody up this way are well satisfied there is a County this side of the Hills, although I find everybody else as well as myself observes with infinite concern that the point in question is not attended with so favorable circumstances as we at this place had reason to expect from the very nature of things. I cannot express my surprise at the point determined in favor of the courts of law as sitting at Hanna's Town. Pray may I ask the question where is the convenience for transacting business on these occasions, as there are neither houses, tables nor chairs. Certainly people must sit at the roots of trees and stumps and in case of rain the lawyer's books and papers must be exposed to the weather. Yet to no purpose as they cannot presume to write, consequently nothing can be done but that of receiving fees by which means everybody, the lawyers only excepted, going to or attending court, must be sufferers. No doubt Mr. Erwin and a few more of his party may find they are interested in this glaring stretch of partiality; yet we, at this place in particular, are too much interested to overlook such proceedings in silence. The whole inhabitants exclaim against the step already taken to the injury of the county yet in its infancy, and that, too, before it got its eyes or tongue to speak for itself. My dear friend, if I had as much to say among the great as you, I would declare it as my opinion that it would be absolutely necessary that the trustees should be nominated in Philadelphia, by which means I think we could not fail to have the point in question carried in our favor; whereas, should they be appointed by this way it is ten to one Joe Erwin, the tavern keeper, and his associates will prevail.

St. Clair was thoroughly a public-spirited man, and though he owned thousands of acres of land east of Hannastown and none at that time at Pittsburgh, he easily forgot his own interests, as he did in all public matters, and steadily favored Pittsburgh as a county

seat. On January 15, 1774, he wrote a letter to Joseph Shippen, president of the Supreme Executive Council, which throws considerable light on the matter. The letter was written at Ligonier and is published in the Pennsylvania Archives, volume 4, page 471, and is as follows:

Sir:—This letter will be delivered to you by Mr. Hanna, one of the trustees of Westmoreland county and to some maneuver of his I believe the opposition to fixing the county town at Pittsburg is chiefly owing, as it is to his interest that it should continue where the law has fixed the courts protempore; he lives there, used to keep a public house there and has now on that respect rented his house at an extravagant price. Erwin, another trustee, adjoins and is also a public house keeper. A third trustee, Sloan, lives in the neighborhood which always makes a majority for continuing the courts at the present place. A passage in the law for erecting a county is that the courts shall be held at Hanna's house till a court house and a jail are built. This puts it in their power to continue them as long as they please for a little management might prevent the court house from being built these twenty years. Then you will excuse inaccuracies as I write in the greatest hurry. Mr. Hanna holding the horse while I write. I will see you early in the spring.

Sending letters by men who chanced to be going east was common in those days, for there was no mail service. Much of Western Pennsylvania's early history depends on material sent east in this way. It was not usual, however, that they were carried by men whose actions they criticised as severely as this one does those of the bearer. The matter of a more permanent selection was delayed just as St. Clair feared it would be. On October 3, 1774, when four of the trustees met, they made the following report:

We being appointed Trustees for the County of Westmoreland to make a report for a proper place, having accurately examined and considered the same, do report that 'tis our opinion that Hannastown seems to be the most central and fit to answer the purpose intended. We are further of the opinion that should your Honor and the Honorable Council think the Brush Creek Manor a more proper place, it cannot be of much disadvantage to the County. We pray your Honor sentiments on this head which will be most fully acknowledged by us. (Signed) ROBERT HANNA, JOSEPH ERWIN, SAMUEL SLOAN, JOHN CAVETT.

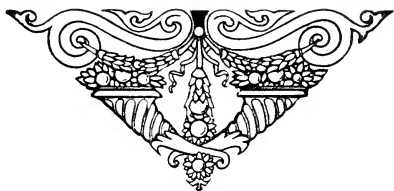
It will be seen that in addition to Hanna and the trustees whom he controlled, they had induced John Cavett to sign the report with them in favor of Hannastown. George Wilson did not sign it. Both he and Cavett were united in opposition to its location at Hannastown. They had steadily favored and voted for Pittsburgh. St. Clair,

in speaking in favor of Pittsburgh, even then foretold something of the great future the place had in store. He probably saw the importance of its location on three navigable rivers. Many of the farseeing citizens favored Pittsburgh for the reason that, though it was in our territory, Virginia was claiming it and they wanted to more boldly assert their rights to it by founding a county town with all its attending civil powers, in the heart of the disputed territory. St. Clair also stated in a letter to Governor Richard Penn that Hanna and Erwin had voted for Hannastown through selfish motives. Aside from Virginia's claim, which would undoubtedly have been weakened by the selection of Pittsburgh, Hannastown was not a bad selection, particularly in view of the counties that were a few years afterward formed all around it.

The report and action of the trustees was never indorsed entirely by the Proprietary governor and it is doubtful if Hannastown would have become the permanent county seat even though it had not met with disaster. The trustees adopted the very plan which St. Clair feared in his letter above quoted. They never built a court house there, but court was held at Hanna's house, which was, of course, his dwelling house. Hannastown was then a collection of twelve to fifteen houses built of hewed logs and roofed with split shingles or clapboards, as they were called. Most of these houses had but one story and a loft, the latter often only accessible by a ladder, or even by pins driven into the logs. The well-to-do people of that place, for wealth has only a relative value, had two-story houses with two rooms and a large chimney and fireplace below. There was a stockade erected in Hannastown in 1774 under the direction and by the advice of St. Clair. This undoubtedly helped the town and settlement a great deal, for the pioneers felt more secure if located near a fort or stockade. The town had increased to twenty or twenty-five log houses when the Revolution came in 1775, but it never grew much after that for the reason that during the war most of the citizens of this western community were bearing arms in defense of the colonies and home improvements were sadly neglected. The best days of Hannastown were from 1773 to 1776. Moving westward from the old counties was then at its height and this town was on the popular and only highway through Pennsylvania.

When the warclouds began to gather, militia musters came into vogue and these for all parts of Westmoreland county were held at Hannastown. Militia parade day was a great event among our forefathers and remained for more than fifty years without a rival as a means of assembling the honest yeomen of our western section.

Nearly all of our population was then in the country. There were but few towns and but small need of them. The people raised all they ate and, with spinning wheels and looms, manufactured nearly everything they wore from wool and flax, both home products. There were no stores in a modern sense in Hannastown. There was scarcely anything to buy and no money to buy it with, and hence the absence of stores. Whiskey, rum, etc., were sold under a license and there was also a demand for flints, powder, lead and a few other articles, but there was no occasion for even a small country store.



CHAPTER XII

THE WORK OF THE EARLY COURTS.

CHAPTER XII.

The Early Courts and Early Methods of Punishment.—Severe Sentences of the Courts.—Species of Servitude.—The Redemptioner.—Evils Growing Out of This Species of Servitude.—Characteristics of the Early Landowners.—Rewards Offered for Washington's Runaway Slave.—Abolition of Slavery in Pennsylvania.—List of Slaveholders and of Slaves.—An Early Murder Trial.—Behavior of the Indian Defendant.

Shortly after the courts of the new county were opened at Hannastown, the trustees began the erection of a jail. It was made of logs, using only the largest trees. It was a square building of one story and one room. It was strong enough to hold the average prisoner, and those who were considered dangerous and likely to break jail were chained to the logs. Even in comparison to the number incarcerated, jail-breaking was not so common then as now. Nearby the jail was the whipping-post and the pillory, for it must be remembered that our laws then required these instruments of punishment and they were used in Hannastown as will be seen farther on. The whipping-post was a section of a small tree, perhaps a foot in diameter, hewn flat on one side and firmly implanted in the ground. About six feet from the ground was a cross-piece five or six feet long and thoroughly fastened to the upright post. The whippings were always public performances. When the wrongdoer was about to be punished, his wrists were tied together and his hands were drawn up and tied to the end of this cross-piece. The culprit was then ready to expiate his crime and afford a public illustration of the vaunted majesty of the English law, which Blackstone calls "The accumulated wisdom of all ages." The sheriff or his deputy did the whipping.

The pillory was made like large folding doors and fastened between two upright posts. In this door were three holes and through these holes the head and arms of the prisoner were passed and his arms tied together. In this position he was forced to stand for such a period as the sentence directed. By the English law, which was then in force in Hannastown, every person passing a prisoner in the pillory had the right to throw one stone at him, and we believe he had an equal right, if he chose to exercise it, to express his contempt for the sentence or his belief in the prisoner's innocence by giving him flowers, or otherwise contributing to his comfort. The pillory was erected in the open, where a passerby could exercise his time-honored common law right of stone casting. The court records show that this

method of punishment was not by any means uncommon in Hannastown.

It is impossible from the records to determine from what section of old Westmoreland the defendants hailed, but the following sentences are taken from the records as kept in Hannastown and are now in the court house in Greensburg. All of the Pittsburgh cases were tried there, and, since it was the largest and most important town in the county and since the county then also included Washington and Fayette counties, it is quite safe to presume that many of the cases came from those sections. At all events, the sentences are fairly representative of the early work of the Westmoreland courts.

The first man to be whipped was James Brigland, who, in October, 1773, pleaded guilty to a felony and was sentenced by Judge William Crawford to receive ten lashes on his bare back, well laid, on the next morning between the hours of eight and ten o'clock. But Brigland had been convicted of another crime and the sentence on the second case was that on the morning following his first whipping, he was to receive twenty additional lashes. Luke Picket was found guilty of stealing and was sentenced to receive twenty-one lashes on his bare back, well laid on, the following morning between the hours of eight and ten o'clock. So with Huens West, who was also convicted of stealing, though his sentence called for but fifteen lashes. John Smith was charged with stealing and pleaded guilty. His sentence reflects but little credit on our early courts, or rather on the English law then in force, which authorized it. We doubt whether the court records of Western Pennsylvania can produce its equal in severity for the offense for which he was sentenced. He was to receive thirty-nine lashes on the bare back, well laid on, after which his ears were to be cut off and nailed to the pillory, and his sentence reads that he should then stand one hour in the pillory. Fortunately our court history is not often disgraced with sentences as severe as this. William Howard suffered one hour in the pillory in 1774, after having received thirty lashes on the bare back, well laid on. This sentence was carried out in the month of January, when the temperature is not supposed to have been very mild.

In October, 1775, Elizabeth Smith was sentenced to receive fifteen lashes on the bare back, well laid on. She had been an indentured servant of James Kinkaid, who had, therefore, at that time, a right to her uninterrupted services. Four days after she was whipped, Kinkaid presented a petition to our courts setting forth that he had been unjustly deprived of her services while she was in prison and while she was recovering from the effects of the sentence. He asked the

court, therefore, to redress him for this loss. Justices Lochry, Sloan and Cavett were on the bench and they deliberately considered his request and directed that she, Elizabeth Smith, should serve Kinkaid for a period of two years after the expiration of her indenture. James McGill was found guilty of a felony in 1782 and sentenced to a public whipping, then to the pillory, after which his one ear was to be cut off and he was to be branded on the forehead with a red hot iron.

It is not pleasant to contemplate these atrocious sentences. They are matters of our court history and all of them were tried before the Westmoreland courts which had jurisdiction over all of Southwestern Pennsylvania. They are introduced here to preserve them and to give the reader a true picture of the age with which we are dealing, and that he may realize how our courts have improved and advanced in their administration of justice in the past century. All of the court business of this character was conducted in the name of the King of England, George III. Instead of being headed "Commonwealth against John Smith," as is the custom now, the caption was "The King against John Smith," etc. But immediately after July 4, 1776, when the Declaration of Independence was signed, "The King" was dropped from the records and "Republica" or "Respublica" was instituted, and later the word "Commonwealth" used, the caption which is still in vogue.

Perhaps the servitude of Elizabeth Smith referred to above, needs some explanation. We had at that time in Pennsylvania three species of servitude or slavery. They were all found in this community and, moreover, were very common here. First, there were indentured servants who were bound either for life or for a term of years, generally for the latter. It may have been a very harmless indenture, but was of very common occurrence. A minor could thus be indentured by his parents, or when twenty-one years old he could indenture himself. Sometimes it was very simple. That is, when a father indentured his son to pay him a debt or to pay his debt to another, perhaps for the conveyance of a piece of land. This indenture was in any case recognized by the law. The second class were foreigners who were poor in Europe and, by indenture for a term of years, secured some one to pay their passage to America. These indentures were largely in the hands of speculators. The person giving them was called a "redemptioner" and an indenture was transferable, so that speculators could gather up any number of people in Europe, indenture them for his own service, bring them to America and here sell their services to the highest bidder or at private sale. Thus the speculator

could realize a large profit on the amount he invested for passage money and there was then no law to prevent it.

This species of servitude is illustrated in a number of the more recent American novels and became somewhat noted more than a century ago in the case of James Annesly, who was a true heir to the estate of Lord Althan in Ireland. When a lad he was stolen from his parents by his uncle, who brought him to Philadelphia and sold him as a redemptioner or slave. Two of his countrymen, who chanced to be in Lancaster county, recognized him and took him back to Ireland, where legal proceedings were instituted which resulted in his reinstatement as the rightful heir to his personal estates. This remarkable case and trial is reported in English law reports and is the ground work of Charles Reade's novel entitled "The Wandering Heir." The romance of his career also furnished the plot of Guy Mannering, of Roderick Random and of Florence McCarthy. Another more modern story is "The Redemptioner," by Mary Johnston.

Our forefathers sanctioned all this by their laws, court decisions and actions. Many inferior people were thus brought to America, yet some of the redemptioners were of very good blood. Redemptioners were very common in Westmoreland, particularly in the river districts. Many of our farmers and well-to-do people, purchased their servants. Sometimes the position of a redemptioner was but little better than that of the proverbial negro slave in the far south. It is a deplorable fact that the more we look into the matter the less we venerate our pioneer ancestors, many of whom made high pretensions. We should not judge them too harshly, however, but, on the contrary, we must take into consideration the condition of our country, its laws and the age in which they lived. The people could not be expected to be better than the laws which governed them. To illustrate the rigor of the law in that day, a man was allowed to beat his wife, if the stick he used was not thicker than the judge's thumb.

Many who came from England and Ireland purchased large tracts of land and at once regarded themselves as Nabobs, owners of large landed estates, like the landlords of England. They succeeded unfortunately in emulating and imitating the weaker rather than the stronger characteristics of the landed gentry of Great Britain. Hugh Henry Breckenridge, afterwards justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and one of the brightest men of his day, in a work entitled "Modern Chivalry," says that they had men in Westmoreland who held and abused slaves and redemptioners who would not for a "fine cow have shaved their beards on Sunday."

Our courts frequently in other cases than Kinkaid against Smith,

as noted above, were called on and did extend the time of service of redemptioners because of the loss of time and for various other reasons mentioned in the petitions of their masters. This can be seen in the case of George Paul against Margaret Butler of July session, 1773, and in the case of Semple against Jane Adams, July session, 1778, and in many other intervening cases. In July session, 1773, John Campbell showed by petition that his servant, Michael Henry, had been sent to jail and that the petitioner therefore sustained a loss of two pounds and seventeen shillings, together with much time and annoyance and, therefore, asked the court for such redress as it saw fit to grant him. The court decreed that Michael Henry should serve him for four and one-half months after the expiration of his indenture. So in the case of Gutchell against Quilkin, at the same term of court wherein Andrew Gutchell set forth that his servant, Joseph Quilkin, will not do his duty but, on the contrary, is negligent and idle, and prays for relief against those from whom he purchased Quilkin. The court took Quilkin into custody and issued a summons against Robert Meek, Alexander Bowling and William Bashers to appear at the next session and give sufficient reasons for selling Quilkin as a servant. Again, on motion of Mr. Wilson, in behalf of George Paul, setting forth that Margaret Butler, his servant, had by reason of sickness and disobedience, deprived him of much time, forcing him to incur much expense for her, the court adjudged that Margaret Butler should serve the said master, George Paul, one year and six months from the time that she ended her indenture. In April session, 1775, one Godfrey sets forth by petition that he had been bought as a servant by Edward Lindsey and by Lindsey sold to Edwin Price and by Price sold to William Newill, and that the term of his servitude had expired. The court heard the testimony, and whereas, William Newill, the last purchaser, was not in court to defend his claim to a longer term, Godfrey was discharged from further bondage.

The following bill of sale from Valentine Crawford to John Mentor, the original of which is in the court files of Greensburg, will illustrate how these people were indentured:

Know all men by these presents, that I, Valentine Crawford, of the County of West Augusta, for and in consideration of the sum of fifty pounds, lawful money to me in hand paid by John Mentor, the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge, have bargained and sold unto the said John Mentor a certain negro woman named Sal, which said negro I, the said Valentine Crawford, will forever warrant and defend to the said John Mentor, his heirs and assigns. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal this twelfth day of April, 1776.

The reader will remember that part of Westmoreland county was then, according to the Virginia claims, in West Augusta county of that State.

The third species of servitude to which we have referred was African slavery. There were many slaves held in Southwestern Pennsylvania, particularly among the pioneers who came from Virginia, but the institution was not confined to the settlers of Virginia by any means. George Washington then owned property in Westmoreland county, and his agent, Valentine Crawford, whose bill of sale we have quoted, worked Washington's property, in part at least, with slaves. In a letter to Washington, dated July 27, 1774, he says:

Dear Colonel:—On Sunday evening or Monday, one of the most orderly men I thought I had ran away and has taken a horse and other things. I have sent you an advertisement of him * * * I have sold all the men but two and I believe I should have sold them, but the man who has run away had a very sore foot which was cut with an axe and John Smith was not well of the old disorder he had when he left your house. I sold Peter Miller and John Wood to Edward Cook for forty-five pounds, the money to be applied to building your mill. I sold Thomas MacPherson and his wife and James Howe to Major Joseph McCullough and Jonas Ennis for sixty-five pounds, payable in six months from date. To my brother I sold William Luke, Thomas White and the boy, John Knight. He is to pay for them, or, if you open up your plantation down the Ohio, he is to return them to you * * * I should have sold all the servants agreeable to your letter if I could have got the cash or good pay for them, but the confusion of the times put it out of my power. I went down to Fort Pitt a day or two and two of my own servants ran away. I followed them and caught them at Bedford and brought them back. While I was gone two of your servants stole a quantity of bacon and so I sold them at once.

The following is a copy of the advertisement referred to in the above letter from Crawford to Washington:

FIVE POUNDS REWARD.

Ran away from the subscriber, living on Jacob's Creek, near Stewart's Crossing in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, on Sunday night the 24th instant, a convict servant man named William Orr, the property of Colonel George Washington. He is a well-made man about 5 ft 10 in. high and about 24 years of age. He was born in Scotland and speaks that dialect pretty much. He is of red complexion and very full faced with short sandy colored hair and very remarkable thumbs, they both being crooked. He had on and took with him an old felt hat bound with black binding, one near cotton coat and a jacket with horn buttons, one old brown jacket, a pair of snuff colored breeches, one pair of trousers made in sailor fashion and

they are made of sail duck, and have not been washed, a pair of red leggins and shoes tied with strings, two Osnabury shirts and one Highland shirt marked "V. C.," which he stole, and a blanket.

He stole likewise a black horse about fourteen hands high branded on the near shoulder "R. W." and shod before. He had neither bridle nor saddle that we know of. I expect he will make some seaport town as he has been much used to the seas. Whoever takes up the said servant and secures him so that he and horse may be had again shall receive the above reward, or three pounds for the man alone and reasonable charges if brought home paid by me.

All masters of vessels are forbidden taking him out of the country on their peril.

July 25th, 1774.

VAL CRAWFORD,

For Col. George Washington.

By act of March 1, 1780, African slavery was abolished in Pennsylvania. It provided that every one who held negroes or mulattoes as slaves was obliged to file with the clerk of quarter sessions of the county in which he resided his or her name and the names, number, sex and age of all slaves held by them. The conflicting boundary claims of Pennsylvania and Virginia had not yet been definitely settled, and many people in Westmoreland who held slaves claimed that they were not amenable to the act of the Pennsylvania Legislature of March 1, but held that they should be governed by Virginia. This resulted in a special act in Pennsylvania dated April 13, 1782, by which the time of making the registry of slaves in Westmoreland was extended. The list of slaves made by their masters in pursuance of these acts is yet in the office of the clerk of courts in Greensburg. It contains the names of three hundred and forty-two male slaves and three hundred and forty-nine females and four whose sex is not given. Eleven are called mulattoes. The names of the slave owners are of those who were most prominent in social life, and, of course, of the more wealthy people of the county of that day. Among them are the names of two clergymen, while at least six of the early ministers in and around Pittsburgh and nearly all of the leading elders and officers of the various churches, were slaveholders. They were generally members of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, and this species of slavery was largely confined to the southern part of the county, along the rivers and to the locality in and about Pittsburgh. After the passage of the above acts of Assembly, many slaveholders removed from here to Maryland and Virginia and carried their slaves with them. They did this rather than manumit them according to the mandates of the new acts. Both the acts above referred to, in phraseology and sentiments of benevolence and civil liberty, no less than in their remedial

benefits, stand out prominently and are not surpassed by any of our legislative enactments.

The following list gives the names of the slaveholders of our county at that time. They were among our best people:

A LIST OF NEGRO AND MULATTO SLAVES

Registered in Westmoreland County pursuant to an Act of Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania, entitled "An act for the gradual abolition of slavery," passed the 1st day of March, A. D. 1780, and to an Act of Assembly entitled "An act to redress certain grievances within the counties of Westmoreland and Washington," passed the 13th day of April A. D. 1782.

The date of entry is first given, then the names of owners, followed by the sex, age and name of the slave.

Sept. 25, 1780.

James Gray. Female, 25, Beck.

Oct. 12, 1780.

Edward Cook. Male, 45, Jame; female, 35, Sall; male, 24, Davy; male, 22, Joshua; female, 17, Esther; female, 16, Nelly; female, 1, Sue.

Providence Mountz. Male, 28, Sam; female, 22, Let; female, 2, Phillis.

Van Swearingen. Male, 25, Will; male, 30, Tony; male, 23, Winn; female, 13, Wester or Hester; female, 9, Feby; male, 4, Harkless; male, 16, Jack; male, 18, Tom; male, 1, Will, Jr.

Joseph Jones. Female, 17, Cloe; female, 15, Bridget; male, 1, Dick.

Devereux Smith, Pittsburgh. Female, 43, Suck; female (mulatto), 7, Lucy.

Oct. 16, 1780.

Thomas Galbraith, Fairfield township. Male, 20, Ben; male, 13, George.

Oct. 18, 1780.

Joseph Dorsey. Male, 30, Charles; male, 32, Phil; male, 19, Aaron; male, 19, Tom; male, 25, Casse; female, 28, Jane; male, 12, Pompey; female, 6, Rachel; female, 4, Phillis; male, 2, George; male, 1½, Frederick; male, ½, James; male, 5 months, Harmer.

Oct. 18, 1780.

John Hamal. Male, 40, Bigion; female, 30, Phillis; female, 8, Armice; female, 6, Dorrah; female, 4, Chisiah; female, 2, Hanna.

Oct. 22, 1780.

Henry Husk, Mount Pleasant township. Male, 45, Friday; male, 45, Monday; female, 35, Jane; female, 30, Madam; female, 11, Suck; female, 14, Baywell; male, 8, George; male, 6, Bob; female, 2, Gob; male, 3, Harry; female, 16 months, Phillis.

Oct. 22, 1780.

Moses Watson. Male, 30, Jane.

Arthur O'Hara. Male, 6, Bob.

Oct. 26, 1780.

Arthur Frazer. Female, 23, Jude; female, 1½, Pat.

Dec. 28, 1780.

John McKibbins. Male, 15, Lidge.

Zachariah Cornel. Male, 32, Tom; female, 40, Luce.

Henry Heath. Male, 45, Peroks; female, 40, Judea; a mulatto, name nor sex ascertained, 14.

Andrew Heath. Male, 11, Dick.

William Conwell. Female, 14, Gin.

Andrew Robertson. Female, 39, Elizabeth.

Oct. 28, 1780.

Walter Briscoe. Male, 39, Mudd; male, 36, Roger; male, 65, Tom; male, 70, Fortymore; female, 14, Phillis; female, 14, Dinah; male, 15, Jacob; female, 39, Heager; female, 9, Esther.

Edmund Freeman. Male, 35, George; male, 27, Harry; female, 41, Charlotte; male, 17, Ned.

George Swan. Male, 17, Pryor; female, 35, Kate; female, 12, Jean; male, 9, Luke; female, 5, Violetta; female, 1, Betty; female, 25, Penelope; male, 5, Gerard; female, 2, Sibia.

John Swan. Male, 35, Jack; male, 12, John.

David Duncan. Male, 18, Peet; female, 21, Sue; female, 10, Cate; female, 11 months, Cook; male, 2½, Frank.

David Sample, Esq. Male, 14, Tom; male, 12, Nero; female, 12, Vine; female, 14, Dinah.

Soskey Wright. Male, 22, Toby; female, 20, Sine; male, 9 months, Cuff.

Benjamin Kirkindall. Male, 28, Sam; male, 13, Ned; female, 9, Nance.

Zedick Wright. Male, 15, Ben.

Oct. 29, 1780.

Francis McGinnis. Male, 12, Tom.

Oct. 30, 1780.

Æneas Mackay. Male, 31, Pompey.

Nathaniel Hurst. Male, 35, Sam; female, 35, Def; female, 3, Sal; female, 1, Hanna.

Nov. 10, 1780.

Charles Campbell. Female, 40; male, 15.

John McDowel. Male, 13, Pompey.

John Nevil. Male, 32, Harry; male, 30, Jack; male, 33, Lennon; male, 25, Jerry; male, 24, James; male, 27, Cato; male, 19, Jacob; female, 48, Nan; female, 35, Esther; female, 24, Pegg; female, 23, Pendey; female, 22, Vilet; female, 23, Doll; male, 7, Will; female, 6, Sall; male, 4, Putnam; female, 2, Beck; female, 3, Liz; male, month 1, Jack; male, month 3, Lemon; male, days 18, Anthony.

Nov. 10, 1780.

John Decamp and Nehemiah Stokely. Male, 35, Syres; female, 40, Nan; female, 14, Melsey; male, 6, Prince; female, 4, Nance; female, 1 and 11 months, Pegg; female, 10 months, Frank.

John Ryan. Male, 18, Frank; female, 16, Suck.

Jan. 10, 1781.

Robert Bell. Male, 50, Pompey, Sr.; female, 45, Mary; male, 35, John; female, 20, Rachel; female, 21, Dorrety; male, 19, Pompey, Jr.; male, 13; Benjamin; female, 10, Margaret; female, 8, Jean; female, 6, Ann; female, 5, Sinah; female, 9, Lydia; male, 7, Cato; female, 4, Dinah; male, 3, Nace; female, 2, Lucy; male, 4, Samuel; female, 3, Faney.

Edmund Rice. Male, 26, Gay.

James Blackston. Male, 34, Boswrine; male, 55, Sam; female, 16, Bett; male (mulatto), 8, Sam.

Margaret Vance. Female, 27, Priscilla; male, 7, Harry; male, 3, Daniel.

John Winter. Female, 23, Sall; female, 6, Suck; male, 4, Sam.

Marcus Stephenson. Male, 45, Suder; female, 18, Luce; female, 4, Poll.

James Stephenson. Male, 55, Fortune.

John Stephenson. Male, 22, Harry; female, 21, Poll; male, 12, Jeffrey; female, 10, Jenny; female, 5, Betty.

March 26, 1781.

Ebenezer Finley. Male, 13½, Primus.

Oct. 10, 1781.

Samuel Evalt. Male, 30, Moses.

Andrew McFarland. Female, 17, Bett.

Oct. 11, 1781.

Richard Stephens. Male, 21, Simon; female, 14, Phillis; female, 5, Daphney; female, 18, Jin.

Andrew Lynn. Male, 26, Jupiter; female, 30, Doll; female, 10, Roge; male, 7, Need; male, 5, Reuben; male, 3, Nace; male, 1, Frank.

Dec. 10, 1781.

Van Sweringan. Male, 24, Harry; male, 24, Peter; female, 13, Tamer; female, 8, Bett.

Richard Finley. Male, 12, Sampson; female, 40, Moll; female, 15, Luce; female, 13, Jude; female, 9, Sarah; female, 7, Priss.

Dec. 14, 1781.

James Whiteacre. Female, 45, Nell; female, 39, Sue; female, 17, Dinah; female, 1, Cash; male, 37, Orange; male, 12, Hampton.

Dec. 20, 1781.

William McGrew. Male, 30, Tom; Male, 17, Isaac.

Dec. 18, 1781.

Thomas Clere. Female, 8, 6 mo., Heager.

Ann Burgess (widow). Female, 28, Matty; female, 14, Nelly; male, 13, Harry; male, 10, Batchelor; female, 10, Dinah; male, 10, Ben.

Elizabeth Burgess. (Not given) 3, Jessima.

Dec. 19, 1781.

Isaac Finley. Female, 25, Fortune; male, 14, George; male, 6, Ned;

female, 30, Crils; female, 13, Sarah; female, 12, Lid; female, 4, Jin;
female, 2, Suck.

Sarah Matterson. Female, 37, Fill; male, 16, Tom.

Paul Lash. Male, 35, Sequire.

Samuel Kinkade. Female, 28, Tenea; female, 10, Sue; male, 7, Isaac;
male, 5, Pitt; female, 10, Grace.

Aaron Moore. Female, 19, Priss.

Mark Harden. Male, 34, Reuben; female, 40, Elizabeth.

John and Marten Harden. Male, 20, James; female, 15, Casner;
female, 13, Jude.

John McMahan. Male, 32, Ellender; female, 9, Hannah; male, 7,
George; male, 5, Benjamin; male, 3, Sambough.

Theophilus Philips. Female, 17, Susannah; male, 2, Harry.

Dec. 23, 1781.

Robert Orr. Male, 18, Benn; female, 15, Sook; male, 3, Tom.

Dec. 24, 1781.

Gaither Simpson. Male, 26, Peter.

Sallee Evans. Female, 24, Rachel.

Isaac Pearce. Male, 18, Yock; female (mulatto), 21, Jude; male, 5,
Isaac; female, 1, 3 mo., Rhodey.

James Finley. Female, 7, Sall.

Philip Shuit. Female, 18, Patt; male, 11 months, George.

Samuel Stephens. Male (age not given), Robert.

John Coe. Male, 30, Keziah; female, 17, Delia; female, 15, Susan;
male, 14, Peter.

Benjamin Stephens. Male, 38, Jem; male, 30, George; male, 17, Will;
female, 26, Nan; female, 4, Fanny; female, 2, Charity.

Charles Stephens. Female, 17, Chloe.

Dec. 20, 1781.

Dorsey Pentecost. Male, 15, Jack; male, 40, David; female, 18, Sall;
female, 20, Patt; female, 14 months, Flora; female, 18 years, Jem;
male, 21, Dick; male, 32, Tom; male, 14, Will; female, 12, Hanna;
female, 15, Linda; male, 25, Sam; male, 20, Joe; male, 19, Harry;
male, 13, Gilbert.

Christopher Hays. Male, 28, Peter.

Dec. 24, 1781.

John Murphy. Male, 25, Nerrow; male, 5, Jerry; female, 35, Onner;
female, 17, Cato; female, 9, Fan; female, 7, Fanner.

Dec. 10, 1781.

Jonathan Reese. Male, 20, Will.

Zekel Moore. Female, 38, Frank.

Philip Pearce. Male, 15, Jack.

Charles Wickliffe. Female, 50, Frank; female, 30, Frank or Fung;
female, 17, Amey; female, 7, Hanna; male, 5, George; male, 2,
Joshua.

Sarah Harden. Male, 36, Frank; female, 21, Hanna; female, 42, Philis.

female, 5, Minea; male, 5, Nace; female, 3, Elizabeth; female, 2, Carner.

Mary Wickliffe, widow of Robert Wickliffe, deceased. Female, 45, Catron; male, 21, James; female, 19, Esther; female, 17, Sarah; female, 14, Nan.

Samuel Pair. Male, 4, Weine.

James White, Springhill. Male, 20, Abraham; male, 12, Jonas; female (mulatto), 10, Ellender.

Dec. 24, 1781.

Charles Cain. Male, 16, David.

Dec. 29, 1781.

John Gibson. Female, 50, Nell.

Dec. 14, 1781.

Rev. James Finley. Male, 12, Primus.

Rev. James Wright. Female, 14, Jean.

Rev. Samuel Irwin. Male, 10, Ben; female, 17, Patty; female, 22, Jack; female, 23, Will; female, 18, Poll.

Gabriel Cox. Female, 15, Hannah; male, 26, Squash; male, 20, Job; male, 21, Jack; female, 19, Sall.

Joseph Becket. Female, 25, Beck; male, 18 months, Tom; male, 29, Harry; female, 22, Esther; female, 12, Violet; female, 16, Bett; male 32, Moses.

June 4, 1782.

Augusta Moore. Male, 11, Abraham.

William Harrison. Male, 40, Larrow; female, 17, Sall; female, 15, Jacob.

Thomas Moore. Male, 40, Simon; female, 17, Sall; male, 15, Jacob.

Joseph Graybill. Male, 21, Dick; female, 22, Hanna; female, 2 years, 4 months, Nelly.

Benjamin Davis. Male, 23, Pomp; female, 25, Hanna; male, 7, Milton; female, 4, Sue.

Joseph Hill. Male, 23, Tom; female, 22, Florence; female, 8, Susanna; female, 6, Dinah; male, 4 years, 3 months, George; female, 2 years, 4 months, Lucey.

July 6, 1782.

Thomas McGinnis. Female, 25, Jane; male, 5, Andrew; male, 4, Jack.

July 11, 1782.

Dennis Springer. Male, 33, Dave; female (mulatto), 22, Poll; male, 5, Frank.

July 26, 1782.

David White. Female, 20, Sall.

Robert Vance. Male, 4, Tom.

Aug. 26, 1782.

Rev. James Finley. Male, 30, Plato; female, 30, Bett; female, 12, Nan; male, 10, Toby; female, 9, Betts; male, 5, Plato; male, 40, Jemes.

Sept. 4, 1782.

James McCulloch. Male, 11, Essex.

Sept. 21, 1782.

John Taylor. Male, 12, Brier; female, 4, Bet.

Oct. 8, 1782.

Joseph Hill. Male, 18, Jack.

Jacob Machling. Male, 20, Tom; female, 9, Bets.

John Meason. Female, 30, Milea; male, 4, Bill.

Oct. 9, 1782.

Michael Campbell. Male, 10, Bob; female, 8, Jin; female, 4, Cate.

Oct. 10, 1782.

Hezekiah McGruder. Male, 34, Robert; male, 28, Tobias; male, 24, Erasmus; male, 23, Edward; male, 23, William; male, 5, Abraham; male, 2 years, 6 months, Benjamin; female, 38, Rachel; female, 32, Elizabeth; female, 27, Hanna; female, 22, Eleanor; female, 10, Teraminta; female, 9, Alice; female, 9, Charity; female, 2, Cassandra; female, 2 years, 4 months, Leah.

Margaret Hutton. Male, 37, Jeremiah; male, 20, Thomas; male, 16, Isaac; male, 14, Philemon; female, 57, Hannah; female, 40, Catharine; female, 19, Susanna; female, 8, Henrietta; female, 5, Rachel.

Richard Noble. Male, 22, Joshua; male, 9, John; male, 4, John; male, 21, Ignatius; female, 29, Lucey; female, 15, Patience; female, 6, Dinah.

William Goe. Male, 27, James; male, 24, Anthony; male, 11, Scotland; female, 45, Jane; female, 36, Ann; female, 18, Dye; female, 14, Daphney; female, 8, Priscilla; female, 5, Hannah; female, 2½, Lucey.

John Goe. Female, 20, Jane.

Margaret Goe. Female, 24, Rachel.

Edward Cook. Male, 12, Ben.

Levi Stephens. Female, 18, Elizabeth.

James Stephenson. Male, 70, Fortune; female, 12, Bet.

Oct. 11, 1782.

Sarah Bradley. Male, 22, Jack.

John Pierce Devalt. Female, 45, Crish.

Oct. 12, 1782.

Henry Spears. Male, 39, Crombo; male, 28, Ohonora; male, 21, Sambo; male, 15, James; male, 7, York; male, 5, William; male, 5, David; male, 4, Jeremiah; male, 3, George; male, 2 years, 4 months, Andrew; male, 2 years, 2 months, Daniel; female, 39, Sungra; female, 35, Obina; female, 23, Flora; female, 9, Barbara; female, 6, Jane; female, 4, Ann; female, 2 years, 3 months, Pheby; female, 2 years, 2 months, Elenor.

Peter Reasoner. Female, 14, Dina.

Oct. 14, 1782.

John Waddle. Male, 27, Butler; female, 14, Dinah.

Thomas Warring. Male, 30, Charles; female, 36, Nell; female, 13, Gin; female, 11, Neube; female, 5, Bett.

Oct. 15, 1782.

Gaspar Gayer. Male, 20, Jim.

Oct. 23, 1782.

John Carr. Male, 23, Bass.

Nov. 12, 1782.

John Lindsey. Male, 26, Job; female, 25, Hannah; male, 14, Samboe; female, 9, Judea; female, 8, Abby.

Nov. 17, 1782.

Charles Harra. Female, 22, Rose.

Michael Shillys. Female, 22, Phillis.

Nov. 25, 1782.

Charles Foreman. Female, 17, Amynta.

Thomas Gist. Male, 32, Jesse.

Robert Ross. Male, 22, Gabe; male, 30, Dubbin.

Benjamin Powers. Male, 25, Peter.

James Death, Jr. Male, 18, Tom; female, 16, Polldore; female, 12, Flora; male, 8, Cæsar; female, 7, Sale; female, 5, Rachel.

Christian Rodenbaugh. Male, 19, Frank.

Samuel Fulton. Male, 15, Hercules; female, 15, Milley.

James Lynch. Female, 25, Jude; female, 6, Dinah; male, 3, Peter.

James Gray. Female (age not given), Neel.

George Clark. Male, 18, Ben; male, 4, Tom; female, 16, Suck.

Gilbert Simpson. Male, 55, Orson; male, 20, Duffey; male, 18, Simon; male, 19, Daniel; female, 22, Ann; female, 20, Jean; female, 18, Lucy; male, 7, Joseph; female, 5, Alle; female, 3, Lydia; male, 3, Philip; female, 1, Darcus.

Nov. 26, 1782.

William Steel. Male, 18, Phill.

Nov. 30, 1782.

James Cross. Male (mulatto), 24, James; female, 26, Susanna; male, 22, Bill; female, 30, Lett; female, 5, Edy; female, 5, Lucy; female, 3, Maffy; female, 2, Mary.

Dec. 3, 1782.

Daniel Elliot. Female, 12, Hannah.

Dec. 5, 1782.

John Neal. Male, 12, Prince.

Dec. 10, 1782.

Eli Coulter. Female, 19, Lucy; male, 35, Guilbert.

James Laughlin. Female, 30, Pegg.

Hugh Laughlin. Female, 25, Moll; female, 14, Jean; male, 18, Jacob; female, 5, Kett.

John Laughlin. Female, 40, Margere; female, 15, Dinah.

* Dec. 17, 1782.

James Sterret. Male, 35, Bob; male, 10, Moses; female, 32, Sib; female, 4, Lydia; male, 8, Dick.

John Hall. Male, 30, Frank; female, 25, Fillis; mulatto (age not given), 9, Hick; male, 7, Wapping; female (mulatto), 5, Jude; male, 3, Sam.

Jacob Hewit. Male, 30 (age not given); female, 20, Esther; male, 1, Ben.

Dec. 19, 1782.

John Kidd. Male, 15, Bob.

John Wright. Male, 22, Jack; male, 14, Abraham; female, 22, Eaffe; female, 16, Hanna; female, 16, Jean.

Dec. 20, 1782.

Jonathan Johnston. Male, 28, Toby; female, 26, Chloe; male, 20, Lacum; female, 12, Rachel; female, 3, Patty; female, 1, Esther.

William Blackmore. Male, 21, Bush; female, 20, Peter.

William Price. Male, 38, Francis; male, 19, Natt; boy, 7, Dick; boy, 9, Thorn.

Isaac Meason. Female, 30, Vanac; female, 10, Febe; female, 4, age not given; male, 22, Jack; male, 13, Joseph; male, 9, Ben; male, 20, Harry; male, 9, Dick.

Mary Meason. Male, 30, Solomon.

Elizabeth. Female, 20, Philis; male, 3, Peter.

John and James Perry. Female, 27, Belinda; female, 30, Phillis; male, 4, Amos; male, 3, Bill; female, 10, Fortune; female, 6, Bett; female, 2, Sall; male, 1, Nise; male, 18, Tom; male, 15, Sam; male, 20, Jack.

Edward Freeman. Male, 28, Jack; male, 27, Dick; female, 19, Charlotte; male, 4, Ned.

Reuben Kemp. Female, 40, Flora.

James Rutta. Female, 20, Jenny.

Benjamin Coe. Male, 15, Titus.

John McKibbins. Male, 26, Daniel; male, 12, David; male, 18, Jarret; male, 20, Jack

Dec. 22, 1782.

William Pitts. Female, 18, Rachel; male, 25, Luke; male, 16, George; male, 3, Saul; male, 17, James.

Dec. 23, 1782.

John Irwin. Female, 30, Hager; male (mulatto), 12, Tom; female, 10, Venus.

William Irwin. Female (mulatto), 16, Vall.

John Johnston. Male, 17, Boast; male, 30, Jack.

Dec. 26, 1782.

James Smith. Male, 11, Jesse.

Dec. 27, 1782.

Thomas Brown. Female, 29, Susanna; female, 26, Margaret; male, 20, Abner; male, 18, Doreby; female, 6, Phillis; male, 3, Richard.

Otho Brashears. Male, 28, Henry; female, 23, Rebecca.
 Nancy Brashears. Male, 40, Moses; female, 37, Sarah; female, 38, Dinah; male, 20, Peter; female, 21, Cloke; female, 13, Pegg; male, 12, Gardner; male, 11, Jolly; male, 8, Edesen; female, 4, Hanna; female, 3, Dilly; female, 3, Catharine.
 Leven Wilcox. Female, 30, Chloe; male, 22, Tom; male, 15, Aaron; female, 7, Susanna; male, 7, Samuel; female, 6, Jean; male, 4, Jeffry; female, 3, Ann.
 James Hammond. Male, 17, Sam; male, 21, Nick; male, 7, Frank; female, 4, Milley.
 Rezin Virgin. Male, 15, Will; male, 7, Tom.
 Jonathan Arnold. Male, 19, Bobb; female, 3, Bett.
 James McMachan. Male, 7, Wright.
 Armstrong Porter. Male, 33, Sam.

Dec. 28, 1782.

Richard Stephens. Male, 17, Agaday; female, 14, Eve.
 Joseph Bracken, Jr. Male, 65, London.
 John Wells. Female, 14, Kate; male, 12, Dick; female, 10, Poll.

Dec. 29, 1782.

Edward Mills. Female, 21, May.
 Peter Laughlin. Male, 25, Sam; female, 18, Lydia; female, 10, Fane; male, 2, Mich; male, 2 months, Toby.
 Robert Harrison. Male, 15, Ned; female, 9, Rachel; female, 7, Hager.
 John Harrison. Female, 45, Sue.
 Isaac Newman. Male, 27, Richard; female, 27, Hanna; male, 11, George.
 Thomas Gorham. Male, 45, Sam; male, 30, Jey; male, 19, Tom; male, 8, James; female, 40, Betty; female, 14, Dyner.
 John Gorham. Male, 9, Tobe.
 William Tyler. Male, 11, Bobbard.
 Daniel Stephens. Male, 4, Nathan.
 John McClelland. Male, 16, Bob.
 John Power. Male, 7, Quintus.
 William Goe. Male, 22, Sam.

Dec. 30, 1782.

William McCormick. Male, 23, Samson; female, 30, Chloe; female, 11, Sall; male, 8, Peter; female, 6, Sall.
 Benoni Dawson. Female, 36, Doll; male, 14, John; male, 11, Christopher; female, 11, Lucy; female, 9, Priscilla; male, 6, Joseph; male, 3, Smith.

Dec. 31, 1782.

Nicholas Dawson. Male, 27, Sam.
 Elenor Dawson. Male, 37, Scipio.
 Charles Griffin. Male, 14, Jack.
 John Brown. Female, 9, Else.
 George Swan. Female, 37, Kate; male, 12, Luke; female, 11, Jane; female, 6, Lette; female, 2½, Ann.
 Samuel Burns. Female, 11, Sook.

The cases in which the sentences are given here were, of course, all tried in Westmoreland county. There were two murder cases tried in Hannastown, one of which is fraught with great interest, because of its many unique features. It was the case of an Indian named Mamachtaga, who was defended in court by Hugh Henry Brackenridge, then a resident of Pittsburgh. Mr. Brackenridge has left a complete account of the trial. The Indian was a Delaware, and, though his tribe had generally been friendly to the white settlers, he was always hostile. There was a camp of Delaware Indians on Kilbuck Island, near Pittsburgh. Mamachtaga was among them and was badly intoxicated. A man named John Smith visited the tribe, whereupon the drunken Indian fell on him with a knife and killed him. Another man named Evans was also killed before the infuriated Indian could be overpowered. The murderer was confined in a guardhouse, the lock-up in Pittsburgh being insecure, and it was considered unsafe at that time to transport him to the county seat, at Hannastown. Our ordinary judges competent to try other cases had, as the reader will remember, no jurisdiction in capital cases, and there was considerable delay in sending a Supreme Court judge to Hannastown to try this case. There were several attempts in the meantime on the part of the citizens to secure the Indian murderer and shoot him. The people in Westmoreland at that time scarcely thought that an Indian had any rights before the law. Failing to secure the Indian, they tried to force Brackenridge to take an oath not to defend him. The people were also afraid that the Delaware Indians would release him by force, or that he would break jail, so Robert Galbraith, a loyal citizen, wrote to President Dickinson, of the Supreme Executive Council, urging him to send the properly qualified judge at once, so that the Indian might have a speedy trial. He also asked the President in this letter to send the death warrant along with him, to save time, as he said, for there was no doubt whatever about his conviction.

The Indian gave his attorney an order on another Indian for a beaver skin as a fee and signed the order with his mark which Brackenridge says was the shape of a turkey foot. The attorney exchanged the beaver skin for some food which he gave to the client, for, in his confinement, he was very uncomfortable, but the Indian now thought that the beaver skin satisfied the law for his crime of killing. A good beaver skin was a high price to pay for killing a white man. Judge McKean came to Hannastown to try him, and they had great difficulty to get the Indian to plead "not guilty." To deny the killing was foreign to his ideas of an Indian warrior and, moreover, he had paid for the dead man with a good beaver skin and how could he deny the

killing. According to his belief, the killing of a white man was a virtue, a badge of honor that a warrior should boast of rather than deny. The court, however, entered the plea of "not guilty," and the case went on. The Indian challenged the jurors, rejecting the cross sour looking ones and accepting cheerful, pleasant faced men to try his case. Brackenridge defended him on the plea of drunkenness and that he did not know what he was doing when he did the killing. This was overruled by the court, but when the savage was told by the interpreter that the judge would not excuse him on that account the Indian said he hoped the Great Spirit above would do so.

The jury convicted him at once, as was predicted in the letter written by Galbraith. When the interpreter told him that he must die, he asked that Sheriff Orr should shoot him instead of tomahawking him. When about to be sentenced, he asked that the court would allow him to hunt and trap, and said that he would give the proceeds of his work to the family of the man he had killed. At the same time, a man named Brady was sentenced to be branded on the hand with a red hot iron. To do this, it was necessary to tie the hand and arm with a rope so that a good clear letter could be made. The sheriff accordingly went out of the court room and brought in a rope, the branding tools, etc. The Indian, not having this part of the proceedings interpreted to him, thought he was to suffer immediately, and made a great ado about it, but when he saw Brady being tied and branded, he calmed down and seemed to be very much amused by the proceedings. The judges, as was then the custom in capital cases, wore scarlet robes, and the Indian said that he thought they were in some way closely connected with the Great Spirit. While in jail awaiting sentence, the jailer's child was taken sick. The Indian said he could dig roots in the woods to cure it, and, upon promising not to try to escape, he was taken to the woods where he procured the desired herbs and from them brewed a medicine which was given to the child. He did not try to escape, nor is there any testimony as to whether the medicine was efficacious or not.

A simple-minded white man was to be hanged on the same day, though not for murder. The gallows was erected on a hill west of Hannastown, known until recently as "Gallows Hill." It was made of two posts planted in the ground and a third at the top for a cross-piece. A rope was hung from the center of the crosspiece and a ladder leaned up against it. The prisoner to be hanged was taken up the ladder, the rope was adjusted around his neck and then the ladder was removed. The white man was hanged first and the execution passed off all right, but the Indian, being a large, heavy man, broke

the rope and fell to the ground. As soon as he recovered he rose to his feet with a smile on his face and another rope was procured. Both ropes being used, he was hanged again and was strangled to death. With his last words Brackenridge said that he asked that his tribe should not go to war to avenge his death. The white man should have been sent to an insane asylum, but there were no such institutions to send him to.

As long as St. Clair remained prothonotary of the early courts and retained James Bryson as office deputy, the records were exceedingly well kept. Had they continued, it would have been well for the early history of the county, but St. Clair resigned the office and entered the Revolution in 1775. After him came Michael Huffnagle. During his incumbency the records were not well kept and many of them are lost. This may have been in part due to the exigencies of the times, for they were often secreted from Dunmore's marauding armies or from bands of Indians. They were repeatedly taken to other sections during these strenuous times. For the entire period of the Revolution the records are most meagre. After some two years' service as prothonotary, Huffnagle went to war as a captain of the Eighth Regiment, and, strange to say, took the records with him, for he regarded them as his private property.

It is probable that he based his claim on the theory that with his own and not with the public money, these journals, dockets, etc., had been purchased. Many demands were made of him for them, but he refused to deliver them up. Finally the matter was carried to Thomas Wharton, then president of the Supreme Executive Council, for the urgent needs of the Westmoreland people demanded their immediate restitution. President Wharton was compelled to lay the matter before General Washington in a letter urging its necessity and asking that he order Huffnagle to appear before the Council and give a reason for their detention. Huffnagle, to save his own good name with the general, finally delivered them to the proper authorities. The custom of an officer of a county retaining his records was not entirely uncommon in those days. This abuse grew and grew until 1804, when a law was passed making it obligatory under a heavy penalty for disobedience, for the outgoing officer to deliver all records to his successor.

CHAPTER XIII

EARLY-DAY DIFFICULTIES

CHAPTER XIII.

Difficulties in Early Settlements.—The Renegade White Men, Simon Girty, Alexander McKee, Matthew Eliot.—The Probable Cause of Their Treachery.—Their Escape into the Indian Country.—Places of Defense.—Fort Ligonier.—Blockhouses.—Blockhouse Cabins. Hannastown Stockade.—Fort Millers Station.—The Indian Method of Attack.—The Eighth Regiment.

The Westmoreland pioneer was harrassed on all sides by Indians who were urged on by the English during the Revolution. They formed alliances with them in every section possible. This was considered legitimate warfare, on the theory that any measure which would weaken and sap the strength from the enemy was legitimate. It is quite probable, however, that the English government at home never realized the inhuman results of their alliances with the Indians. The idea that the Crown authorized or knowingly sanctioned the butchery of innocent women and children in that age of the world is abhorrent to human reason, and indeed it is contrary to the long-established reputation of the English people.

There were a few disreputable white men who allied themselves with the Indians and became leaders more brutal than the most savage of their tribe. These men left civilization, joined various tribes, and adopted their modes of life and warfare. What induced them to do this can never be definitely known. In some cases it is known that deserters from the American army who were afraid to return and who were likewise outcasts from their home communities went over to the English and sometimes to the Indians. Many thought then that their actions were most likely due to the alluring rewards offered on the part of English officers for scalps. At all events these settlers were more dangerous to the white settlers than were the Indians. They knew the weak points of the pioneers, knew the territory and knew more of the individual bravery or weakness of the settler than the Indians did. When therefore a band of Indians under the leadership of one of these degenerate white men, actuated by the inborn Indian hatred towards the pioneer, came down upon a settlement, it was indeed a most formidable and blood-thirsty onslaught. The white renegades, moreover, had great power over the Indians, more indeed than most Indian leaders had themselves. The white leader could with a word release a prisoner at the stake around whose naked limbs the fire was slowly creeping, or could have him tied to a tree and slowly burned to death, as they wished and ordered. The Indians

cared little for the gold of the English, but they were willing to commit any outrage for bright beads, blankets and rum. The renegade whites cared nothing for these things, but took the English gold as their share of the booty. A great deal of the trouble in Westmoreland was traceable to these outlaws. Their names for four or five generations have been held in abhorrence by the pioneers and their descendants.

There were three conspicuous men among these white renegades who surpassed all others. They were Simon Girty, Alexander McKee and Matthew Elliott, and of these, by far the most inhuman, was the former. Though one hundred and forty eventful years have passed since his evil deeds were perpetrated, yet his name is still a name of infamy. He had adopted the life of the Mingo, and with them he generally associated, though he associated with other tribes. Wherever he went he was a leader. He knew pioneer Westmoreland thoroughly, its houses, its strength, its weak spots, its places of refuge, etc., as well as any one in the county. He was therefore not likely to lead the Indians into a stronghold where they might be captured. He had been a trapper, and later a trader among the Indians of the Ohio valley and mention is made of him in some of the early writings in this capacity as early as 1749. He was a shining light in the bandit gang known as "Dunmore's Army," and at Hannastown was second in command after Connolly. He led the outlaws to Hannastown, where the jail was broken open and the prisoners released. His work was generally in Pennsylvania and Ohio, but he led more incursions into Westmoreland county than into any other one section. He seemed to be utterly without feelings of pity. When Colonel William Crawford, our first judge, was being burned at the stake, the Indians having first mutilated him fearfully, he saw Girty, whom he knew quite well, standing among his tormenters. In the agony of despair he cried, "Shoot me, Simon, shoot me to end my sufferings," and Girty tauntingly replied, "I can't; I have no gun," though there were many guns within his reach.

McKee operated less here than Girty, and Elliott less than either of them. Neither of them was as brutal as Girty. McKee had formerly acquired considerable land near Pittsburgh and was then a man of more than the average standing in the community. He had been a justice of the peace in our early courts when the county was formed, and for some years was a respectable member of the court and of society. He forsook the white race and like Girty committed acts of brutality which have forever consigned his name to infamy. He was a Tory leader during the Revolution and his residence was the head-

quarters for men of his class in Western Pennsylvania. It is unfortunate that his name is thus preserved, for his residence was at McKees Rocks on the Ohio. He too had been an Indian trader and later was the King's deputy agent for Indian affairs at Fort Pitt. In 1764 Colonel Bouquet had granted him a tract of fourteen hundred acres at the mouth of Chartiers creek. It is probable that he became a Tory through a reverence for the English government or through his want of faith in the success of the Revolution. Governor Hamilton, of Detroit, was continuously on the lookout for such men and sent many agents to organize the Tories. With English gold and promises of reward, he was able to lead many astray.

McKee's disloyalty became known in the early part of 1776, when he was found to be in correspondence with English officers in Canada, and he was put on his parole not to assist the enemy nor to leave the county without consent of the Revolutionary committee. In February, 1778, General Hand again became suspicious of him and ordered him to go to York, Pennsylvania, to report to the Continental Congress. He at first feigned sickness and thus avoided compliance with the order. But being unable to shirk it permanently, he arranged to go to Detroit and there unite himself openly with the English.

About a year before that, Matthew Elliott, who had been regarded as a young man of promise and as loyal to the American cause, had been employed to carry messages concerning certain treaties from Fort Pitt to the Indian tribes, for he, having been a trader, knew their language quite well. While in Ohio he was captured by the Indians and taken to Detroit, where Hamilton first imprisoned him, but after a short time released him on his parole. Hamilton likely implanted in him the seeds of Toryism. He returned home by the way of Quebec, New York and Philadelphia. All these places were then held by the English. It is quite likely that he was impressed by the apparent strength of the English army and that on the trip he saw the weakness and miserable condition of the American army. At all events he returned to Pittsburgh thoroughly convinced that the American cause must fail and at once began to associate with McKee and other Tories. It is supposed that he told McKee that if he, McKee, went to York he would be killed on the way. It is certain that McKee heard such a story and believed it and that this decided him to escape to Detroit.

General Hand, who had then command of Fort Pitt, learned in some way in the afternoon of the intended flight of the Tories from McKee's house on Saturday night, March 28, 1778. He at once sent a squad of soldiers to the house to capture and bring them to the fort. But the soldiers reached McKee's house too late. The Tories had

fled in the night. With McKee were a relative, Robert Surphlit, Simon Girty, Matthew Elliott, a man named Higgins and two negro slaves belonging to McKee. Up until the late spring of 1778, but a few days before the flight, Girty was supposed to be loyal to the American cause. He had been with General Hand in the Squaw campaign and was fully trusted and employed around Fort Pitt as a messenger and Indian interpreter. It has always been supposed that McKee, in view of the promises made him by Governor Hamilton, persuaded Girty and his other friends to join him and flee to Detroit. The seven renegades made their way through the woods and in Ohio tried to induce the Delaware tribe to go against the colonists in this section. This scheme might have succeeded but for White Eyes, the chief of the tribe. He had pledged his friendship for the white people and he not only prevented his tribe from open hostility, but he himself remained faithful, and in the end proved his fidelity with his life. The Tories then went for the Shawnee tribe on the Scioto. They were there joined by James Girty, a brother of Simon, who had also been with the American forces at Fort Pitt. In fact he was among the Shawnees at that time, as a peace messenger from General Hand. James had been brought up among the Indians and readily affiliated himself with McKee, his brother and other Tories who were to unite with the Indians and British to exterminate the white race.

When Hamilton learned of the escape of the Tories he sent a party under Edward Hazle to go out and meet them and conduct them safely through the Indian tribes to Detroit. The Governor received them gladly and commissioned them as officers in the British service. For sixteen years Girty, McKee and Elliott were leaders of bands of Indians against the white race. They retained their hostility long after the Revolution. They were men of the lowest character and as we have said, were less merciful than the worst of the savage race.

These renegades constantly fomenting border trouble and adding recruits to their ranks, made it necessary for the Southwestern Pennsylvania pioneers to protect themselves by garrisons and by militia and even to call on the colonial army for assistance. Because of them, Westmoreland county, large as it was, furnished comparatively few troops for the main army under Washington, that is, few in comparison with sections of the same population in the Eastern States. When the family of a settler needed his daily protection at home, he could scarcely be expected to leave them and enlist in the general cause against England. For this reason, also, it became necessary to build and repair forts during the Revolution, though the field

of war was five hundred miles to the east. These forts and armed soldiers to protect them were indispensable. When an incursion was made by the Indians, the people of the settlement ran for their lives to the nearest blockhouse, or fort. Even though they were able, when in a stronghold, to defend themselves, starvation would soon compel them to surrender unless outside assistance could be secured. A swift riding messenger could soon communicate with the nearest garrison, where soldiers were ready at all times to hasten to their relief. This was done times without number, as the reader will see later on. Without the garrisoned forts to draw from, the early settlements of Westmoreland would have been devastated and our people murdered, captured or driven east of the Allegheny mountains. And it must be remembered that these garrisons were weak, and at best but poorly equipped, though they were as strong as the new government struggling for its first foothold could afford.

Let us look at the structures built by our ancestors for defense against the Indians. There were four kinds or grades, called forts, blockhouses, blockhouse cabins and stockades. When either a fort or a blockhouse had a stockade surrounding it, it was properly called a stockade fort. Blockhouses were often called forts, and perhaps the general resemblance and the method of construction warranted this somewhat extravagant designation. The highest grade of stronghold was a stockade fort. A blockhouse was not considered very secure. It was made of heavy logs, and in its general construction did not differ greatly from the log houses of last century which are rapidly passing away. The logs of a blockhouse were heavier and often unhewn. A blockhouse was built by the people of the community uniting, and was often large enough to accommodate many families in times of distress. The first story was made from eight to ten feet high. Then another story was begun on top of the first, but the logs of the second story extended from two to four feet beyond the lower story. By this projecting second story, if Indians were to attack the lower story, they could be shot from riflemen on the second story, who would shoot down at them. The upper story was made six or seven feet high and had port holes in its walls through which to fire at the attacking party. This house was not designed as a place of permanent residence, but only as a place of refuge in times of Indian troubles.

Blockhouses were sometimes constructed by soldiers, but most generally by the neighbors who felled and prepared the trees and put up the house as a place of public safety. They were not strong enough to resist an attack made by an enemy with heavy guns. They were

a splendid barrier against the Indians, whose implements of warfare were almost exclusively confined to muskets, rifles, bows and arrows, tomahawks and scalping knives. The English government almost invariably built forts and most of them were stockade forts. They were more solidly built than blockhouses and were strong enough to resist an attack of the heaviest guns, as heavy guns were then. They would be as mere kindling wood against the heavy guns of our day.

All places of defense built by the English were constructed under the supervision of their best engineers, according to methods prescribed by the best authorities on military matters in Europe, or according to the best that were practicable in a new country. Accurate drawings and pictures of these fortresses were made by the engineers and sent to the War Department of England and carefully filed away. The same method was afterwards pursued by the colonial army. So we have, from the British War Office and from the War Department of the United States, accurate drawings of these structures. The stockade of a stockade fort, or blockhouse, surrounded the fort, blockhouse or inner building. All in this section were built of logs.

Fort Ligonier was the first fort built by the English west of the Allegheny mountains. It was built, as the reader will recall, by the army of General John Forbes in 1758. Its construction was determined by Colonel Henry Bouquet and its building was superintended by Colonel James Burd. It was not completed at that time by the English army, but was subsequently finished, according to the British specifications, by the early military forces. The place of its location was well selected. It was on the edge of a rocky bluff, or almost perpendicular wall of projecting rocks between the fort and the Loyalhanna. This afforded a natural barrier against any approach from the south. The fort at its highest point was ninety-four feet above the water of the creek. It was also naturally fortified to a great extent on the north side, for there lay a deep ravine from a strong spring a few rods to the east. These natural fortifications are yet visible. The stockade was in the main about one hundred feet square, with large diamond shaped projections on each corner, called bastions, so that, through loop holes, a soldier within the enclosure of the stockade could fire on an enemy who might be attempting to scale the fort. The stockade was made of logs from twelve to fifteen feet long and set firmly in the ground. These logs were generally split and the flat surface turned outward. They were called palisades and were set so closely that they touched each other. They were reinforced by others which were set so as to close the spaces which might be made by the

palisades not fitting exactly, and, to add strength to the structure, strong timbers were fastened by pins to the palisades near the tops on the inside. In the port or side of the fort which was most liable to attack, the horizontal log was reinforced by others, all thoroughly braced and held in place by strong pins, as well as by brace timbers which reached the ground. On the outside the ground was thrown up against these palisades and this made a ditch or moat which practically gave an additional height to the stockade. The circumference of the enclosure was over five hundred feet. Within this enclosure were the officers' quarters, the storehouse and powder magazine, etc., while outside were the soldiers' cabins. In time of a siege, which frequently happened at Ligonier, soldiers, settlers, officers and even live stock were all within the stockade.

At each angle or bastion of the stockade were mounted cannon. A covered way led from the east side of the fort to the spring, and the ravine was marked as crossed by a foot-log. This covered way was made of shorter logs and was necessary in times of a siege. The covered way gave rise to a once popular belief that there was a tunnel extending down to the Loyalhanna. There has never been any evidence of such a tunnel discovered, save a few cavities in the rocks overhanging the creek, and these extend into the hill but a few feet. They are moreover some twenty feet above the water, and, therefore, had there been a passage from them to the fort, it would have been of no use in time of a siege. Nor is it at all probable that such an underground passageway would be made and not reported or outlined on the map or plan sent to the British War Office, for the English did not generally report less than they builded. There was also a large gate, made of strong logs, firmly fastened together and hung on massive iron hinges. In times of danger it was kept closed and bolted. The gate was on the east side of Fort Ligonier. For many years the fort was kept up by the English army and when independence was declared in 1776 the colonial army took charge of it and it still remained a place of safety for all settlers within its reach.

There was also a new fort built at Ligonier during the Revolution, perhaps when the old one was badly decayed. It was called Fort Preservation and was down by the bank of the creek, the Loyalhanna, for the accounts of it represent that a canal from the creek filled the ditch around the fort. It was a small affair compared with the old fort and even its location is not now known. It was probably built by the early pioneers of the valley, and hence we have no draft of it.

The old fort was a great advantage to the early settlers in that section, and without it they could not have remained there. Those

who lived near enough could at any time call the soldiers of the garrison out to protect them by blowing on large horns. These, when properly winded by the settler or his wife, could be heard two miles or more. With the first sound of the horn the mounted soldiers hastened to their relief. In this way, many Indian raiders were frightened away or deterred from committing depredations or from invading the valley at all.

Another very common method of defense was the blockhouse cabin. Sometimes they were called stations, and perhaps they were sometimes dignified with the name of fort, or blockhouses, but they were neither. They were strongly constructed houses, with heavy doors and heavy coverings for the windows, which could be put up and barred from the inside. In the gables were cracks which admitted light and air. When built after this fashion the pioneer with his family and perhaps a few neighbors living within reach could withstand a long siege from the Indians on the outside. There were rifle holes on all sides and the Indian who approached them when on their guard, was generally a dead Indian before any damage was done. With the first word of Indians in the neighborhood, perhaps a dozen families would flock to one of these houses. There they were reasonably secure and if there were but a half dozen men among them, armed with flint-lock guns, they were easily able to cope with three times their number of savages.

Hannastown, though in Hempfield township, where the settlers were largely Pennsylvania Dutch, was settled by Robert Hanna and his friends and they were nearly all Irish or Scotch-Irish. In 1774, a year after it became a tentative county seat of the new county, Hanna and his neighbors joined together and hurriedly put up a fort. This was necessary, not only because of the Indians, but also through fear of Dunmore's marauders. It was a large two-roomed log house, with one door and with no windows whatever in the upper story. The light in the upper story came from small holes through which the barrel of a musket could be aimed at an Indian. It had a flat, or nearly flat, roof, to prevent the Indians from firing it from the outside. It was additionally strengthened by palisades which surrounded it, made after the fashion of the one above described at Fort Ligonier. The upper story was higher than the palisades, so that they could be defended from the inner fort. The structure of 1774 was but a temporary affair, but two years later it was greatly strengthened, and thereafter it was of great service. Its construction was superintended by David Semple, and for this service the minutes of the Supreme Executive Council show he was paid twenty pounds. After its extension

and improvement, it included a storehouse, where private property of the frightened settlers could be stored. This fort was between Fort Ligonier and Fort Pitt, and in transporting provisions, etc., from the east, it became a very important stopping place. From 1776 it was very frequently filled with families of the neighborhood, who were forced to take refuge from the Indians. It was not attacked for several years, for reason of the strength of its garrison. For several years there were either soldiers of the Continental army or of the militia stationed there all the time. This was, however, a force not by any means sufficient for the preservation of peace, as may be seen from a letter written by Colonel Archibald Lochry to President Reed, of the Supreme Executive Council. In it he says that "the savages are continually making depredations among us; not less than forty people have been killed, wounded or captivated this spring, and the enemy have killed our creatures within three hundred yards of the town." This letter is dated at Hannastown, May 1, 1779. On June 1, 1780, he again wrote to President Reed, saying: "I have been under the necessity of removing the public records from Hannastown to my own plantation, not without the consent of the judges of the court."

Miller's Station, sometimes called Miller's Fort, was another very important one in this region. It was located about three miles southeast from Hannastown, and one mile west from the present Pennsylvania railroad. It was named after Captain Samuel Miller, a farmer, who had taken up land and was one of the leading men of his limited section. He had the honor of being one of the captains of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment. With his regiment he came from the east in the spring of 1778, and was killed by the Indians on July 7. His house was a plain substantial log house and, being strongly built, became a rendezvous for the surrounding neighbors in times of danger. It was probably only resorted to by those who could not reach more strongly fortified places. Gathered there from time to time were men of daring courage, who were able to resist any attack on the part of the Indians unless they were greatly outnumbered. It was a two-roomed log house and was a fair specimen of the blockhouse cabin.

Often when the Indians had been seen lurking in a community, or perhaps when a false alarm had been spread through the country, the inhabitants would gather at these cabins and spend the night, resuming their work the day following in the fields. For protection they depended more on their united strength than on the strength of the cabin. Men, women and children were from time to time collected in these places of refuge. The women of that day were accustomed to the hardships of frontier life, and in times of danger readily per-

formed very important services. They could from much practice dress the wounds of those who were shot. They knew the herbs of the fields and the roots of the forest which would, when brewed, yield a syrup of curative value, or which would allay the pain of their wounded defenders. They could stand guard at night and give the alarm if a stealthy foe approached. They could make bullets, cut bullet patches and load muskets. All these duties and hundreds more were performed time and time again by our worthy, grandmothers who are now almost forgotten.

The Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment was raised in Westmoreland county exclusively for border defense, but as the reader will see later in this work, in an emergency, it was ordered to New Jersey. After its removal in January, 1777, the whole western frontier was subjected to the most violent Indian depredations. The militia was called out, but they were poorly drilled and poorly equipped, and if paid at all, it was in depreciated Continental currency. In 1777 and 1778, therefore, there were numerous depredations all along the border. Indians, under the leadership of Simon Girty and others of like character, seemed lurking in every place of concealment. The dangers of this community from ambushing savages are illustrated in Captain James Smith's narrative and do not depend upon tradition.



CHAPTER XIV

DUNMORE'S WAR—BOUNDARY DISPUTE

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Dunmore's War.—The Disputed Boundary Between Virginia and Pennsylvania.—The Claims of Each Considered.—The Erection of Westmoreland County.—Lord Dunmore.—English Colonies.—Dr. John Connolly Arrested by Order of St. Clair.—Prominent Citizens Arrested.—Effect of War on the Gathering of Crops.—The Excited Populace.—Virginia Sells Land in Pennsylvania.—St. Clair Drills Soldiers.—Cornstalk in Command of Indian Forces.—Battle in Virginia.—Dunmore Enters English Service in Revolution.—The Boundary Dispute Settled by Actual Measurement.—The Wrath of the Virginians.

Reference has been made many times to the claims of Virginia to certain parts of Southwestern Pennsylvania. This long continued dispute culminated in almost an open war in the early months of 1774. This war is known in history as "Dunmore's War." Virginia, it will be remembered, claimed all the land west of the Allegheny mountains, though many high authorities claimed that all the lands in the Province of Pennsylvania west of Laurel Hill or west of the Monongahela river lay within her domain. But the Penns had actual possession of the disputed territory, and Virginia was compelled, on the organization of Westmoreland county, which practically included all the more important lands in dispute, to take the aggressive, to assert her claims or retire forever from the field. No one doubts now but that Virginia had many reasons for urging her claim. Governor Spotswood, in 1716, had gone west and laid claim to the Mississippi valley. Governor Dinwiddie had sent Washington to look after this section; indeed, by asserting the claims of Virginia to it, the French and Indian war was begun, and, as a result, the Canadas and all the west were ceded to England. To possess this section, or to banish the French from it, Virginia had battled long and earnestly and had given many lives and much property. She had, moreover, maintained actual possession of the region south of the Ohio, and it was largely populated by her westward bound citizens.

The claim of Pennsylvania lay mainly in her original charter, strengthened by the Stanwix purchase of 1768. No one disputed, however, the validity of Penn's charter, nor that his representatives were entitled to the land five degrees west of the Delaware. The great dispute was as to how far west this five-degree line would reach. The boundary of Westmoreland county, the last and most westerly county formed, did not, at that time, in reality extend far-

ther southwest than the most westerly branch of the Youghiogheny river, nor farther west than the Ohio at Fort Pitt. As early as 1752 Thomas Penn, then Governor, had instructed his deputies to assist the Governor of Virginia in erecting a fort at the junction of the Ohio and the Monongahela rivers, but he cautioned them to take special pains that nothing be done to injure his claims to that section. Christopher Gist made the first survey of this region. His survey, the first settlements on the tributaries of the Ohio and the attempts to erect a fort by the Ohio Company, were all made under the direct assumption that this point, that is, the Fork of the Ohio was within the boundary of Virginia. Accordingly, on February 19, 1754, Governor Dinwiddie, to encourage soldiers and settlers, began granting large tracts of land about the headwaters of the Ohio.

In November, 1755, Governor Hamilton wrote Governor Dinwiddie on the part of the Proprietaries that having given the matter some attention, he was clearly of the opinion that the fort was within the lines of Pennsylvania. In a friendly manner Dinwiddie replied that he was equally confident that it was within the limits of Virginia and referred to the survey to prove it. When the French and Indian war came, all united in opposing the enemy, regardless of who might eventually prove to be the real owner. There was not much controversy of the question of ownership of the territory from the close of Bouquet's campaign against the Indians in Ohio in 1764 until after the Stanwix purchase in 1768. In the meantime the southwestern part of Pennsylvania had been settled largely under the laws of Virginia and mostly by people from Virginia and Maryland.

The erection of Westmoreland county in 1773 led Virginia to again assert her claim to the land on the northern bank of the Monongahela, and accordingly to occupy Fort Pitt. The settlers, it will be remembered, were largely Scotch-Irish, and, with all the aggressive spirit of their race were ready to fly to arms to sustain their title to the lands and to defend their firesides. The agents whom Virginia sent here, therefore, to defend her claims, found the people very willing to assist them. The high-minded, patriotic men of Virginia took no part in the ignoble controversy which we are about to consider and they have long since repudiated the shameful and infamous acts of Governor Dunmore in asserting his claims. Had the contestants submitted their disputes to men like Thomas Jefferson or Patrick Henry, the whole question could have been settled by a survey in a single season.

Bancroft says: "No royal governor showed more repacity in the use of official power than Lord Dunmore. He reluctantly left New

York, where, during his short career, he acquired fifty thousand acres of land * * * Upon entering upon the government of Virginia his passion for land and fees outweighing the proclamation of the king and the reiterated and most positive instructions from the Secretary of State, he advocated the claims of the colony in the west and was himself a partner in the immense purchase of land from the Indians in Southern Illinois. The area of the ancient dominion expanded with his cupidity." Washington, always moderate in his language, said of Dunmore: "Nothing less than depriving him of life or liberty will secure peace to Virginia."

To thoroughly familiarize himself with this matter, the reader must go back a few years. No country in Europe had been so successful in founding and fostering colonies as England and no country had so thoroughly and constantly protected her colonies as she. It is doubtful, indeed, whether England, in all the world's history, even to the present day, has had a rival in these matters. To establish these colonies, to place them under the protecting care of the common law, England was but protecting herself. For several generations her policy toward her colonies in America was one of eminent justice. She regarded them as her offspring and they were extremely loyal to her, but, in 1765, the policy of England had been changed and she began to treat her colonies as though they were conquered provinces. This was under the weak ministry of the Earl of New Castle, who preceded William Pitt as prime minister. England had long been engaged in a series of wars, and her ministry, to meet this expense, sought to increase the revenues of the Crown by an unwarranted taxation of her colonies. It was true that vast sums had been expended in protecting the American colonies and the authorities doubtless thought that they should bear their share of the burden. Accordingly a tax was exacted from the colonies in the shape of a stamp duty on paper, writings, etc. This act is known as the Stamp Act. The general discontent in America was most strongly manifested in Massachusetts and Virginia. Before this Virginia was considered the most loyal of the American colonies.

Lloyd Botetourt was Governor of Virginia from 1768 to 1771. He and his predecessors were strong men and did much to allay the bitter feelings of the colonists. But Botetourt died in 1771 and his successor was John Murray, who had been Governor of New York, and who is known in history as the Earl of Dunmore. He was a bitter Tory and cared nothing for the interests of the people, attempting to rule them only for his own financial gain. The best that can be

said of him is that he was thoroughly heartless and dishonest. Many writers assert that he was appointed to the governorship of Virginia for the sole purpose of ruling them with extreme severity, and thus make them feel their dependence on the English Crown, and by that means quiet the growing dissension among them. His severe ruling, on the contrary, may have sprung entirely from his cruel disposition and not from a fixed policy of personal aggrandizement. There is no doubt, moreover, that through his agents he instigated the Indians in their relentless warfare against the settlers. They were not at all prepared for such treatment, for, at best, they were battling with famine and with long severe winters. It is believed that Dunmore supplied the Indians with firearms and furnished money to pay for the scalps of women and children. By this inhuman warfare he sought to force the colonists to abandon the "pursuit of liberty," and devote their time to the protection of their homes and lives.

The Virginians who held these views regarded the battle of Point Pleasant, the greatest battle in Dunmore's war, as the beginning of the Revolution. There is no doubt that he used the authority with which he was clothed to further his personal interests. He was a supercilious, would-be aristocrat, without any of the redeeming traits of those of real patrician birth. In all that he did he was tyrannical, and was quite unfit to govern Virginia at that time. So far as Dunmore's war concerns us, it mostly centers around his early efforts to hold the southwestern part of Pennsylvania for Virginia. To this end, late in 1773, he sent an agent here known as Dr. John Connolly, whom he appointed "Captain Commandant of Pittsburgh and its surroundings." Though a Pennsylvanian by birth, he was a relative of Dunmore's and was at all times a willing tool and bold servitor of his unholy cause. He has been called by some the Benedict Arnold of Pennsylvania, but this is scarcely fair, for he never betrayed the people or the cause he represented. He was well connected, being a half-brother of General James Ewing, of Lancaster, a distinguished officer of the Revolution. He was a nephew of the noted Indian diplomat, Colonel George Grogan, and was a son-in-law of Samuel Semple, who entertained Washington when in Pittsburgh in 1770, and whose loyalty to our people has never been questioned. He had associated with Washington and had enjoyed his utmost confidence, pleasing him greatly, when in Pittsburgh, by stories of his extensive western travels. By these associations he secured the secrets of General Gage, Sir William Johnston, Sir Guy Carleton and others. It was, moreover, undoubtedly he who led McKee, Elliott and Girty, rene-

gades of whom the reader will learn more later on, from their moorings in respectable society into the Tory party and thence to the cruel lives for which alone they are remembered. In 1774 he boldly took possession of Fort Pitt by an armed force of militia which he had raised among the Virginia settlers south of the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers. The Indians were then unusually troublesome, and in raising his militia he pretended that they were to invade the Indian territory. He was supplied with abundant troops, for the reason that he was the agent of the Governor and that his general administration was to overthrow the authority of the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania. To induce the Indians to join him, he pretended that he was soon to banish the Penns from the region, which was always a laudable project in the Indian mind. Fort Pitt was taken in January, 1774, without resistance, and his first act was to change the name from Fort Pitt to Fort Dunmore.

Connolly was a natural leader and had the faculty in a high degree of spreading false and unreasonable statements concerning the legitimacy of the Penns' claim to Southwestern Pennsylvania, and concerning their intention, if their claims were allowed to go unchallenged, to declare void all Virginia titles in this section of the State. Those who held lands here by the authority of titles granted by Virginia, were not slow to take up arms against the Penns when Connolly made them believe that the Penns meant to set their titles aside. His militia was not composed of the higher elements among the settlers. Indeed it was the very reverse, for many of them were but little better than outlaws. They stole horses for their own use, shot cattle and dogs of peaceable citizens; their love of this life of outlawry seemed to be one of the strongest bonds which held them together. The province of Pennsylvania did not at that time have a general military law, and was almost powerless to resist these forces.

For issuing the proclamation calling out the militia and seizing Fort Pitt, Arthur St. Clair had Connolly arrested. He was brought before St. Clair at Ligonier and promptly committed to jail at Hannastown, but later was admitted to bail for his appearance at court. He next went to Augusta county, Virginia, the county seat of which was Staunton, where he was appointed a justice of the peace. It was claimed by the Virginia authorities that Fort Pitt was in that county in the part called the West Augusta district. By this assertion he meant to give a show of legality for his high-handed proceedings by covering them with the official sanction of the Governor of Virginia. When he returned to this section in March, 1776, he was in this way

armed with both military and civil authority and his tyranny seemed to increase accordingly.

In April the legal courts of the new county of Westmoreland had assembled at Hannastown, when Connolly appeared with one hundred and fifty armed men. He placed a guard before the door of the court house and refused admittance to the provincial magistrates. To assist him he had a sheriff appointed by Dunmore whose jurisdiction extended over the district claimed by Virginia. In a meeting between himself and the justices of the new county, he said that he was but acting under the instructions of the sheriff, and he not only denied the authority of the court, but denied that the magistrates ever had any authority to act. Perhaps being fearful of the power of the province, he finally agreed to allow the justices to act in civil matters until he should receive contrary instructions from Virginia. The magistrates were men of high standing and of sturdy qualities. They told him that they rested their authority to act on the legislative authority of Pennsylvania, and that they must act on the authority granted from that source or not act at all. They assured him that the Proprietaries would endeavor to have the boundary line adjusted as soon as possible and that, in the meantime, they would preserve the public tranquility.

Among the most prominent friends of the Penns in this section were Devereaux Smith, Hugh McFarland, Alexander and Aeneas Mackay. All were early settlers at Pittsburgh and in Southwestern Pennsylvania, and Aeneas Mackay had been named as county justice from the Pittsburgh section of Westmoreland county when the county was formed. These four men had been leading spirits in the proceedings to resist the outrages of Connolly. They, following the lead of Arthur St. Clair, had stood up manfully for the claims of the legislative government. They kept up a regular correspondence with the Governor. St. Clair's communications published in the archives of the State, are now the chief source of information on this question, though the letters of the others are all of great importance. The people endured with more patience than one would expect, the outrages heaped upon them by Connolly, but they steadily opposed him, though in a peaceable manner. They claimed that his was the work of a usurper to enforce the authority of Virginia over a territory which they held by grant of the Penns, and which they had taken under the impression that it was within their jurisdiction. The justices attended court at Hannastown in April, 1774, when they returned.

Shortly after this, Alex McFarland, Devereaux Smith and Aeneas

Mackay were arrested by Connolly. Knowing that they had done no wrong, they refused to give bail and were sent under guard, and part of the way in irons, to Staunton, Virginia. Mackay got permission to go to Williamsburg, the capital, to lay the matter before Dunmore. It is not known what arguments he produced, but the result was that he returned with a letter from Dunmore instructing the authorities to allow the justices to return to their homes. They reached this section on May 5th, and were doubtless somewhat emboldened by being released from the Staunton prison, for they at once began to hold court at Hannastown in defiance of Connolly. Such was the character of the sturdy man of that age.

After Mackay's arrest in Pittsburgh he sent a letter to Governor Penn, in which he says: "I am taken at a great inconvenience, as my business is suffering much on account of my absence, but I am willing to suffer a great deal more rather than bring disgrace upon the commission which I bear under Your Honor." In one way at least his business did not suffer by his arrest, for while there he became acquainted with Margaret Lynn Lewis, a daughter of William Lewis, one of the brothers so noted in the military annals of the Old Dominion. A few months later they were married and she came with him to his log house in Pittsburgh.

Dunmore was very angry at the Penns for sustaining St. Clair when the latter arrested Connolly. He demanded that St. Clair should be dismissed from office unless the latter could prevail on Connolly to ask for his, St. Clair's, pardon from Dunmore. The Penns would not dismiss St. Clair, and, as the brave old general never bent his knee to a Tory, it is likely, says a writer of a later day, that St. Clair died without having received his lordship's pardon. When the news of their arrest reached the Council, they determined to send commissioners to go before the House of Burgesses of Virginia and lay the situation before them. These commissioners were Andrew Allen and James Tilghman. Their purpose was to have both Pennsylvania and Virginia petition the King of England to have the boundary line settled definitely, and, in the meantime, to have a temporary line drawn. They presented their cause to Dunmore, and, after a rather impatient hearing, the hotheaded Governor dismissed them, and their mission amounted to nothing. When this was known, it, in a manner, was an indorsement of Connolly's actions, and his insolence and oppression correspondingly increased. These occurrences were in the early summer of 1774, when there were grave fears of an Indian uprising. The result was that the inhabitants found themselves between two fires.

If they remained in their homes they might suffer death or captivity from the Indians, who might swoop down upon them at any moment, and, on the other hand, the whole country was being overrun by the lawless militia of Connolly. This was not all. The show of authority on the part of Virginia brought up the question of titles to their estates, for it must be remembered that many who settled here had purchased their land from Dunmore and were not only loyal to Virginia, but had a natural hatred of Pennsylvania.

Because of these apprehended dangers, the crops for the year were in many places unsown and many that were sown were never harvested. It will be understood that almost the entire people in this locality were engaged as farmers. For many miles from Pittsburgh east, fences had been destroyed and domestic animals were shot down by Connolly's outlaws, while others running at large through the uncleared land could not be reclaimed by their owners. Hundreds of families who could do so, left for their homes in the east, some to wait for better times and others never to return. The public officers of the community and those most deeply interested in its welfare used every means to induce them to remain here, but the panic was constantly increasing. In May and June public meetings were held at various places. They adopted resolutions setting forth the distressed condition of the people and sent these resolutions in the shape of extensive petitions to the Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania. The public meeting of the people in this section was held at Pittsburgh on June 17, 1774. The petition which they signed and sent to the Governor is very like others from the western section, but it is in better form. It sets forth plainly and forcibly the indignities which the people had suffered, and the provocations they were under from Connolly's shameful deeds of outlawry. The immediate community had suffered, it is true, more than the remote sections farther east. All united in saying that the situation was alarming; that they were deserted by far greater numbers of their neighbors than were represented by the petition; that they had no place of strength to resort to, should a war come; that labor was at a standstill, and that their growing crops were being destroyed; that herds of cattle and flocks of sheep were dispersed, and that the further fear of barbarous savages had greatly disturbed the minds of all citizens, and that in this distress, next to the Almighty, they looked to His Honor for relief.

The magistrates still continued to exercise their authority, and Connolly proceeded to extremes unknown before. By his lawless militia he broke into the houses as though Westmoreland county was

under his military rule. Many residents of the county contemplated a scheme of abandoning their homes and forming a new colony located elsewhere. One project was to assemble at Turtle Creek, where they meant to build a stockade for their protection. Another was to build a stockade at Kittanning. Indeed, many of the citizens, notably the Mackays, who were traders at Pittsburgh, did at this time remove to Kittanning. In many instances the inhabitants fought manfully for their rights and, in some cases, showed a bravery and strength which the drunken militia did not dare to encounter.

In Pittsburgh an association of the most active and influential inhabitants was formed for the protection of the people. They proposed to stand together to resist Connolly, and armed themselves for their mutual safety. They called on all able-bodied citizens of Westmoreland county and posted forces, small ones it is true, but they were the largest they could muster, at different points. Devereaux Smith wrote a letter in June, 1774, to William Smith, in which he set forth in a masterly manner, many of the above outrages, and he enumerated others which may interest the reader. He lays the great distress of the community at Connolly's door. He says that his drunken militia fired, and aroused an encampment of friendly Indians at Saw Mill Run. That Cressap was instigated by Connolly to fire on friendly Indians and that Connolly broke down the doors of the houses and abused the persons of Mackay, Smith and Speer, and that he tried to plunder his own, Devereaux Smith's house, but was prevented from doing so by Mr. Butler at the risk of his life. That when a man died in the fort, his body was robbed by Connolly's own men, and that he sent an armed force to Pittsburgh with a general search warrant to search every house in the community, and that private property was broken open and the citizens insulted. He says further that they waylaid a horse laden with gunpowder sent by William Smith for the use of the inhabitants of the county. After reciting many other outrages he says that these are a few of the distresses under which the people have labored, and without speedy protection and redress they could not long support themselves under such tyranny. There is much other testimony along the same line and, taking it altogether, it does not seem that the above is overdrawn in the least. Connolly was himself a drunken, blasphemous man who worked for hire, and the men under him were only too apt to imitate his example of outlawry. He supplied his men with all the whiskey they could drink, and the only work they needed to do was to forage through the community for provisions and for horse feed. These they did not scruple to take by force

Dunmore now opened several offices for the sale of lands that are now in Fayette, Westmoreland, Washington and Allegheny counties. A warrant was granted for any number of acres on the payment of two shillings and six pence (at the highest value less than sixty cents), and in addition to this, the purchaser was to pay ten shillings per hundred acres. The Proprietaries were selling lands here at five pounds per hundred acres. This was a great inducement for settlers to purchase from Virginia rather than from the Proprietaries' office, and the reader must remember that the Dunmore sales were sanctioned by the laws of Virginia and that these purchases were made from the Governor. He also established three courts in the region he claimed. Two were south of the Monongahela and one north at Redstone Fort, the name of which he changed to Fort Burd.

The courts for the County of West Augusta were held also at Pittsburgh, perhaps to more thoroughly strengthen his pretended rights to the Fork of the Ohio. The first session of Virginia court was held at Pittsburgh on September 21, 1775, and lasted four days and then adjourned to Staunton, Virginia. Other sessions were held in May and September of that year. These courts, by the way, were held regularly for West Augusta county, Virginia, in Pittsburgh until November 30, 1776, at which time the Virginia territory was divided into three counties, namely, Ohio, Yohogania and Monongahela counties. Pittsburgh was in Yohogania county, and it included most of the present counties of Allegheny and Washington. The courts of Yohogania county were held regularly until August 28, 1780, but they were not always held in Pittsburgh. A log court house and jail had been built on the farm of Andrew Heath, on the Monongahela river, near the present Washington county line, and in which many sessions of court were held.

The agents of the Penns and magistrates and the higher class of men were tireless in their efforts to induce the inhabitants to remain at their homes, which they were rapidly clearing in the wilderness. The association tried to strengthen such confidence and advised and aided the rural citizens to have their firearms ready, and at the first call of danger to fly to each other's assistance. Arthur St. Clair was regarded as the leader in all military operations. The Governor, having great confidence in his judgment, left the direction of both military and civil affairs in a great measure to him, and he gave these matters his closest personal attention. Stockades and blockhouses were erected at many points where there were a sufficient number of people to warrant them. The stockade at Ligonier was repaired and one which had been begun at Hannastown was rapidly pushed toward

completion under his general supervision. A fort was built at Kittanning. Fort Shippen, Fort Allen and Fort Palmer were also built, for it must be remembered that troubles were not by any means confined to the present limits of Westmoreland county. St. Clair also busied himself in opening up roads so that the association for defense could more rapidly move from one stockade to another. Under him a party of sixty young men called rangers had been organized at Ligonier, for defense against the Indians, and these were now increased to one hundred and ten. He called them together and, after drilling them, placed them so as to be of the most service. Twenty were posted at Turtle creek; twenty at Bullock's Pens, seven miles east of Pittsburgh; thirty at Hannastown; twenty at Proctor's, which was near St. Vincent's Monastery, and twenty at Ligonier.

On every idle report, the people sought the shelter of the forts and blockhouses, and these rangers were posted so as to strengthen such confidence. So many families had already deserted their homes that whole communities were abandoned. St. Clair himself says that it was surprising and shameful that so great a body of people should be driven from their possessions without even the appearance of an Indian, for no incursions by the red men had been made in the territory then supposed to belong to Pennsylvania. On June 11, 1774, a report was in circulation that a party of Indians had been seen near Hannastown, and another on the Braddock road some miles south. The report aroused the whole community. St. Clair mounted a swift horse and rode over the country to ascertain the facts. He found no proof of the rumor whatever, and decided that the report was at all events highly improbable, but he could not persuade the people of this. He stated in his letter that he was certain that he met no fewer than two hundred families and two thousand cattle in twenty miles' riding. The people in Ligonier valley before this had made a stand against the enemy, but on that day almost the entire population moved into the stockade. They were determined on leaving the country at once, and so strong was this desire that St. Clair says that had they left they would have forced him to go with them. He says further that their harvests were then uncut, and had they gone, many of them must have perished with starvation. This excitement was general and arose mainly from the fear of a union of Connolly's army and the Indians. They could withstand one, but did not regard themselves as equal to both.

There was abundant evidence of an Indian invasion, but it was aimed against Virginia and not against Pennsylvania. This, however, showed those in authority that the only hope of general peace was a

determination of the disputed boundary and a settlement of the jurisdiction of the rival courts and civil powers, for it was plain from this that the Indians were in some degree respecting the terms of the Stanwix treaty, which provided that they should not molest Pennsylvania settlers.

It is not our intention to take the reader through Dunmore's war. The part of it which we have narrated is the part which most directly concerns Southwestern Pennsylvania. The real war was largely brought about by Dunmore and Connolly. Their high-handed rule in Pennsylvania so exasperated the Indians that the western part of the province escaped an Indian raid only through the skill and diplomacy of the Penns, of St. Clair, and other prominent citizens here. There is little doubt that but for the respect which the Indians had for their treaty at Fort Stanwix, all of their country would have been at the mercy of the enemy. The Indians did at length raise the tomahawk against Virginia. In September, 1774, Dunmore, at the head of his army, came to Pittsburgh, and at once issued a proclamation in which he demanded the immediate submission of all citizens west of the Laurel Hill to his county government. The army, reaching Pittsburgh on September 1, had been organized by the government of Virginia, and, after remaining in this section for nearly a month, they went down the Ohio in keelboats, flatboats and barges. He and his followers had repeatedly fired on friendly Indians on the Ohio, notably at Captina creek, sixteen miles below Wheeling, and at Yellow creek, midway between Pittsburgh and Wheeling. A large party of friendly Indians had collected in an encampment at Yellow creek. The surrounding inhabitants prepared to flee and met at the house of Joshua Baker. From there they fired on Indians, killing among others, a brother and a daughter of the noted Indian, Logan. He was truly one of the great Indian warriors of his day, and this induced him to take up the matter himself.

The settlers fled at once and filled all the blockhouses between Fort Pitt and Laurel Hill. Logan, himself at the head of eighty sturdy Cayuga warriors, overran the country and showed no mercy to the defenseless inhabitants, and his actions were imitated by many other Indians. The real suffering of the Virginia frontier will never be known, for many lonely families were entirely exterminated. Colonel Lewis, a brave officer of Virginia, had, by this time, assembled an army of about eleven hundred men, organized by the Governor of Virginia on the Little Kanawha river. From there they marched to the mouth of the Big Kanawha, camping at a place called Point Pleasant. Dunmore's army was to meet him there, but he failed to do so for

reasons which he never gave. Lewis and his force arrived there on October 1, 1774, and learned, on October 9, that, instead of marching to meet him, Dunmore had remained in Fort Pitt, where he was in consultation with Connolly, Simon Girty, Alexander McKee and others, who afterward became so obnoxious as Tories and traitors. While in this section he apparently remained to look after the affairs of what he called his territory. In the meantime the Indians down the Ohio had collected the ablest warriors of the river tribes, composed of the Shawnees, Mingoes, Delawares, Wyandottes and Cayugas, and had a force fully as large as was the Virginia army under Lewis. This force of Indians was commanded by Cornstalk, chief of the Shawnees and king of the northern confederacy of Indians.

Cornstalk was one of the ablest leaders of his race, surpassing Logan and Gwaysuta, and comparing well even with Pontiac. He hesitated long before he went into the war against Virginia, but when he did so he attacked the army by a plan which would have done the highest credit to any military genius, even though he had made the science of war a lifelong study. His movements were made with a vigilance and a bravery which has seldom been equalled in our military history. The Virginians were encamped in a triangle formed by the Big Kanawha and the Ohio rivers, with high precipitous banks on two sides. With great secrecy and dispatch, Cornstalk brought his warriors forward until they formed a half circle reaching almost from the Ohio to the Kanawha rivers. Under cover of darkness he moved his army forward until he formed a base line of a triangle on which the Virginians were encamped, and all this was done without discovery on the part of Lewis or his men. It was his intention to drive the Virginia army into the point and cut them to pieces before they could escape over the high banks and across the rivers. He accordingly meant to make the line so strong that they could not break through. His orders were to kill any of his men who should attempt to retreat. The Indian chief knew that reinforcements were coming to Lewis' army and he meant to bring on this battle on the 10th of October, by which time he also meant to have his base line entirely completed.

Had the chief had but one more day, the Virginians would probably not have escaped, but, before his line was completed, Lewis, on October 9, learned that Dunmore was not coming to support him, but was moving on the Ohio Indians directly. Lewis, therefore, hastened to break up his camp and marched to meet Dunmore over in Ohio. By scouts sent out along the river he discovered the presence of the Indian line complete almost from river to river, a small gap being on

the Kanawha side. Lewis ordered out his army, but they were met bravely by the Indians under Cornstalk and at once driven back to their camp with heavy losses, particularly among the leading officers. The Indians fought desperately all day and advanced their ground by means of logs and brush which they rolled and pushed before them from behind which they, in comparative safety, poured a deadly fire into the Virginians. It then appeared that notwithstanding the fact that the battle had come a day sooner than they expected it, they were in a fair way to come off victorious.

But Lewis executed a bold movement which at once changed the fortunes of the day. Late in the afternoon he sent three companies up the banks of the Kanawha. They passed through the gap which the chief had not had time to close up, and succeeded in gaining the rear of the enemy. The Indians were so intent on the front that when the three companies, according to Lewis' orders, opened a tremendous fire on their rear, they thought the reinforcements which they knew were on the way had actually arrived, and, under this misapprehension, the line gave away. As the sun went down in the evening the Indians retreated across the Ohio to their homes, and Lewis, because of his weakened army, was undoubtedly glad to let them go. The Virginians lost about one-fifth of their number and, while the Indians' loss was less, they still suffered greatly. This battle was the chief one and the turning point in Dunmore's war. Later, Dunmore treated with the Indian chiefs, and it was at this memorable council that Logan spoke the eloquent speech in defense of his race, which has remained the schoolboy's delight for more than a century. Because of Lewis' victory the Indians in the Scioto valley were compelled to accept Dunmore's terms of peace. But the latter took all the credit to himself and gave Lewis, the one who really deserved it, none of the glory.

After his treaty with the Indians in Ohio, Dunmore did not return to Pittsburgh, but Connolly came to Hannastown almost immediately and began proceedings very much like those he had carried on before the battle. In November a number of armed men under his direction seized an agent of the Penns named Scott and carried him to Brownsville, where he was required to give bail for his appearance at the next court to be held for Augusta county. In the same month another armed mob came to Hannastown, broke open the jail and released two prisoners who were their friends. In February a company, though not under the immediate command of Connolly, broke open the same jail and released three prisoners. This last party was commanded by William Harrison, a son-in-law of Justice Crawford. Jus-

tice Hanna and the sheriff, who were awakened from their slumbers by the noise, remonstrated with them for this lawless act, and, a short time later, February 25, Hanna and Justice Cavett were taken by the mob and confined in the guardroom of Fort Pitt for three months.

The Continental Congress finally in a measure took up the matter of the dispute between the Dominion and the Province. The statesmen of that day regarded these proceedings as unworthy of men of real dignity. On July 25, 1775, the delegates in Congress, among whom were Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry and Benjamin Franklin, issued a circular urging the people of this region of both sides to a mutual forbearance. They recommended that all forces kept by either party should be dismissed, although the Virginia forces were the only ones ever kept here, except a few citizens who were necessarily armed to, in self-defense, resist Connolly's outrages. On August 7 the convention of Virginia directed Captain John Neville to take possession of Fort Pitt. It may have been that the convention which thus ordered him, did not know of the resolution of the Continental Congress of July 25. Accordingly, in August, 1775, Captain Neville started to Pittsburgh from Winchester, his army being raised in the Shenandoah valley. It consisted of about one hundred men under pay of Virginia. They reached Pittsburgh on September 11 and immediately took charge of Fort Pitt. The Penns endured even this without murmur. Neville, by the way, remained in the fort until 1777, remaining at first as a Virginia officer, but later his force became a loyal adjunct of the American army. After the Revolution he settled in Pittsburgh and became identified with the interests of Southwestern Pennsylvania. We shall meet him again in the account of the Whiskey Insurrection and elsewhere in these chapters.

At this time, with the fortress in their hands and many of Connolly's men still in the field and with the courts of Yohogania county being regularly held in various parts of Southwestern Pennsylvania, and with all functions of the government under the control of Virginia, those who were strict adherents to the Penns and who believed themselves under their authority had, indeed, very grave reasons for being disheartened. We may further add that senators and delegates to the Virginia Legislature were regularly chosen from Pittsburgh and other parts of Westmoreland county, as we know it now, to serve in the Virginia State capital. Virginia, indeed, seemed to have complete dominion.

The conduct of Connolly at Pittsburgh finally became so outrageous that almost the entire southwest took up arms against him.

On June 7, 1775, St. Clair took twenty men from his company of regulars and again arrested him and took him to Ligonier. It was his intention to deliver him up to the military authorities at Philadelphia. But, bad as he was, he had friends among the Virginia settlers at Pittsburgh. These friends feared that his arrest was the beginning of proceedings against their Virginia titles, and they were ever vigilant of their rights in that direction. Lest his imprisonment in the east might, therefore, further alienate these people, when St. Clair learned of their violent demonstrations, he let him go, but both his and Dunmore's reign in Western Pennsylvania was rapidly drawing to a close. Leaving Pennsylvania by night, Connolly journeyed to Portsmouth, Virginia, where he met Dunmore, who had sought safety on the British man-of-war "Fowney." Dunmore never returned, but Connolly continued, by correspondence, to foment trouble in Western Pennsylvania and was finally arrested at Fredericksburg.

Dunmore escaped punishment by entering the English service in the Revolutionary War. When Connolly was arrested the last time he was with two accomplices, and had papers concealed sufficient to condemn him. An examination of these papers showed that he was in conspiracy with General Gage and, of course, with Dunmore, the plan being that Connolly should be made colonel of a regiment which they hoped to enlist in Southwestern Pennsylvania and Virginia for the service of the King. This regiment was to proceed to Detroit, then held as a British military post, and there they were to be supplied and equipped, with the addition of such Indian allies as Connolly could induce to join him. They were then to proceed to Fort Pitt and thence form a junction with a similar force with Dunmore in April, 1776. This scheme was frustrated by Connolly's arrest. He was imprisoned in Philadelphia and, in 1777, General Ewing became his bondsman for good behavior and took him to his farm to regain his health, but he soon showed himself unworthy of the general's confidence and was returned to prison. He was finally released from prison in 1780, and at once began to plot an attack on Southwestern Pennsylvania, which he meant to approach from Canada. This scheme failing, he renewed it in 1782, and actually collected forces for that purpose at Lake Champlain. By the aid of a spy sent out, General Irvine discovered the plot and took such measures as were necessary to end it. Still later, in 1788, he appeared in Kent, where he tried to induce a following to join Lord Dorchester, who was then Governor of Canada, in the seizure of New Orleans and in the opening of the Mississippi river to western commerce, but this scheme failed ignominiously. After that he was deserted by his friends and relatives

and, it is said, died in poverty, made still more miserable by intemperance.

Many think that to him and Dunmore the people of Southwestern Pennsylvania generally, owe, in a great measure, their political independence. They, and particularly Connolly, were to the people of this section, and especially to the Pittsburgh people, what General Gage was to the people of Boston at the beginning of the Revolution. By ruling them with an iron hand, Gage had made them more than ever hostile to the King of England, whom he represented. So it was with Dunmore and Connolly; for years their names were detested by all lawabiding citizens, but no one ever regarded them in any other light than as true representatives of King George III. Perhaps, had it not been for these men and their many outrages, Southwestern Pennsylvania would not have acquitted itself so splendidly in the Revolution which soon followed.

The province endeavored to hold the territory mainly through the civil organization of Westmoreland county, which, as we have seen, embraced not only the territory of Allegheny county, but of Southwestern Pennsylvania, though possession of the outlying districts in the extreme west was even then doubted by the Proprietaries themselves. In the meantime the Penns were trying to have the boundary line adjusted. It is probable that but for the Indians, who were common enemies of the citizens of both Virginia and Pennsylvania, this could not have been accomplished. Neither side would relinquish any material points, though several attempts, each of which promised to be successful, were made from time to time. Governor Penn at one time wrote a letter to Governor Dunmore in which he scarcely claimed as much territory in this section as was really belonging to the province. In this letter he says: "The western extent of the province of Pennsylvania by the royal grant is five degrees of longitude from the Delaware, which is the eastern boundary." Taking into consideration Mason and Dixon's line of 1763-1767, he says he had calculations made by several competent mathematicians and all agreed that Pittsburgh "is now six miles east of the western extent of the province." Dunmore's reply, on March 3, 1774, disputed the line as laid down by Penn.

Dunmore claimed that the five-degree line should be measured on the northern boundary of Pennsylvania and that the southern boundary should begin, not at the Delaware river, but at the "circle" twelve miles distant from Newcastle, and run west to a meridian which should pass through the western extremity of the northern boundary as he had outlined it. Surveyors have long since demonstrated that

the Penns' proposition gave Virginia more than she claimed and less than was really belonging to them, for, instead of Pittsburgh being six miles east of the boundary, it is about thirty miles east of the western boundary. Dunmore's proposition in reality gave Pennsylvania about what was due the province, that is, about what afterward came to her, and it was, therefore, more than the Penns demanded. All this tends to show how little was known of our territory by those who were handling the matter and were at swords' points over it.

For years, the reader has seen, the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania in every way sought to adjust this boundary line, but all their efforts failed. The question passed out of the public mind during the Revolutionary War, for then both Pennsylvania and Virginia were united in a common cause. A more successful movement was made in 1779. Five men, three from Pennsylvania, named George Bryan, John Ewing and David Rittenhouse, and two from Virginia, named James Madison and Robert Ambrose, were selected to determine the point, the agreement entered into by them being signed August 31, 1779. It provided that they, on behalf of their respective states, should ratify and confirm an agreement to extend Mason and Dixon's line due west five degrees of longitude from the Delaware, and that this should be the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, and that the meridian line drawn from the western terminus of this Mason and Dixon line to the northern limit of Pennsylvania would be the western boundary of our State. This agreement was confirmed and ratified by the Legislature of Virginia on June 23, 1780, but they added certain conditions, and it was ratified by the General Assembly of Pennsylvania on September 23, 1780.

These conditions which Virginia added to the agreement were that private property and the rights of all persons acquired under, founded on or recognized by, the laws of either State previous to that date, should be saved and confirmed by them, although they should be found to fall within the limits of the other; and that, in the decision of disputes thereon, preference should be given to the older or prior right, regardless of which State the right was granted under. These conditions were recognized and the agreement finally ratified by the act of 1784. During the year 1784 the boundaries were run and marked by stones set in the ground. This celebrated line is the parallel of latitude, thirty-nine degrees, forty-three minutes and twenty-six seconds.

It was not an easy task to make this survey and determine this western point upon which the northern meridian should be drawn. Mason and Dixon had come from England and had worked two years

at their line. In establishing it they had assumed that a degree of longitude on that parallel was fifty-three miles and one hundred and sixty-seven and one-tenth perches. If that was correct, it only needed to be extended twenty-three miles to complete the five degrees west from the Delaware. Doubters appeared on both sides and it was, therefore, agreed that this point should be established by astronomical observations. This required time and preparation, so that in the meantime a temporary line was run. Alexander McLain, a Pennsylvania surveyor, was appointed to draw this line in conjunction with Dr. James Madison, who had been appointed by Virginia. After much delay, June 1, 1782, was selected as the day to begin to survey the temporary line. McLain appeared, but the Virginia appointee and his surveyor, Joseph Neville, did not. An armed body of Virginians were on the ground and prevented McLain from proceeding with his work. Finally McLain and Neville ran the line in the fall of 1782.

The permanent line and the point was determined by astronomy and surveyors were appointed by the two states for that purpose in 1784. The commission was divided into two parts; one party went to the point on the Delaware where Mason and Dixon's line began, and the other went to the point at the western terminus of the temporary line supposed to be the southwest corner of Pennsylvania. At each of these place, an observatory was erected. After several weeks of astronomical observation, each party thought they had adjusted their chronometer to the true time. On September 20 the party from the point on the Delaware set out to meet those at the western point and to compare their observations. This comparison showed a difference of one and one-eighth seconds. They adjusted this and the permanent corner of the State was definitely established. The joint report of the commissioners is dated September 18, 1784. Because of the inclement weather, the report says, they delayed running the western boundary until the following year. In May, 1785, they met as they had agreed and established for all time the western boundary of the State. Their report is dated on the 23rd of August, 1785.

On the northern side of the line of the stones mentioned was carved the arms of the Penn family, and on the southern side the arms of Lord Baltimore, as far west as the Maryland line. West of this the stones had the letter "P" carved on the northern side and the letter "V" on the southern side, for they were set up after the divesting act was passed and after Pennsylvania and Virginia had become states. These stones were carved in England and brought to America and must have been hauled hundreds of miles on wagons. But even after this dispute was far on the way to be finally and irrevocably ended,

there was grave trouble among our southwestern people. The Virginians were a people of great pride in the Old Dominion, and they looked down on the Quakers of Pennsylvania and on the German settlers, who were commonly called "Pennsylvania Dutch." They had settled here with no intention of leaving their beloved Virginia, but with the assurance that they were settling within her boundaries. Accordingly, when they found themselves about to actually become citizens of Pennsylvania, their wrath knew no bounds. They applied to the Continental Congress for some measure of relief, but the latter had sufficient trouble on its hands and, so far as we can learn, paid no attention whatever to their petition. The next move was to advocate the formation of a new State, for states were now in vogue, to be composed of parts of Pennsylvania, Ohio and Virginia, with Pittsburgh as its capital. This would unite many Virginians in one State and relieve them from the opprobrium of being in the same State with the Pennsylvania Dutch and with the Quakers of the east, all of whom they despised. This movement actually grew very rapidly and was not by any means an unpopular one here in the southwest and in Pittsburgh, which desired to be the capital of the State. All the powers of the State were called into requisition to defeat the movement, and, as a last resort, an act was passed in December, 1782, declaring all such measures to be treason.



CHAPTER XV

FORTS AND BLOCKHOUSES

CHAPTER XV.

Old Forts and Blockhouses of the Present Westmoreland County.—Carnahan's Blockhouse.—Forts Crawford, Wallace, Allen, Shippen.—Lochry's Blockhouse.

Many of the forts and blockhouses are sufficiently referred to in the general history of the county, and such will be merely mentioned in this part of the work, which is meant to describe and locate more specifically the ones we have had occasion to but little more than mention heretofore. Miller's Station or blockhouse is treated of at such length in the story of Hannastown and elsewhere that it would be superfluous to more than refer to it here. The same may be said of Hannastown and Fort Ligonier.

Fort Hand was erected on a farm lately owned by Jacob M. Kearns, in the present Washington township, one mile north of North Washington, near the large log house of John McKibben. It was at first known as McKibben's blockhouse, but subsequently General Hand, who commanded Fort Pitt, strengthened and rebuilt it and it took his name. It was built most likely in the fall of 1777. It was about four miles south of the Kiskiminetas river, at a point six miles above its mouth, about fourteen miles northwest from Hannastown. Colonel Lochry, in a letter to President Wharton, dated on December 6, 1777, after reciting the privations and dangers of the frontier, refers to the fact that General Hand had taken most of his men away on a proposed expedition, and says further that there is "not a man on our frontiers from Ligonier to the Allegheny river, except a few at Fort Hand, on Continental pay." On March 22 Hand wrote to Lochry that he was instructed to provide for the defense of the frontier, and that he expected one hundred and fifty privates of the militia to remain in that section. "Thirty of them," he said, "were to be added to Captain Moorhead's company stationed at Fort Hand," and the remaining one hundred and twenty "to be placed at such stations as you will find best calculated for the defense of the county."

After the building of Fort Crawford, Fort Hand was not regularly garrisoned by Continental troops, yet it was used frequently throughout the Revolution and was garrisoned sometimes by militia. It was kept up mainly by the surrounding inhabitants, and was a station or blockhouse, rather than a fort. Captain Samuel Moorhead was married to Colonel Lochry's daughter. One of Moorhead's lieutenants was William Jack, afterwards Judge Jack, of this county. When Francis Kearns, the father, purchased the present Kearns' farm in

1835, the remains of the trench around the fort could readily be traced. They included nearly an acre of ground and enclosed the location of the present farm house, garden and spring.

Carnahan's Blockhouse.—This was an important station during the latter years of the Revolution, though it was built prior to the beginning of the war. It was erected on land of Adam Carnahan, more recently known as the William McColly farm. It was in what is now Bell township, near Perryville, about two miles from the Kiskiminetas river. Nearby had been an old Indian town known as Kiskiminetas. In August, 1777, a party of seven men were reaping oats, and one of them being on the watch discovered an Indian and signs of others. The reapers fled immediately to McKibben's or Fort Hand, where they barricaded themselves for the night. The day following, the Indians committed many depredations in the community. Robert Taylor and David Carnahan had gone out from Carnahan's to learn of the Indians. They discovered them and then followed a race for the blockhouse. Carnahan and Taylor reached the house first and barred the doors and windows. There were fourteen Indians in the party and a much smaller number of white men in the blockhouse. After much firing, John Carnahan ventured outside to get a better shot at the Indians, and was at once shot dead, falling backward into the door. His body was dragged in and the door again fastened. The firing continued briskly on both sides till dark, when the Indians left the county, taking with them several horses, presumably to carry their plunder and their wounded. James Carnahan, known as Colonel Carnahan, and John Carnahan, who was killed, were sons of Adam Carnahan. Carnahan's Fort became, like Fort Crawford, of much more importance after the partial abandonment of Fort Hand.

Fort Crawford.—Fort Crawford was built by and took the name of William Crawford, whom every reader of Westmoreland's history will recall as our first judge, who afterwards commanded an expedition against the Indians of Ohio, where he was captured and burned at the stake. In the summer of 1777 there were many depredations in the northern part of our present county, in fact the community was continuously overrun by scalping parties. They came from Ohio and from the northwestern part of the State. Fort Pitt being better garrisoned, the Indians crossed the Allegheny river between the Kittanning garrison, Fort Armstrong on the north and Fort Pitt on the south. It therefore became necessary to erect a fort to protect this middle section. The incursions increased, and in 1778 Colonel Crawford, who was then in command of the Virginia regiment, thought it incumbent on him to build the fort. This he did with the sanction of General

McIntosh, who then commanded Fort Pitt. The point selected was near the mouth of Pucketo creek, which flows into the Allegheny near the present town of Parnassus, near New Kensington. Crawford commanded this fort during the years of 1778-79 and 1780. The fort became a very important one, for it became a distributing point of supplies and munitions of war for the entire community, as well as a place of refuge for the surrounding inhabitants. It was garrisoned by Continental soldiers or by companies of militia who were called out when necessary by the county lieutenant. It was a stockade fort, and served the frontier for all these purposes and required constant care and attention; when abandoned it soon fell into decay, like all stockade forts. All traces of the fort have long since been obliterated, indeed its exact location can scarcely now be definitely determined.

Fort Wallace.—This fort was probably built in 1774, and contained about one-half acre of ground, including a blockhouse. When attacked by the Indians, the women and children were put in the lower story, while the men took the upper story, so that they might more readily observe the approach of the enemy and fire at them from the port holes. It was erected on the farm of William Wallace, of Derry township, largely by the work of Wallace, John Pomroy, James Wilson, William and Alexander Barr and William Guthrie, who lived in this settlement. It was a place of safety for the people of Derry township, particularly those near the Conemaugh river. From 1775 till 1781 it was a very important point. Arms and ammunitions were kept there all the time, and it was designated as a place of supply of salt. On May 4, 1778, Colonel John Piper wrote to President Wharton: "At a little fort called Fort Wallace, some sixteen or twenty miles from Fort Ligonier, there were nine men killed and one man, their captain, wounded last week. The party of Indians was very numerous, so that between Indians and the still more savage Tories they are in real distress." It was Captain Hopkins who was wounded. When Fort Armstrong (at Kittanning) and Fort Crawford were evacuated the troubles in Derry township increased. When garrisoned at all, it was by the ranging companies of Captains Irwin and Campbell and by Captain Moorhead's independent company, which, for more than two years, had been doing duty in all the frontier forts of Westmoreland county. It was generally garrisoned by volunteer rangers, who, in the main, came from the community and served without pay.

Rev. William Cunningham, who was in Fort Barr, in a letter, says that signs of Indians had been seen and an attack was expected. Fort Barr was about a mile north of the present town of New Derry. While expecting an attack they heard heavy firing at Wallace's Fort,

about five miles distant. Major Wilson and others went to their aid, leaving but a small force at Fort Barr. When they approached Fort Wallace, they found the party within engaged in a hot conflict with a large number of Indians. When the latter saw Wilson and his party approaching they turned on them. Forced to retreat, they found the enemy had taken possession of a bridge across a small ravine. Wilson and his men engaged in a hand-to-hand contest with them and knocked several of them off the bridge with the butts of their muskets. Wilson then took a position near a large oak and used his rifle with deadly effect on the Indians, but they were too numerous, and the Wilson party was forced to retreat towards Barr's Fort, firing all the way. One of the Barrs was killed, and as they neared the fort Robert Barr was also killed while engaged in fighting several Indians with the butt of his gun.

Shortly after this the enemy was again discovered, and supposing them to be but few in number, Wilson proceeded to hunt and attack them with six or seven men. They found them concealed in the grass at the top of what is known as Culbertson's Hill, about a mile from the fort. Culbertson's Hill is latterly a part of the John Stoffer farm. The Indians fired on them, and being much greater in numbers than was expected, Wilson's party, with the enemy in hot pursuit, made their way towards the fort. They loaded and fired as best they could as they ran, and supposed they had killed a number of the enemy, but never ascertained this.

Fort Barr.—The land in Derry township near New Derry was taken up promptly when the State began to sell land in this county on April 3, 1769. The land on which the fort was built was granted to Robert Barr, and near him were the homes of Herman Gertson, James Fulton, James Eaton, James Barr and others. Nearby they laid out a grave yard, and in it many of the old settlers are buried. Among others, the brave Major James Wilson is buried there, and it is undoubtedly one of the oldest burial places in the county.

A stockade was erected at Barrs and used throughout the Revolution. It included, as usual, a spring, and about one-half acre of ground. It was built most likely before the Revolution, and was afterwards strengthened by stockades, etc. This fort was often called Gilson's Fort, but this was incorrect, for though the Gilson family afterwards owned the land, the transfer from Barr to the elder Gilson was made after the fort was abandoned. They had a means of communication with Fort Wallace, at least five miles away. On the higher elevations between Barrs and Wallaces were established posts, so that a loud-voiced pioneer or a succession of gunshots could be heard from

one hilltop to another, and thus very soon be carried from the fort in distress to its neighbor. The signal code had but one word, "Distress," and when it was heard it was at all times very willingly responded to. Colonel Cook, county lieutenant, issued the following order to Lieutenant Richard Johnson on August 8, 1782: "You are to proceed with the militia under your command to Myers Station, where you will receive arms and ammunition. You will have to detach a few men to Rayburn's, Walthour's and Fort Barr. You will be directed as to the number by the strength of your party or the number you can spare." Michael Huffnagle, after Hannastown was destroyed, wrote to General Irvine that he feared the scouting parties had not done their duty. "We have discovered where the Indians had encamped, and they must have been there for at least ten days, for they killed several horses and eat them about six miles from Brush Run and right on the way towards Barr's." There were many stories of the trials in and about Barr's Fort, and they lingered in the settlement for more than a century; indeed, they were carried by descendants even to remote parts of the far west. Some of them are perhaps imaginary, or, at all events, not well corroborated. Some of the better founded or more authentic traditions are given elsewhere.

Fort Palmer.—The date of building of this fort has been treated of elsewhere, but few words are therefore necessary. It was in the northern part of Ligonier valley, in Fairfield township, and on the present Ramsey farm. Archibald Lochry, concerning the outbreak of 1777, speaks of the whole section being threatened with desolation and destruction. The citizens are so closely confined in the fort that they can get no subsistence from their plantations. The Indians have recently attacked Palmer's Fort, about seven miles from Fort Ligonier. Later two children were killed within two hundred yards of the fort.

Shields' Fort.—In 1774 a number of people assembled at the house of John Shields, on the Loyalhanna, five or six miles from Hannastown, where, to defend their wives and children, they erected a small fort. This they reported to Governor Penn. The structure was on the farm of John Shields, an early settler on the Loyalhanna, who lived near the present town of New Alexandria. Shields was one of the prominent men of his day. He was one of the five commissioners appointed in 1785 to purchase land upon which the county building were erected. The Shields blockhouse was within communicating distance of Hannastown, Barr's and Wallace's forts, and when an alarm was sounded the people fled to the nearest. The garrisons of these forts also assisted each other in times of an outbreak.

Sometimes this fort is called Craig's Fort, though this is incorrect. Craigs were very prominent pioneers who lived very near the Shields place.

Fort Walthour.—A great deal has been said in the general part of this work about Walthour's Fort. It was located at a point which is now on the Lincoln highway, about nine miles west of Greensburg and a mile or more east of Irwin. It was built on the land of Christopher Walthour (formerly spelled Waldhower). It remained in the Walthour name till 1868. Around the old German pioneer were his brother, George Walthour, the Studebakers, Kunkles, Byeleys, Williards, Irwins, Highbergers, Wentlings, Baughmans, Longawans, Fritchmans, Buzzards, Kifers, etc. The land is now owned by Michael Clohessey. The site of the blockhouse and stockade is about two hundred and fifty yards south of the highway, close to the barn and between two springs of water. The original Walthour house was enclosed within the stockade. There was also a blockhouse within and there the people would gather in times of danger. This locality suffered most from the Indians in 1781-82. Many petitions for assistance were sent from this point to General Irvine. One of them represents that since the war began, the fury of the savages has been so particularly directed against them that they are reduced to despondency and are ready to sink under the heavy burdens. They ask for additional guard, at least through the harvest time, without which they cannot gather their crops. The reader is familiar with the story of the lone Indian who escaped from this blockhouse the night before they hoped to burn him at the stake.

Pomroy's Blockhouse.—Colonel John Pomroy's house stood about a mile from Barr's Fort, almost in the direction of the line to Wallace's Fort. The farm on which it stood is recently known as the Walkinshaw farm, and is about one-half mile from Millwood Station on the Pennsylvania railroad, in the direction of New Derry. Wilson's blockhouse, that of Major James Wilson, was in the same settlement. It was about a mile northeastward from New Derry.

Rugh's Blockhouse.—Michael Rugh built a large strong two-story log house about two miles south of Greensburg, near the county home. He had come into Westmoreland in 1782. His house had port holes. It was torn down in 1842, and at that time bore bullet marks showing that it had been used as its builder intended. Michael Rugh was an early coroner, a commissioner to purchase lands for the county, and a common pleas judge in 1787. His home was designated as a place from which supplies were distributed to the needy settlers. He also took a contract of supplying provisions for the post at Fort Pitt.

at Ligonier and at Rugh's blockhouse. Tradition that seems to be reliable tells of the "old barn" on the Rugh farm. It has been described as a very large building of large logs, and that it had port holes in the walls. It was probably built for the storage of supplies, delivered there for general distribution, and it was probably a place of refuge as well. It is well authenticated that the structure was an uncommon one. It is known furthermore by unbroken tradition that when Hannastown was destroyed, the people from all the surrounding country fled to Rugh's blockhouse.

Fort Allen.—This name was given to a structure erected for public protection in "Hempfield township, between Wendel Onry's and Christopher Trubey's." It was built at the same time that Fort Shippen at John Proctor's, Shields' Fort and others, were built. That was during the strenuous times of 1774. It was probably a firmly built log house or blockhouse, and may never have been used. It was likely named after Andrew Allen, who was then a member of the Supreme Executive Council. It was most likely a short distance northwest of Greensburg.

Kepple's Blockhouse.—This structure was on the farm of Michael Kepple, a mile and a half north of Greensburg, on the present road leading north. It had a stone foundation, and was made of hewn logs, with loopholes for rifles. All cracks and weak points were protected by heavy planks. It was used as a residence by the owner, but was open to all in times of danger. It was resorted to in 1781 and 1782, and perhaps many times that we have no record of. Some of the logs of the old house have been preserved.

Stokely's Blockhouse.—A strong log house on the farm of Nehemiah Stokely, on Sewickley creek, about one-half mile from Waltz's Mill, was given the above name. It stood on elevated ground and was naturally well protected by a hill which rose from the rear and prevented an attack from that direction. It was two stories and of strong logs, which were reinforced by heavy boards. The roof was of shingles, which were nailed down by nails made by a blacksmith. It was a very important place of safety until the Indian troubles were over. In 1782, and probably during other years, the place was constantly protected by an armed force.

McDowell's Blockhouse.—This stronghold was built where the village of Madison, in Hempfield township, now stands. It was at the angle of the crossing of the Greensburg and West Newton roads, and the Clay pike from Somerset westward. The late James B. Oliver, of West Newton, the father-in-law of Edgar Cowan, was born in this

blockhouse, to which his parents had fled a few days before because of an Indian incursion.

Marchand's Blockhouse.—This was probably a strong log house and was called a blockhouse. It was on the farm of Dr. David Marchand, on the north fork of the Little Sewickley creek, about four miles southwest of Greensburg. It was a place of refuge against the Indians, and was afterwards a residence.

Fort Shippen (Proctor's).—There was a petition sent to the Governor in 1774 from "Fort Shippen, at Capt. John Proctor's." This petition sets forth that there is a great reason to fear that they will soon be involved in Indian warfare; that the county is in a defenseless condition, with no place of special strength, nor any stock of ammunition stores. "In these circumstances," they say, "next to the Almighty, they look to your Honor and hope you will take their case into consideration and afford them such relief as your Honor will see meet." The structure was promptly erected, and named in honor of Edward Shippen, one of the Supreme Executive Council. It was located on John Proctor's land, about three miles from Latrobe, near the Twelve-Mile Run, and the reader will recall him as one of the great men of the early history of the county, as the leader of the first Revolutionary forces for whom the Rattlesnake flag was made, the county lieutenant, first sheriff of the county, etc. On June 3, 1774, it is reported that "many families are returning to the eastern side of the mountains, while others are building forts in order to make a stand." It was frequently resorted to during Dunmore's war and during the Revolutionary period, when the country was constantly in danger of Indian incursions.

Lochry's Blockhouse.—This was on a farm owned by Colonel Archibald Lochry, the well known pioneer, county lieutenant and Revolutionary leader in this section. It was situated on Twelve-Mile Run. The place of the blockhouse is now in Unity township, near the Lincoln Highway, nearly opposite St. Vincent's Monastery. It is on the north side of the highway. Lochry built the blockhouse and in a letter to President Reed, dated April 17, 1781, says: "The savages have begun their hostilities; they have recently struck us in four different places, have taken and killed thirteen persons, with a number of horses and other effects of the inhabitants. Two of the unhappy people were killed one mile from Hannastown. Our country is worse depopulated than it ever has been. There is no ammunition in the country but what is public property; when hostilities commenced the people come to me from all quarters for ammunition and assured me that if I did not supply them out of the public magazine

they would not attempt to stand. Under the circumstances I gave out a large quantity and would be glad to have your Excellencies' approbation, as I am certain this county would have been evacuated had I not supplied them with that which was necessary. I have built a magazine for the State stores, in the form of a blockhouse that will be defended with very few men."

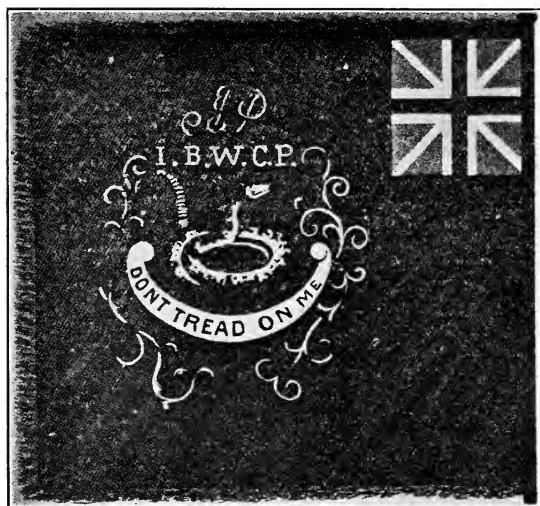
President Reed responded: "We have the greatest difficulty to procure ammunition, there not being one thousand pounds of powder in Philadelphia. You will see the necessity of using it frugally. The council do by no means approve of your building the magazine or blockhouse. They think the collecting of all ammunition at one place is exposing it to the enemy and they do not encourage the erecting of buildings without being previously consulted. Therefore, instead of keeping the whole ammunition at one place, we choose that it should be kept at sundry places. The establishing of guards therefore for that place appears unnecessary."

Colonel Lochry was worried beyond all measure in the discharge of his official duties. Shortly after this he headed "Lochry's Expedition," the story of which forms a very gloomy page in another part of this work. From this expedition he never returned.



CHAPTER XVI

BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTION



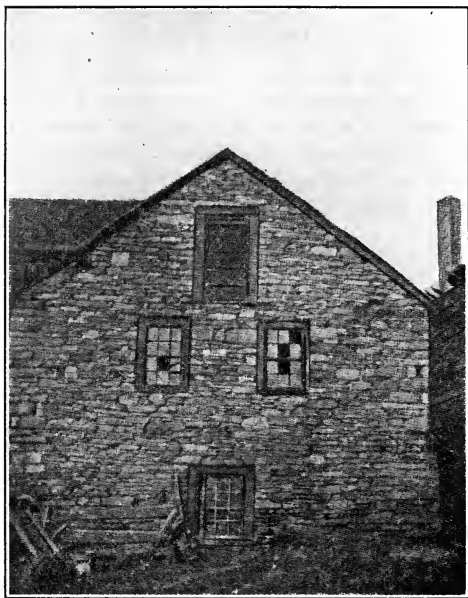
THE RATTLESNAKE FLAG

CHAPTER XVI.

The Beginning of the Revolution.—Westmoreland's Prominence.—Compared With Philadelphia.—Early Pioneer Movements.—Dunmore's Soldiers Loyal.—War With England Seemed Inevitable.—Meeting at Hannastown.—Hannastown Resolutions.—Dispute as to Authorship.—Result of Action on Resolutions.—The First Battalion.—The Rattlesnake Flag.

Old Westmoreland has a most remarkable and most interesting history in the Revolution. The towns of the county, as the reader has seen, were but two small collections of log houses, namely, Hannastown and Pittsburgh. Neither of them had any municipal existence or special form of government. It was the growing desire of Pittsburgh to become the county seat of Westmoreland, for it was the larger town and the metropolis of the southwest. Because of its location and because of Fort Pitt which was kept garrisoned by the government during the war, it became the Revolutionary storm center of the southwest. Even if we desired to do so, we could not separate its Revolutionary history from that of the surrounding country, for they are so interlinked and interdependent upon each other, that the story, to be made intelligent to the reader, must, to a great extent, include the history of Fort Pitt.

The people of Southwestern Pennsylvania may well feel proud of their record in the Revolution. Though Westmoreland had been opened for settlement only six years, and had been erected as a county less than three years before the war began; though this was almost entirely a community of farmers and struggling pioneers with two small towns, neither of which had a population over three hundred, yet the county of Westmoreland has the proud distinction, as the records show, of furnishing more men for the various branches of the Revolutionary army than the city of Philadelphia. They were not, of course, all under the direct command of Washington, but they were an identical part of the forces which, in the end, brought about the closing victory at Yorktown. That Philadelphia had many Quakers who were religiously opposed to war, and many Tories who were against us, must not lessen the glory which attaches to the Revolutionary history of Westmoreland county as the county then existed. The people of Westmoreland did not enter the Revolution with the idea of obtaining freedom, nor had they given the question of civil liberty or the oppression of the British Parliament, much attention. They were too diligently employed in clearing away the original forests and defending them-



SMITH'S MILL—BUILT AT SMITHTON ABOUT 1801

selves against the Indians and against Connolly and his militia, to pay much attention to their civic rights. A few of the leading men were in constant correspondence with the Philadelphia patriots and they became leaders of the entire population.

The Boston Port Bill had been passed to go into effect on June 1, 1774. Its effect was, in brief, to close the port of Boston to all commerce; it forbade town meetings except at the pleasure of the Governor; it placed the appointment of the Governor, the Council and the sheriffs in the Crown of England and gave the appointed sheriffs the power of electing juries. On May 13 the town of Boston resolved: "That, if the other colonies would unite with them to stop all importations to Great Britain and the West Indies until the Act should be repealed, it would prove the salvation of the colonies." The day that the act went into effect (June 1, 1774) was observed throughout the colonies as a fast day. In the meantime a committee of correspondence for the city of Philadelphia had been formed and now sent out a

circular to the prominent representatives of the different counties which, among other things, set forth as follows: "The Governor declining to call a meeting of the Assembly, renders it necessary to take the sentiments of the inhabitants, and for that purpose it is agreed to call a meeting of the inhabitants of the city and counties of the state on the 15th inst., Wednesday, July, 1774." The circular was sent by Charles Thompson, clerk of the first Continental Congress. On this suggestion, meetings were held in most of the counties and were particularly well attended where the Scotch-Irish predominated among the pioneers, as they did in Westmoreland county. Deputies to attend this meeting in Philadelphia were chosen from every district in the province. On July 11 a "very respectable body of people" met at the old log court house in Hannastown and elected Robert Hanna and James Cavett as delegates to represent Westmoreland county in this convention. The committee met as was arranged, on the 15th inst., and the representatives from Westmoreland county could not reach there in time for its opening session. However, their names show that they were present and they probably did participate in its later meetings, for it remained in session until July 21. Cavett was a frontiersman who had been a justice and a county commissioner, while Hanna was a shrewd Irishman, a justice and a hotelkeeper, yet they were associated in the convention with Joseph Reed and Thomas Mifflin and joined in the instructions to the Assembly and in the general resolution. They also signed their names to the scholarly paper which came from the able pen of John Dickinson, a philosophical composition on the abstract nature of liberty and privileges, and on the king's prerogatives, which is enlightened with the learning of Burlamaqui, Montesquieu and Blackstone.

If they were incompetent to pass on the learned opinion of Queen Elizabeth's chief justice, they were, at all events, men of good sense, loyalty and judgment, and such men were demanded above all others by those times. Our representatives were, of course, men without culture and perhaps the more learned would have handled these questions with better grace. It was not particularly a revolutionary convention, for it declared allegiance to King George, though it denounced the arbitrary acts of the British Parliament and in severe terms inveighed against the Boston Port Bill and the annulment of the Massachusetts charter. The convention also suggested a colonial congress and pledged the State of Pennsylvania to at once stop all communications with Great Britain, for such a proceeding was thought necessary to force the Parliament to repeal the obnoxious measures. About this time, 1774, a committee of correspondence was organized in West-

moreland county which continued to exert considerable influence until it was succeeded by the Revolutionary association when the war properly began.

The records of the committee of correspondence in Westmoreland county are not to be found, but they undoubtedly did render considerable service. The reader has seen that the Virginians and the adherents of the Penns around Pittsburgh were almost in arms against each other, but when the war clouds of the Revolution came, they united at once, and there were few who were not loyal to the American cause. Even the most pronounced of the Virginians, those who were soldiers in Dunmore's war, enlisted in the cause. In 1774 Valentine Crawford, a brother of Judge Crawford, while a member of Dunmore's army, wrote a letter to Washington from Wheeling, saying the frontiersman hoped for an early peace with the Indians; and "in order that we may be able to assist you in relieving the poor distressed Bostonians. If the report here is true, that General Gage has bombarded the City of Boston, this is a most alarming circumstance and calls on every friend of the liberty of his country to exert himself at this time in its cause." While Dunmore's soldiers were marching homeward on November 5, they held a meeting and passed a resolution banding themselves to put forth "every power within us for the defense of American liberty and for the support of our just rights and privileges." It will thus be seen that however hostile they were among themselves, they were united when the common contest for freedom confronted them.

In 1775 it became clear, to the leaders of Westmoreland county at least, that a war between the colonies and England would be inevitable. Connolly undertook to organize the leading men of his command in and around Pittsburgh and vicinity into a company to sustain the cause of the King against the colonists. These were men of English blood, largely from Virginia and were devoted followers of Connolly in his unlawful proceedings, yet he met with no success whatever in forming this organization. They were favorable to Virginia and opposed to the Penns, but were equally hostile to the oppressive measures of the British Parliament and the Crown. The news of the battle of Lexington traveled west slowly and reached Hannastown early in May. The hardy Scotch and the Irish on the rude frontier laid aside their legal quarrels and united at once in defense of their rights as American citizens as against the English Crown. There were two committees of correspondence, one in Westmoreland county proper and one in West Augusta county, the significance of which has been explained in a previous chapter. These committees called meet-

ings of the early settlers at once and expressed their minds as to the new turn of public affairs. The meetings were called at Pittsburgh and Hannastown and were held May 16 and 17, 1775. On the same day the Virginia court opened in Pittsburgh and the attendance was therefore unusually large in that place. The Pittsburgh meeting appointed a committee of twenty-eight men representing various sections of Westmoreland and the Virginia district, and many of these men were then, or later became, well known in the pioneer history of this section. Among them were George Croghan, who was an uncle of Connolly and had rendered such eminent service in the Indian troubles; Edward Ward, who had been censured somewhat, perhaps too severely, for surrendering the fort he was building at the Fork of the Ohio in 1754; John Cannon, who afterward became an army officer and later founded Cannonsburg; John Gibson, who interpreted Logan's well-known defense of his race in Ohio; Edward Cook, who sat on the bench and filled many important positions in our history; John McCullough, a fearless pioneer; William Crawford, before that a justice of the county and a loyal soldier; Samuel Semple, the father-in-law of Connolly and one of the leading men of his day. This committee met and drafted stirring resolutions approving the acts of the Bostonians in opposing "the invaders of American rights and privileges to the utmost extreme."

They also arranged for an organization of committees to be ready to oppose English oppression at the first call from the colonies. On the next day the other committee held "a general meeting of the inhabitants of Westmoreland county" in the temporary log court house at Hannastown and adopted resolutions which made the committee famous for all time and was, in many respects, one of the most glorious meetings ever held in Western Pennsylvania, even up to our present day of great events. True, they met in a log cabin—met as pioneers, and many of them were doubtless clothed in homespun garments, or hunting suits of buckskin; met in the shade of the forest primeval on the most western border of civilization. But nevertheless, let the reader suggest a meeting in modern times and compare its proceedings with those of the Hannastown meeting and its patriotic resolutions and it will fade into utter insignificance. There is but one document in American letters which can be compared with the Hannastown resolutions and that is the Declaration of Independence itself, which was not then in existence except in the minds of a few leading statesmen.

It must always be remembered that the Hannastown convention made and adopted its resolutions more than a year before the Decla-

ration of Independence was signed. The Hannastown resolutions embrace the substance of the Magna Charta as wrested from King John at Runnymede in 1215, and nearly every principle enunciated in them was afterward repeated in the great declaration of July 4, 1776. Take the two documents together and we find sentences in either which may be substituted in the other and read without detection except upon the closest scrutiny. Nay more; had the principle clauses of the Hannastown resolutions been adopted in Philadelphia as part of the declaration of July 4, 1776, even the statesmen of that day could scarcely have noticed the substitution. It is as positive as any state paper we have in the English language, not excepting the best writings of Alexander Hamilton. It defines as clearly the cause of complaint as any paper ever penned either in Europe or America. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolved, unanimously, That the Parliament of Great Britain, by several late acts, have declared the inhabitants of the Massachusetts Bay to be in rebellion; and the ministry, by endeavoring to enforce these acts, have endeavored to reduce the said inhabitants to a more wretched state of slavery than ever before existed in any state or country. Not content with violating their constitutional and chartered privileges, they would strip them of the rights of humanity, exposing their lives to the wanton and unpunishable sport of a licentious soldiery, and depriving them of the means of subsistence.

Resolved, unanimously, That there is no reason to doubt but the same system of tyranny and oppression will, should it meet with success in the Massachusetts Bay, be extended to other parts of America; it is, therefore, become the indispensable duty of every American, of every man who has any public virtue or love of his country, or any bowels for posterity, by every means which God has put in his power, to resist and oppose the execution of it; that for us, we will be ready to oppose it with our lives, and our fortunes, and the better to enable us to accomplish it, we will immediately form ourselves into a military body, to consist of companies to be made up out of the several townships under the following association, which is declared to be the Association of Westmoreland County.

Possessed with the most unshaken loyalty and fidelity to His Majesty, King George the Third, whom we acknowledge to be our lawful and rightful King, and who we wish may long be the beloved sovereign of a free and happy people throughout the whole British Empire; we declare to the world that we do not mean by this association to deviate from loyalty which we hold it to be our bounden duty to observe; but, animated with the love of liberty, it is no less our duty to maintain and defend our just rights (which with sorrow, we have seen of late wantonly violated in many instances by a wicked ministry and a corrupted Parliament) and transmit them entire to our posterity, for which purpose we do agree and associate together.

1st. To arm and form ourselves into a regiment or regiments, and choose officers to command us in such proportion as shall be thought necessary

2nd. We will with alacrity, endeavor to make ourselves masters of the manual exercises and such evolutions as may be necessary to enable us to act in a body with concert; and to that end we will meet at such times and places as shall be appointed, either for the companies or the regiment, by the officers commanding each when chosen.

3rd. That should our country be invaded by a foreign enemy, or should troops be sent from Great Britain to enforce the late arbitrary acts of its Parliament, we will cheerfully submit to military discipline, and to the utmost of our power, resist and oppose them, or either of them, and will coincide with any plan that may be formed for the defense of America in general, or Pennsylvania in particular.

4th. That we do not wish or desire any innovation, but only that things may be restored to, and go on in the same way as before the era of the Stamp Act, when Boston grew great and America was happy. As a proof of this disposition, we will quietly submit to the laws by which we have been accustomed to be governed before that period, and will, in our several or associate capacities, be ready when called on to assist the civil magistrates in carrying the same in execution.

5th. That when the British Parliament shall have repealed their late obnoxious statutes, and shall recede from their claim to tax us, and make laws for us in every instance, or when some general plan of union or reconciliation has been formed and accepted by America, this, our association, shall be dissolved; but till then it shall remain in full force; and to the observation of it we bind ourselves by everything dear and sacred amongst men. No licensed murder; no famine introduced by law.

Resolved, That on Wednesday, the 24th instant, the township meet to accede to the said association and choose their officers.

These resolutions, with the proceedings, are found in the American Archives, fourth series, volume 2, page 615. The reader cannot but ask who wrote them. Some who are uninformed have suggested that they were probably not written and adopted a year before the Declaration of Independence, but were gotten up many years afterward. It was difficult for the eastern scholars to think that here in the western wilderness were men who were intellectually equal to the task of preparing them thus early in the great struggle with England. The genuineness of their date is not difficult to demonstrate. Arthur St. Clair, in a letter to Governor Penn, in writing of the meeting, the resolutions, etc., said: "I got a clause added to it by which they bind themselves to assist the civil magistrates in the execution of the laws they have been accustomed to be governed by." This undoubtedly refers to the latter part of the fourth clause of the resolutions. Fur-

ther, in a letter to Joseph Shippen, Jr., written from Ligonier, the day after the meeting, in referring to the arming of the citizens of the county, St. Clair wrote as follows: "Yesterday we had a county meeting and have come to resolutions to arm and discipline and have formed associations which I suppose you will soon see in the papers. God grant an end may be speedily put to any necessity of such proceedings. I doubt their utility and I am almost as much afraid of success in this contest as of being vanquished." Both these letters agree exactly with the text of the resolutions and we take it therefore that those who doubted their genuineness were not aware of the existence of St. Clair's correspondence.

On the other hand, it has been claimed that St. Clair was the sole author of these resolutions. This claim is not borne out, indeed it is almost disproved by his letters above quoted. Had he been their sole author he would scarcely have written, "I got a clause added," etc., and in the second letter, if he "doubted their utility," etc., he would not have written these parts, that is, the parts of the resolutions the utility of which he doubted. But from their general style, from the strong English, interspersed with English law terms, it has long been known that they were prepared by a thoroughly educated man and one of high literary attainments, and likely by some one who had been educated in Great Britain. Such a man, in every particular, was Arthur St. Clair, and he was present in the convention, as is shown clearly in his letters. He is generally regarded as a soldier purely, but was in reality one of the best educated men in the Revolution. No one can read his writings without admitting that he was a master of English letters. He had had the benefit of a college education, was descended from a long line of ancestors, illustrious alike for deeds of noble daring and for their intellectual and social standing. In America he had associated with our best and most polished people. To those who will look into his modest life, the fact that he never claimed their authorship will be no evidence whatever that he was not their author. It is generally believed now that he was not, in the main, their author, though it is known that he was one of the leading spirits of the convention. There is one clause in them which he did not introduce, and one which could not have been in the original draft as is shown by his letters above quoted from.

Carrying out the suggestion of these resolutions, meetings were held all over the county on May 24 and military companies were formed as suggested in them. On May 25 St. Clair wrote again to Governor Penn as follows: "We have nothing but musters and committees all over the county and everything seems to be running into

the wildest confusion. If some conciliating plan is not adopted by the Congress, America has seen her golden days; they may return, but will be preceded by scenes of horror." How accurately the acute-minded young Scotchman foresaw the future. Bound to England by ties of kindred and imbued with the ideas of the Britons that the English armies were invincible in war, he hesitated to begin the battle, but when he learned that a contest could not be avoided, he willingly gave the best years of his life and his fortune to the cause of the colonies.

The regiment, the necessity of which was suggested by the resolutions, was almost at once organized at Hannastown and was the first in the county at the breaking out of the Revolution. It was commanded by John Proctor, whose home was near the present monastery, near Beatty Station, and of whom we have already written frequently. The regiment adopted a flag for its own use before the colonies had conceived the idea for a general flag for all of the American troops. This flag has been preserved and is one of the most noted and highly valued mementoes of the past. It is made of crimson silk and has, in its upper left-hand corner, the coat-of-arms of Great Britain, for, it will be remembered, that we were yet professedly loyal subjects of His Majesty, King George III. On its folds is a rattlesnake with thirteen rattles, indicative of the number of colonies united in the contest. Underneath the snake, in a half-circle, are the words, "Don't tread on me," and above are the letters J. P. I. B. W. C. P., which are the initials of the words, "John Proctor, First Battalion, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania." The flag was long in the possession of the Craig family of New Alexandria, and later was the property of Elizabeth Craig, to whom it came by descent from her ancestor, John Proctor. At her death, in 19—, she bequeathed it by her last will and testament to the State of Pennsylvania, and it is now in a proper case among the archives in Harrisburg. It is probably one of the most valuable heritages of the Revolution and should be preserved for all time, so that it may inspire patriotism in generations yet unborn.

The Continental Congress, in May, 1775, resolved to raise an army and appointed Washington to command the forces of the colonies. The number to be enlisted from Pennsylvania was forty-three hundred. The Assembly recommended the commissioners of the various counties to provide arms and accoutrements, each county for its own soldiers. They also directed the officers of the military associations to select minute-men, each county as many as they had arms for, to be ready to march on the short notice as their name indicated. A committee of safety was appointed whose duty it was to assist in carrying these measures into effect. William Thompson, who had

been elected the first assemblyman from Westmoreland county on its formation, was a member of this committee from the county. The committee of safety proposed and prepared articles for the government of the associators which prior to this had been a voluntary body. But a resolution of the Assembly required all able-bodied men to belong to the military organization, and thus it came about that the associators became the militia at the opening of the Revolution.

One of the duties of the assessor of the townships was to furnish the names of all men in their district of military age who were capable of bearing arms. The commissioners also levied a tax two and one-half pounds on all who had not joined the associators. This tax was in addition to the regular tax. The Assembly passed articles for the government of the militia and provided, among other things, that if an associator called into service, should leave a family not able to maintain themselves, the justices of the peace, with the overseers of the poor, should look after their maintenance. Toward the close of the year, further demands were made on the State for four battalions, one of which was placed under command of Colonel Arthur St. Clair.

The Continental Congress, in May, 1775, awoke to the fact that so far all public officers had taken the usual oath to support the government under the Crown of Great Britain, although they were really fighting and preparing to fight against the authority of the Crown. This question between the Proprietaries' interest, which was represented principally by the members of the Assembly who were loyal to the Crown, and the opponents who were then called Whigs, became a very bitter one. The latter finally called a convention which was composed of committeemen from each county who met in Carpenter's Hall in Philadelphia on June 18, 1776. The convention resolved that the time had arrived to call a provincial convention, the object of which was to form a new government in the interests of the people only. The delegates from Westmoreland county to the provincial convention were Edward Cook and James Perry. They resolved that a convention of the province should be called for the purpose of forming a new government, etc. A committee was appointed to determine the number of members of this convention. On this committee each county had two members, except Westmoreland, which had but one, and Edward Cook was the one appointed. This committee then adopted resolutions regulating qualifications of voters who should elect the members of the convention and indicated that a voter must have been assessed and paid tax for three years in order to vote for these delegates. It was then discovered that this would disfranchise Westmoreland county, for they were not required to pay provincial

tax for three years after the formation of the county. A resolution was, therefore, offered by which this disqualification was removed.

For the purpose of this special election the county was divided into two districts. All those south of the Youghiogheny were to vote at Spark's Fort on the river; and all others were to vote at Hannastown. In this convention Westmoreland was entitled to eight delegates, and those selected were: James Barr, Edward Cook, James Smith, John Moore, James Perry, John Carmichael, John McClelland and Christopher Lobingier. Before the convention met, on July 15, Congress had passed the Declaration of Independence and had declared the colonies free and independent states. The members of the convention took the oath and began at once to devise measures for the adoption of a constitution, assuming the supreme power of the State. These delegates, it will be remembered, were scarcely elected for that purpose and they, perhaps, went beyond the scope of their authority. But the people ratified what they did and when it was called in question, principally by the old Assembly which mostly represented the Proprietaries, they were soon silenced by popular clamor, for now the bells were ringing and the old had given place to the new.

The convention appointed a committee of safety for the new government, approved the Declaration of Independence, and appointed two justices who, before beginning their new duties, were to take the oath renouncing the King's authority and pledge allegiance to the State. They also declared Pennsylvania a free and independent State, put forth a bill of rights, formed a constitution and provided a plan of government for the Commonwealth. This constitution was adopted September 28, 1776, and went into effect at once. The Legislature had, in June, made provision for the enrollment of all persons fit for military duty. The test oath was a severe one and was supposed to be necessary to restrain the Tories, by which name those loyal to the Proprietaries or to the Crown of England were now designated. It was provided that all white male inhabitants of the State above the age of eighteen, except in the counties of Bedford and Westmoreland, should, before the first day of July, 1777, and in the excepted counties before the first day of August, take the oath and subscribe to it before a justice of the peace, and severe penalties were imposed on those who neglected or refused to take it. The test oath was as follows:

I do swear (or affirm) that I renounce and refuse the allegiance to George III., King of Great Britain, his heirs and subscribers, and that I will faithfully bear true allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as a free and independent State, and that I will not at any time do or cause to be done any matter or thing that will be

injurious to the freedom and independence thereof as declared by Congress; and also that I will discover and make known to some one justice of the peace of said State, all treason or treacherous conspiracies which I now know or hereafter shall know to be found against this or any of the United States of America.

The eight men who represented Westmoreland in the constitutional convention were all leading men of Western Pennsylvania and, united with those from other sections, gave us a new State government. Some reference to their lives and characters may be in keeping with this narrative.

Thomas Barr was born in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in 1749, and settled in Derry township, Westmoreland county, in 1770. He very early became a leader in the organization of companies to defend the border settlements against the Indians, and performed many such services in the Revolution. After serving as a member of the convention of July 15, 1776, he was appointed a justice of the peace, serving until 1787, when he became a member of the General Assembly and remained in office until 1789. He opposed in every way the calling of a State convention, the object of which was to change the organic law of the State. Nevertheless the convention was called and a new constitution known as the constitution of 1790 was adopted. Under this constitution he was an associate judge of Westmoreland county. When Armstrong county was organized in 1800, his home happened to be within the limits of that county.

Edward Cook was born in 1738 of English parents who settled in Cumberland valley. In 1772 he came to Westmoreland and took up lands on the Youghiogheny and Monongahela rivers. In 1776 he built a stone house on his land which is still standing and in good preservation. He was a storekeeper, farmer and distiller and owned slaves which came under the gradual abolition law of 1772. He was a member of the committee of conference which met in Carpenter's Hall, June 18, 1776, and of the convention of July 15, 1777. He was appointed by the Council of Pennsylvania to meet similar appointed delegates from other States in New Haven, Connecticut, to try to regulate the prices of commodities produced in new States. They met on November 22, 1777. In 1781 he commanded a battalion for frontier defense and was county lieutenant from 1782 to 1783. Later he was a justice in both Westmoreland and Washington counties and, under the new constitution, was associate judge in Fayette county. He was largely instrumental in ending the Whiskey Insurrection in 1794. He died in 1808 and his wife survived him until 1837, when she died at

the age of ninety-four. Both died in the stone house which they built in 1776.

James Perry lived at the mouth of Turtle creek, near the cabin built by the trader and Indian fighter, John Fraser. He was a member of the provincial convention which met in Carpenter's Hall on June 28, 1776, and of the convention of July 15, 1776. Shortly after this he removed to Kentucky and all trace of him, so far as the writer can learn, was lost.

John McClelland was born in Lancaster county in 1734, and, after coming to Westmoreland county, lived in that part of it which fell within Fayette county on its organization at the close of the Revolution. He represented Westmoreland county in the convention of July 15, 1776, and also represented it in the General Assembly in 1778. He was a captain of the First Battalion of Westmoreland Militia at the beginning of the Revolution and was also prominent in the Whiskey Insurrection.

Christopher Lobingier was a son of Christopher Lobingier of Wittenberg, Germany, and was born in Lancaster (now Dauphin) county in 1740, shortly after his parents came to America. In 1772 he removed to Mt. Pleasant township, Westmoreland county, living near the present village of Laurelville. He served on the Revolutionary committee of correspondence and was a member of the convention of July 15, 1776, and was also a member of the General Assembly under the constitution of 1790, being in the lower house from 1791 to 1793. He died on July 4, 1798.

John Carmichael was a native of Cumberland county and was born about 1757. Shortly before the Revolution he settled in Westmoreland county, in that part which afterward fell into Fayette county, living near Redstone creek. He was the owner of a mill and distillery, and, in addition to being a member of the convention of July 31, 1776, was a member of the Assembly of 1777. He died in 1796.

John Moore was a son of William Moore and was born in Lancaster county in 1738. His father died when he was a child. His mother, in company with her brothers, removed to Pennsylvania in 1757, where the son was engaged in agriculture and house building until the beginning of the Revolution. He was a member of the convention of July 15, 1776, and was appointed justice of the peace of Westmoreland county in 1777, serving until 1785, when he was made president judge of the court. The constitution of 1790 provided, however, that the judges should be men learned in the law and, though Judge Moore was a man of fine ability and, indeed, of high literary attainments for

that day, he was not a lawyer and consequently was retired from the bench. In 1792 he was elected to the State Senate, representing the counties of Allegheny and Westmoreland. He died in 1812 and is buried at Congruity, about eight miles north of Greensburg.

Colonel James Smith has often been referred to in this work and was a very important man in our early history. He was born in Cumberland county, perhaps in that part that is now Bedford county, in 1737. In 1755, as has been said, he was making roads near Bedford and was captured by the Indians and taken a prisoner to Fort Duquesne. Escaping from the Indians in 1760, he went to Franklin county. His natural ability and his knowledge of the Indians, gained while a captive, made him valuable to Bouquet in his Ohio expedition in 1754, when he served as an ensign. Later he was a lieutenant of the militia of Western Pennsylvania. In 1759 he purchased lands on Jacob's creek and on the Youghiogheny river. In 1774 he assisted St. Clair in organizing the Rangers to protect the frontier from Dunmore's invasion and from the Indians. He was a member of the Hannastown convention of May 17, 1775, which adopted the justly celebrated resolutions. Smith was also an associator in the early militia and was a member of the convention of July 15, 1776. Still later he was a member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania in 1776 and 1777. All these years he was known as an authority on all Indian affairs and his knowledge of border warfare was of great influence. While the Assembly was in session in 1775 he was granted a leave of absence to conduct a scouting party through New Jersey. He remained with Washington's division of the army and, in 1778, was made a colonel and was sent to Western Pennsylvania, where he performed valuable services in the almost continuous warfare against the Indians. In 1778 he removed to Kentucky, where he was also a member of the State Legislature. In 1812 he published his truly renowned "Treatise on the Mode and Manner of Indian Warfare," from which we have frequently quoted in this narrative. He died in Washington county, Kentucky, in 1812.

By the new form of government the executive power of the State was vested in a president and council called the Supreme Executive Council. This council consisted of twelve men who were elected by the people, and Westmoreland county was entitled to one member. John Proctor, to whom we have referred, was the first Westmoreland Councillor and retained that office from March 10, 1778, to November 18, of the same year, when he was succeeded by Thomas Scott. Scott lived in Washington county and was afterward the first member of Congress from that county under the Federal constitution. He was

Councillor until November, 1780, three years, which was as long as the law allowed him to remain continuously. The military laws were made more efficient than ever before. An officer, called county lieutenant, who was chief military officer of the county, had many powers, both civil and military. He distributed the arms and clothing to the associators and paid to the council the amount due as assessments for the army. He could call out the militia and order it to any point in times of danger, could hold court-martial, his authority being limited only by the Council itself, but it was in obedience where a regular army officer of a State or Nation was in command over his district.

Archibald Lochry, who lived near St. Vincent's Monastery, was the first county lieutenant of Westmoreland county, and began his duties on March 12, 1777. They were very arduous, for, aside from having no precedents to guide him, he served at a most critical time. He displayed great energy and won the highest respect of both the army and the people. He directed many small expeditions against the Indians and headed several large ones himself. He at all times guarded the cabins of the settlers to the extent of his limited forces. He remained in office until his death and was succeeded by Edward Cook, who took the office January 5, 1782. Cook did not remain in office very long, for, when Fayette county was formed, his residence was included in its territory. His successor was Charles Campbell, who lived in Indiana county when it was Armstrong township in Westmoreland county. Judging from his correspondence, he had but little education, but he stood guard over the frontier even if he could not spell correctly or compose fluently.

Pennsylvania was thoroughly committed to the cause of the colonies, and no county bore herself with better grace nor with more pronounced sentiments in the beginning, when advanced ground was necessary, than Westmoreland. Its local history, so far as the Revolution is concerned, is so closely blended with the general history of the war that it will be impossible to separate them to any great extent. The seat of war was in the east and the natural barrier of mountains separated us from it. Early in the war recruits from the west were sent east to protect the larger cities from the invading armies of England, but after that the west was supposed to be doing her full duty if she took care of herself. This was a much more difficult undertaking than the reader may at first imagine. One of the first movements of the British was to establish a department at Detroit. They still had great power over the Indians, a continuance of the alliance secured from them largely through Sir William Johnson. Nevertheless the new State and Congress both tried to effect an alliance with the

Indians, for they surmised through Connolly's plots that the British government would take such advantages if possible. In 1775 Congress appointed Benjamin Franklin, James Wilson and Patrick Henry to hold a conference with the Pennsylvania Indians at Fort Pitt. This was called for October and was attended by the Senecas, Delawares, Shawnees and Wyandottes, but the attendance was small. Guyasuta spoke for the western tribes and White Eyes for the Delaware tribe, which he declared to be friendly to the Americans and independent of the English alliance. There was but little harmony in the conference. The Indians were not annoying to the settlers in 1775, but the British secured their assistance by great presents and by their more promising display of military forces.

In May, 1776, accordingly, in a council at Fort Niagara, the Indians voted almost unanimously to join hands with the English army. They began their depredations on the border and kept our western armies busy almost continuously during the Revolution. Even before this the settlers in Southwestern Pennsylvania noticed that the Indians were daily growing more insolent and mischievous, particularly around Fort Pitt, and in February, 1778, the Pittsburgh people sent a note to Congress complaining of the Indian encroachments and depredations. A company of riflemen was enlisted and placed under Captain Van Swearingen, whose duty it was to guard the Ohio river. In October, John Gibson was selected as Indian agent at Pittsburgh, but was soon succeeded by Richard Butler. In 1776 Congress took upon itself to deal with the Indians and sent George Morgan to Pittsburgh as an Indian agent. These agents, it will be understood, had dominion over all of Southwestern Pennsylvania. Morgan was a man of high culture and, for that day, great wealth. He came from Princeton, New Jersey, and through his having been in business in Philadelphia had had much dealings with the Indians in this section and in the west generally. He came to Pittsburgh and immediately sent agents to treat with the western Indians, sending William Wilson, Peter Long, Simon Girty and Joseph Nicholson. Girty, the great renegade, was then supposed to be, and perhaps was, loyal to the cause of the colonies. Wilson's mission was the most important. He and Nicholson tried to effect a conference with the Indians at Pittsburgh for August or September. They rode on horseback through the Indian country and were kindly received by Cornstalk and other chiefs, but found that the tribes were already preparing for a council with the British at Detroit, which they said they must attend first.

Among the Mingoës were the most evilly disposed Indians of the west, and while these agents were in their country a plot was discov-

ered by Cornstalk to seize and perhaps to murder them. Upon Cornstalk's advice they fled by night and were protected by an old Indian chief or king named Newcomer, who probably saved their lives. Afterward Wilson went to Sandusky, being escorted there by Kilbuck, of Pittsburgh, and two young warriors, and by White Eyes. Nicholson had, in the meantime, returned to Pittsburgh. Before reaching Sandusky, Wilson learned that the chief of the tribes had gone to Detroit and he determined to venture a visit to the British post to see him. He found the Wyandottes assembled on the Detroit river and most of the Indian chiefs received him with a friendly manner. On September 2 he addressed them and delivered Morgan's message, inviting them to the conference in Pittsburgh. But the Wyandottes betrayed Wilson's presence to the British authorities, the commander of which was then Colonel Henry Hamilton. Wilson went before the commander, but did not deny his mission to Detroit, and the commander, while he treated him coldly, seemed to respect his character as an ambassador and gave him a pass through the Indian country to his home. He returned to Pittsburgh greatly discouraged by the outlook and reported that the Wyandottes and many other western tribes were likely to go on the warpath at any time.

Hamilton, of course, did all he could to prevent the Indians from going to Fort Pitt to council with the rebels, as he called them. Nevertheless, four tribes attended, being represented by their chiefs. They were the Delawares, Wyandottes, Ottawas and Shawnees. These tribes were not, of course, by any means extensively represented, and, perhaps, except the Delawares, they were mostly allied with the English. Costly presents were given them by the colonies, who thought, by this means, they could avert an Indian war. A war was, however, inevitable, though, at the close of the Pittsburgh treaty, George Morgan wrote to Congress that "the war cloud which threatened to break over this part of the country appears to be now entirely dispelled." Yet, even while he was writing, bands of Indians were committing depredations on the Ohio river, and a few months later all the tribes represented in this treaty, except the Delawares, were strongly allied with the English.

These overtures with the Indians on the part of the colonists will satisfy the reader that everything was done in that direction that was possible. A union between the colonists and the Indians at that time was out of the question. By a liberal distribution of presents, money, whiskey and arms, all of which, save whiskey, were very scarce articles with the colonists, the British retained the alliance almost continuously throughout the Revolutionary War. It was made more injuri-

ous by the standing reward for scalps which they always paid, and by the further influence of renegade whites who were steadfast in their loyalty to the English and to the Indians, even if they were traitors to every other cause. The colonial armies were poor and could not afford to purchase an Indian alliance by giving them expensive presents. But even if the Continental Congress had been able to secure the aid of the savages by a marvelous display and expenditure of wealth, it could not have been made as sound as it was with England. The pioneer of America had been brought up from youth to regard the savage as his greatest foe, and such was the hatred of the western people toward the Indian that no enduring alliance between them and the savage was possible.



CHAPTER XVII

REVOLUTIONARY WAR—Continued

CHAPTER XVII.

Revolutionary War, Continued.—Battalion Raised in Pennsylvania for National Service.—St. Clair Promoted.—Expedition to Canada; Its Hardships, Its Success and Its Failure.—Privations of the Retreating Army.—The Battle of Long Island.—Colonel Miles' Description.—Organization of the Eighth Regiment; Its High Character; Its Duties on the Frontier.—The Eighth Ordered to March East to Assist Washington.—Capture of McFarland.—The Gun Powder Expedition.—Captain George Gibson.—General Edward Hand.—Colonel Archibald Lochry.

On October 12, 1775, the Continental Congress passed a resolution requesting the Council, or committee of safety, of Pennsylvania to raise a battalion for the United States service. The captains were recommended by the Assembly on October 25 and commissioned by Congress on the 27th. In the meantime, Captain John Nelson had enlisted a company of independent riflemen composed mainly of Westmoreland county young men and had offered their services to Congress. They were received at once. This company was composed of one captain, three lieutenants, four sergeants, four corporals and seventy privates. It was ordered to New York on March 13, 1776, and was intended for services in Canada. By the order of General Benedict Arnold it was attached to Colonel De Hass' battalion, then in Canada. When his battalion left Ticonderoga on November 17, it was attached to the Fourth Battalion under Colonel Anthony Wayne, and on the 24th of March it was attached to the Fifth Pennsylvania, then under command of Colonel Francis Johnston. They served in Canada under Arthur St. Clair and, with other Westmorelanders, their services will be properly considered later. Some of them remained with the Fifth Regiment and fought under the celebrated Richard Butler, of Pittsburgh, as colonel. They were eventually in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, Stony Point and Yorktown. The Southern Pennsylvania battalion was raised in pursuance of a resolution of Congress, dated December 9, 1775, calling for four battalions from the Colony of Pennsylvania. The men were enlisted for one year. It was associated with the Fourth Battalion under Colonel Wayne and with the Pennsylvania under Colonel William Irvine, and its general history in that part of the service will be considered with others.

On the 2nd of January, 1776, Congress requested the committee of safety to recommend Colonels St. Clair and Wayne as field officers,

and the day following they were so commissioned. On January 4 lieutenant-colonels and majors were chosen, and a resolution was passed which provided that one company from each battalion be made up of expert riflemen. St. Clair had entered the service some months previous and had been assigned to the duty of organizing raw troops of Pennsylvania, being selected for this duty because of his military training in the French and Indian War. He was now ordered to take part in the expedition to Canada. He had with him two companies from Westmoreland, and among them were many of his old neighbors and friends. One of the companies was commanded by William Butler, who had been, for years, assisting in the general defense against the Indians in and around Pittsburgh. He was a close personal friend of St. Clair, serving almost side by side with him during the Revolution, and, in the end, died bravely while second in command to St. Clair in the disastrous battle on the Wabash with the Western Indians on November 4, 1791. The other company was under the command of Stephen Bayard, who afterward became lieutenant-colonel of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, which we shall see later on was almost distinctively a Westmoreland regiment. On February 16, 1776, the secret committee of Congress was ordered to furnish St. Clair's battalion with arms, and he was instructed to march his companies to Canada as soon as they could be made ready for service. On March 13 Lieutenant-Colonel Allen arrived in New York and a part of the battalion was marked for Albany. There he received orders to direct the other companies of the battalion to proceed to New York, where headquarters would be provided for them. On May 6 Colonel Wood passed Deschambault in Canada and was within three miles of Quebec, where he met General Thomas, with his army, returning from Quebec.

The expedition in that part of Canada had excited great expectations on the part of the colonies, for they had hoped to add all of the Canadas to their weak forces against England. But it was a sad disappointment, for it resulted in a complete failure. This was not due in any way to the army, but rather to the people of Quebec, or of Canada, themselves. The march the army made was one of the most daring and energetic marches ever made through the American wilderness. They went to the heart of the well-settled parts of Canada. They captured Quebec, but the authorities failed to respond. The colonists expected the people to rise up as the other colonies had done and assert their independence of the English Crown, but instead of doing this the Canadas were not anxious to be "liberated," and instead of turning on the British troops they allied themselves with them and

treated the colonial army as invaders. Under such circumstances the patriotic army could not hold what it captured, and they, therefore, began to retreat toward the Sorrel river.

On the death of the brave young Montgomery, who commanded the Canadian forces, Thomas succeeded him in command of the expedition and reached Trois rivers with about eight hundred men. Leaving the post in command of Colonel Maxwell, he continued on to the Sorrel, which is the outlet of Lake Champlain and flows into the St. Lawrence, and issued orders for Maxwell to abandon Trois rivers. This was done and the rear of the army reached the Sorrel on May 24, 1776. Adamson and St. Clair went to Montreal and then to the Sorrel on May 16. In the meantime, the British pursued them with a much larger army. On June 2 Adamson sent St. Clair toward the Sorrel with about six hundred men to attack the camp of Colonel McLean, who, with about eight hundred British and Canadians, was encamped at Trois rivers. General Sullivan reached the Sorrel on June 4, where he learned that Adamson had died, whereupon he assumed command.

On June 6 Sullivan ordered Thomas to take Irvine's and Wayne's battalions, and also the companies of St. Clair's battalion which remained at the Sorrel, and, with these, to join St. Clair at Nicolette, where he was to command the army. His orders were that unless he found the British much stronger than he expected, he was to attack them after crossing the river, at the best place possible. He was advised, however, not to make the attack unless he had every prospect of succeeding, for a defeat at that time would have been ruinous to the whole army and to the country. The attack was made and was entirely successful. In this battle St. Clair distinguished himself, and the danger, the toil and the glory of the battle were shared by Westmoreland soldiers who were with him and Butler. The last foray has been regarded and treated by all who have written of the expedition as the most brilliant episode, but a larger British force was gradually pressing back the invading army. Their army was much superior in numbers to the American army and was composed of-regulars, Canadians and Indians, all under the command of General Burgoyne, while our forces were now under Sullivan. No campaign in the Revolution had in it more personal heroism and glory, nor more hardships encountered and triumphed over, than this one in which the army, after taking the capital of the British provinces, was compelled by a superior force to retreat, with their bayonets toward the enemy, through a dark wilderness covered with snow and through the swamps of Southern Canada and Northern New York. The rear of the army, with its baggage and supplies, reached St. John's on June 18, and at once embarked

and went up the Sorrel river. Late in the evening of the 18th the army received the news of Burgoyne's army reaching St. John's, and General Phillips' forces reached there the following morning. On the same day the commands of De Hass, Wayne, St. Clair and Irvine had orders from Isle Aux Noix to encamp on the east side of the island. This place proved to be a very unhealthy encampment for them. Many of the soldiers were taken sick and died. Women were brought from Ticonderoga, one for each company, to nurse the sick. On June 27 the entire army took vessels at the Isle La Motte for Crown Point, which they reached on July 1, 1776. Sullivan was there superseded in command by General Horatio Gates, and, in council of war which the new general held, it was determined to remove the army to Ticonderoga, where they arrived on July 10.

Gates divided the army into brigades; four Pennsylvania battalions formed the Fourth Brigade, of which St. Clair was made commander. This brigade numbered four hundred and eighty-five in all, one hundred and sixty-five of whom were sick. The season was too far advanced for the British to make any further progress and, after threatening Ticonderoga, they went into winter quarters. In November, Gates left Wayne in command of Ticonderoga and proceeded with the larger part of his army to join Washington in the South. The soldiers of the Third Pennsylvania Battalion had enlisted for one year and their term of service would expire on January 5, 1776, but they agreed to remain until they were relieved by other troops. The hard march of the army had almost exhausted it, as may be seen by a letter from Wayne to the committee of safety, written on December 4:

The wretched condition the battalions are now in, for want of almost every necessity, except flour and bad beef, is shocking to humanity and beggars all description. We have neither beds or bedding for our sick to lie on or under, other than their own clothing; no medicine or regimen suitable for them; the dead and dying lying mingled together in our hospital, or rather house of carnage, is not an uncommon sight. They are objects truly worthy of your notice.

On January 24, 1777, the Second Battalion left Ticonderoga with Wayne for their homes. Many of the privates of the Second reenlisted in the Third Pennsylvania Regiment. While these companies were at Ticonderoga the Declaration of Independence reached them and was read for the first time to the army by Colonel Arthur St. Clair as it was drawn up in line on July 17. It was received and welcomed by their hearty cheers. Lieutenant-Colonel Allen left the service when he heard of its import, but later, be it said to his credit, he

entered the struggle again. The Third Pennsylvania Regiment was formed on the basis of St. Clair's Second Battalion, and in it were the two original companies, namely, those of Captain Butler and Captain Bayard. It was recruited in December, 1776, and in January and February following, entering the service in March. Little is known of this regiment, except what may be gleaned from a few letters concerning it, for the records of the regiment have in some way been lost. Colonel Joseph Wood, who commanded it, was wounded in Canada, and, on this account, resigned. Captain Butler was made lieutenant-colonel of Morgan's Rifle Regiment and his command fell on Captain James Christy.

Colonel Thomas Craig succeeded in command of the regiment and filled the position until 1783. It was common in the Revolution to transfer both companies and officers to other organizations because of the demands of the times. Most of Captain Butler's men reënlisted under Captain James Christy in the Third Pennsylvania. A memoir of the Third and Ninth Pennsylvania regiments, printed in the Pennsylvania Archives, reports the corps as barefooted and almost naked and in want of every convenience, and that their general condition was miserable beyond expression. Five or six soldiers were frequently forced to shelter themselves from the inclement weather by a piece of an old tent, and there seemed to be an average of seven men to one blanket. One-half of them, because of these privations, were unfit for duty. They had lost their blankets in engagements that they had had with the enemy. In company with the Sixth and Twelfth Pennsylvania Regiments, they were attached to a division made up mostly of Jersey troops and were commanded by officers who did not belong to Pennsylvania. Many of the soldiers who enlisted early and who survived the hardships, reënlisted in the Continental service and served until the close of the war. Others came home only to enlist again for frontier defense against the Indians and the British united. These were enlisted in the militia for short campaign in and around Pittsburgh, or served by joining the Rangers in all parts of Westmoreland. The Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment and Pennsylvania Regiment of Musketry were enlisted by the Pennsylvania Legislature for the sole defense of our own State.

On March 4, 1776, a committee was appointed to estimate the expense of supporting fifteen hundred men in this capacity for one year. On the report of the committee, they resolved to enlist fifteen hundred men and officers to serve from January 1, 1778, but they reserved the privilege of discharging them at any time by paying them one month's pay in advance of the amount due. It was also deter-

mined that one thousand of these should be riflemen, divided into two battalions of five hundred each, and that the other five hundred should be musketmen. Each battalion of riflemen was to have one colonel, one major, six captains and eighteen lieutenants, and to consist of six companies. The musketmen were to be divided into eight companies. Samuel Miles was made colonel of the rifle company and Samuel Atlee was made colonel of the battalion of musketmen. Nearly all of the riflemen were enlisted in about six weeks and were sent to Marcus Hook to strengthen Washington's army, which then held New York and Long Island. To the rifle regiment belonged the company of Captain Joseph Erwin, which had been raised in Westmoreland county, and had done some of the best fighting of any of the young frontiersmen in the army. They enlisted for two years and joined in the regiment at Marcus Hook. Erwin was appointed captain on March 9, 1776. The company served in this regiment till it was transferred to the Thirteenth Pennsylvania, from which it was transferred to the Second Pennsylvania.

On July 2, 1776, the rifle regiment to which they belonged was ordered up to Philadelphia, and on July 4 one battalion, under Broadhead, was sent to Bordentown, New Jersey, and later the whole regiment was marched to Trenton, thence to Amboy, where they joined General Mercer's division. Colonel Atlee's battalion reached Amboy on July 21 and later both Miles' and Atlee's forces were moved to New York. There they entered the brigade of Lord Stirling, and, when the British landed on Long Island, which was accompanied with a great military display, Miles and his riflemen were ordered to watch their movements. Located at Flatbush, near the Highlands, he watched them until they were removed and their places filled by Hessians. On August 26 was fought the battle of Long Island, which almost exterminated the American army. The Continental army went down before the united armies of Howe, Clinton, Cornwallis and Von Heisler, then the most thoroughly equipped army in the world. The English army, with great superiority of numbers, almost surrounded the ragged ill-fed militia under Washington, Stirling, Putnam and Sullivan and thought they had won a great victory over these poor, ill-fed, undrilled and ragged American patriots.

During this engagement Colonel Miles' riflemen, including the Westmoreland forces under Erwin, reinforced by Colonel Willis' Connecticut troops and Lutz's battalion of Pennsylvania Flying Camp, were opposed to the whole body of the British army. It had surrounded them in a contracting circle and, through it, they literally cut their way out and, though they added greatly to their glory, their loss

was very heavy. Colonel Miles, in his report of the engagement, speaks particularly of the bravery of Broadhead's troops. At one point, under a heavy fire, they pushed their way across a mill dam and, though by drowning and by being shot, their loss was very great, those who followed were not prevented from rushing rapidly to the other side, where they drove the Hessians away from the banks at the point of the bayonet. The battle, as fought by the Pennsylvania militia, is described as follows by Colonel Miles:

The main body of the enemy, under the immediate command of General Howe, lay about two miles to my left, and General Grant with another body of British troops lay about four miles to my left. There were small bodies of Americans dispersed to my right, but not a man to my left, although the main body of my enemy lay to my left. This was the situation on the 26th of August. About one o'clock at night General Grant on the rear and General Howe on my left began their march and by daylight Grant had got within a mile of our entrenchments and General Howe had got into the Jamaica road, about two miles from our lines. * * * Finding that the enemy had possession of the ground between us and our lines and that it was impossible to cut our way through as a body, I directed the men to make the best of their way as well as they could; some few got in safe, but there were one hundred and fifty-nine taken prisoners. I was myself entirely cut off from our lines and, therefore, endeavored to conceal myself with a few men who would not leave me. I hoped to remain until night, when I intended to try to get to Hell Gate and cross the sound, but about three o'clock in the afternoon was discovered by a party of Hessians and obliged to surrender. This ended the career of the day.

In the battle on August 26 the rifle regiment and the musketry battalions were so broken up that Washington united the remnants in one regiment under command of Colonel Broadhead, who had been lieutenant-colonel of the riflemen. On September 19 the three battalions were united, and shortly after this many of them deserted, taking their arms with them. They had not been paid, nor had they clothes, blankets or provisions, nor had they any prospect of securing them for the approaching fall and winter. The serious loss of their field officers was another cause of their desertion. Many of the deserters afterward entered the service and did good work, and some who were marked as deserters were long afterward borne on the pension rolls.

By a return of the army made on September 27, 1776, three battalions were in General Mifflin's brigade and were stationed at Mount Washington. A new arrangement was made of these battalions in October, by which two were to be attached to the Continental army

and serve during the war, while the other was to be retained in the service of the State until January 1, 1778, unless sooner discharged. The last was to consist of one thousand men who were to be sent on as soon as the condition of affairs in the East would admit of it. For the purpose of self-protection, Pennsylvania was to keep twelve complete battalions in the Continental army. The regiment sent home was afterward known as the Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot. Captain Erwin's command was united with other companies, many of whom eventually followed the fortunes of the Continental army and served in the campaigns of 1777. The Pennsylvania Regiment of Foot was, therefore, founded on the remains of Miles' and Atlee's battalions. Most of Captain Erwin's company, with Lieutenant James Carnahan promoted to captain, was connected with the regiment until the campaign of 1777 ended with the disastrous battles of Brandywine and Germantown, after which they went into the memorable winter quarters of Valley Forge. Erwin, in the meantime, became a captain in the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment.

On May 6, 1777, the Supreme Executive Council sent a memorial to Congress which was, therefore, on June 10, 1777, turned over to the Congressional establishment. Thus Colonel Bull was promoted and Colonel Walter Stuart succeeded him in command and was with it in the battles of Germantown and Brandywine. In November it was annexed to the Pennsylvania Line, and it was under Stuart until January, 1778. The Second Pennsylvania Regiment saw service from October, 1776, to November, 1783. There were many Westmoreland soldiers in this regiment in the latter part of the war, and perhaps none in the first part of it. They were transferred from other organizations and many of them were killed in the closing battles of the war. The list is imperfect, but it nevertheless contains the names of many who passed their last days here and were well known in Southwestern Pennsylvania two or three generations ago. They were under General Wayne and General Greene in the South, participating in the engagement of the Carolinas at Guilford Court House, and finally they were at Yorktown. It is unfortunate that there is no list of the regiment, it having been destroyed at the burning of the national capitol by the British in 1814.

The Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment was by far the most noted of Western Pennsylvania regiments in the Revolution. The reader has seen that the western border was in constant turmoil, occasioned by the Indians who then inhabited Ohio. Actuated by the British, they were constantly invading the territory as far east as Laurel Hill. In April, 1776, Congress appointed Colonel George Morgan as Indian

agent for this territory and he established headquarters at Pittsburgh. With considerable ability in such matters, he and a committee, which was also appointed by Congress, concluded, after an investigation, that a general Indian war with the colonists was inevitable, owing mainly to the influence of the British under the command of Governor Hamilton, of Detroit, who had great power over all the tribes, particularly the Shawnees and Delawares.

This committee, in view of the impending war with the natives, recommended that all the militia that the country could furnish be garrisoned at Fort Pitt, and that the old line of forts, built long before by the French and afterward held by the English, be at once rebuilt and occupied. The Eighth Pennsylvania was, therefore, raised by authority of a resolution of Congress, dated July 15, 1776. This resolution designated it purely for the defense of the western border. It consisted of seven companies from Westmoreland county and one from Bedford county, and two other companies were afterwards added to it. Aeneas Mackay was recommended by the Pennsylvania commission on July 20 as colonel, while George Wilson was made lieutenant-colonel and Richard Butler was made major. The committees in the communities where the companies were raised were instructed to select the company officers, and this being done, Congress on September 14 commissioned them. Congress also elected Rev. David McClure as chaplain and Ephraim Douglas as quartermaster. The regiment was promptly mustered at Pittsburgh and remained on duty on the frontier during the summer and fall of 1776.

Late in the year, Washington's army had been greatly diminished by the disastrous campaigns and by the loss of Fort Washington on the Hudson. The enemy had also been strengthened by the arrival of new troops from England. The result was that the general cry went forward to move all troops that could be spared, to Washington's division at once. Accordingly, on November 23, 1776, Congress directed the board of war to order the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment to march with all possible expedition by the most direct route to Brunswick, New Jersey, and further, to join Washington's army wherever the exigencies of the war might then have forced him to go. Colonel Mackay received these orders at Kittanning, where a portion of the Eighth Regiment was at all times stationed. On December 6 he reported to the president of the board of war as follows:

Sir:—I last night received your order from the Honorable the Board of War, in consequence of which I have this day issued the necessary orders, and shall march with all possible dispatch to the place directed.

I have ordered a general rendezvous on the 15th instant, at a proper place, and from thence shall proceed as ordered. As I would not choose that the battalion under every disadvantage when at Brunswick, being now in need of everything, I shall be obliged to make Philadelphia my route in order to be supplied.

The day-book of this regiment, under date of December 6, has this entry: "This day received intelligence for the battalion to march to Amboy." George Wilson, the lieutenant-colonel, was a Scotch-Irishman of strong parts and of patriotic sentiments, though somewhat illiterate, which may be seen from the following letter which is given verbatim, though with no intention of belittling him, but rather to show his real strength, which consisted in other matters than in literary proficiency:

Ketanian, Decr. 5th, 1776.

Dr. Colonall:—Last Evening we Recd Marching orders, Which I must say is not Disagreeable to me under ye Sircumstances of ye times, for when I entered into ye Service I Judged that if a necessity appeared to call us Below it would be Don, therefore it Dont come on me By Surprise; But as Both ye officers and men understood they Were Raised for ye Defence of ye Western frontiers, and their famellys and substance to be left in so Defenceless a situation in their absence, Seems to give Sensable trouble, altho I Hope We Will Get over it By leaving sum of ower trifeling Officers Behind who Pirtend to Have more Witt than seven men that can Render a Reason. We are all ill Provided for a March at this season, But there is nothing hard under sum Sircumstances. We Hope Provision Will be made for us Below, Blankets, Campe Kittles, tents, arms, Regementals, etc., that we may not cut a Dispisable figure, But may be Enabled to answer ye expectation of ower Countre.

I Have Warmley Recomend to ye officers to lay aside all Personall Resentments at this time, for that it Would be construed By ye Worlde that they made use of that Sircumstance to Hide themselves under from ye cause & ye countrie, and I Hope it Will have a Good Effect at this time. We have ishued ye Necesery orders, and appointed ye owt Parties to Rendezvous at Hanows Town ye 15th instant, and to March Emeditly from there. We have Recommended it to ye Militia to Station One Hundred Men at this post until further orders.

I Hope to have ye Plesure of Seeing you Soon, as we mean to take Philadelphia in ower Rout. In ye mean time, I am, With Esteem, your Harty Well-wisher and Hble Sert.

G. WILSON.

The officers at once made preparations for the long march and the soldiers, be it said to their credit, went to a man with but little complaint, which, considering the fact that they were leaving their frontier homes unprotected and going into a service for which they

had not been enlisted, and going without proper clothing, was more than should have been expected of them. On January 6, 1777, they began their ever memorable march over snow-covered mountains of Pennsylvania and across the Delaware into New Jersey. The march was the most difficult one made by the Pennsylvania troops during the Revolutionary War, and from it they suffered more than they did from any contest with the enemy. Some of them died on the way, and at Trenton their brave colonel, Aeneas Mackay, died, whilst a few days afterward, at Quibbletown, New Jersey, Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson died, each succumbing to the privations of the severe winter march. Many of the troops were afflicted with fever and with a putrid sore throat. In the "Life of Timothy Pickering" is the following reference to the noble regiment:

March 1, 1777, Saturday.

Dr. Putnam brought me a billet, of which the following is a copy:

"Dear Sir:—Our Battalion is so unfortunate as not to have a Doctor, and, in my opinion, dying for want of medicine. I beg you will come down to-morrow morning and visit the sick of my company, for that favor you shall have sufficient satisfaction from your humble servant, James Pigott, Capt. of 8 Batt. of Pa., Quibletown, feb. 28, 1777."

I desired the Dr. by all means to visit them. They were raised about the Ohio and had travelled near five hundred miles, as one of the soldiers who came for the Dr. informed me, for 150 miles over mountains, never entering a house, but building fires and encamping in the snow. Considerable numbers unused to such hardships have since died. The Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel among the dead. The Dr. informed me he found them quartered in cold shattered houses, etc.

On the death of the colonel and the lieutenant-colonel, Daniel Broadhead was made colonel, and Richard Butler became lieutenant-colonel and Stephen Bayard was made major. On the formation of the American Rifles command, Butler was made lieutenant-colonel and James Ross, of the First Pennsylvania, was made lieutenant-colonel of the Eighth in his stead. The companies of the Eighth were enlisted between the 9th of August and the 16th of December, and, at that time, numbered six hundred and thirty. Thirty-four troops were afterward enlisted, making a total of six hundred and eighty-four. The strength of the regiment by companies was, on June 9, 1777, indicated by the following returns:

	Sergts.	Rank and File.
Capt. Daniel Kilgore	3	55
Capt. Samuel Miller	4	82
Capt. Van Swearingen	3	71

Capt. James Pigott	4	55
Capt. Wendel Ourry	4	54
Capt. Andrew Mann	4	58
Capt. James Montgomery	2	57
Capt. Michael Huffnagle	4	70
Capt. Lieut. John Finley	2	77
Capt. Lieut. Basil Prather	3	69
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	33	648

From the original total, thirty-six were deducted as prisoners, fourteen missing, fifty-one dead, fifteen discharged and one hundred and twenty-six deserted. One lieutenant deserted and a second lieutenant was cashiered, an ensign was dismissed, and the quartermaster, Ephraim Douglas, a great man in Western Pennsylvania, was taken by the enemy. The reader may be amazed at the large number who deserted. The term "desertion" was not so harsh a one in the days of the Revolutionary War as it is with us in our modern armies. As noted on the old rolls, it goes for very little, for many of them returned afterward and rendered good service in the patriotic cause. Many of those who were marked deserters in the Revolution were afterward carried on the pension list. It was a common occurrence in the Revolutionary War for the half-clad, half-fed and unpaid soldiers to take an unceremonious leave, perhaps to go home to plant their spring crops and later to return to duty. Washington, with his great broadmindedness, readily saw the difference between a genuine deserter and one who went home to lend temporary aid and assistance to his needy wife and children. It must, furthermore, be remembered that the government was not able to carry out its contract with the soldiers, that is, to pay, to clothe and to subsist them while in he service.

The return of the regiment, dated November 1, 1777, shows the strength as follows: One colonel, one major, two captains, six lieutenants, one adjutant, one paymaster, one surgeon, one sergeant-major, one quartermaster-sergeant, one drum major, twenty-nine sergeants, nine drums and fifes, one hundred and twelve rank and file fit for duty, twenty-eight sick present, seventy-seven sick absent, one hundred and thirty-nine on other commands; total, three hundred and fifty-one; prisoners, fifty-nine. Captain Van Swearingen, Lieutenant Basil Prather and Lieutenant John Hardin were in command with Colonel Morgan. The vacancies at that time were: In office of lieutenant-colonel, one; four vacant captaincies, two lieutenantcies, eight ensigns, a chaplain and a surgeon's mate. Lieutenant-Colonel Ross resigned after the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. The regiment, after its long, severe march, suffered greatest at Bound Brook,

where Major-General Benjamin Lincoln, with five hundred men, was attacked by Cornwallis. Part of the regiment sustained the noted charge of the British Grenadiers at Paoli, and they were nearly all in the battles of Ash Swamp, Brandywine and Germantown. Like all regiments in the Revolution, it was many times broken up and separated, its officers and men being transferred to other regiments, as the exigencies of war demanded. Some thus participated with Morgan at Saratoga and many of them were with Wayne at the storming of Stony Point, but they nearly all came together at Valley Forge. The suffering of this most noted camp of the Revolutionary army has been so much written of that we shall not repeat it here. On March 15, 1778, the regiment was ordered to return to Pittsburgh, but many of them had, in the meantime, reënlisted for the term of the war and were assigned to other commands.

The homeward march of the remaining part of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment from Valley Forge was, of course, less difficult than their march eastward, yet it came in the hot months of July and August and was attended with many other privations. They left Valley Forge and marched to Lancaster and thence to Carlisle. Before leaving they were supplied with uniforms, those of the officers being of the regulation blue, while the troops were attired in hunting shirts, broad-brimmed cocked hats and leggins. They had taken ordinary rifles with them to the East, but, on the suggestion of General Wayne, were provided with muskets with bayonets. The sharpshooters, however, retained their rifles. In the meantime, the Iroquois Indians from the North came down on the west branch of the Susquehanna and killed and captured about thirty settlers. This caused great suffering, and those who could do so, went with their horses and cattle to Carlisle and Lancaster. This was followed by the Wyoming Massacre, so beautifully commemorated, with considerable poetic license, however, in the poem of Thomas Campbell, entitled "Gertrude of Wyoming." About four hundred British and Tories and seven hundred Iroquois Indians from New York invaded the settlement and in a few days almost exterminated its inhabitants. Broadhead was then at Carlisle with the returning Eighth Regiment and was ordered at once to the North to chastise the Indians, drive them from our State and encourage the settlers to return to their homes. Part of the regiment had already advanced westward, their object being to secure food and provisions for the main body of the regiment to follow. Broadhead left the heavy baggage at Carlisle, and about three hundred and forty of his ablest soldiers hurried North to Sunbury, where, in Fort Augusta, one hundred volunteers were awaiting them.

But the main body of the British and Indians had gone away and little else was left for Broadhead to do than clear the country of small bands of savages who had remained. By guarding the country by means of detachments, he also encouraged the settlers to return to their farms. The advance of his forces had prevented the Indians from destroying all the crops. On July 24 he wrote: "Great numbers of the inhabitants returned upon my approach and are now collected in large bodies reaping their harvests." The only encounter of his forces was sustained by Captain Finley's company. They were near the house of Colonel James Porter, who had built a stockade about ten miles east of the present town of Bellefonte, in Centre county. A small body of them were attacked by savages and driven to a stockade, two of the company being killed. They killed one Indian. The Eighth Pennsylvania was finally relieved in July by the Eleventh, and Broadhead, with his men, reached Carlisle on August 6. Here they rested a week and then marched westward toward Fort Pitt.

Among the soldiers who had preceded the Eighth westward was Captain Samuel Miller, who lived near Greensburg. He was in the recruiting service and was also collecting provisions and forage at Hannastown for the coming regiment. On July 7, while he and nine soldiers were guarding a load of grain on its way to the Fort, they were attacked by a band of Indians and all save two were killed. The Eighth Regiment was so far exhausted that they consumed two weeks in marching from Carlisle to Bedford, and two weeks more between Bedford and Pittsburgh, making only seven or eight miles per day. They found their homeward march something of an ovation after passing Bedford. All along the brave and war-worn veterans were welcomed with the best the country could afford. Nearly three hundred of the fearless young frontiersmen who had so willingly marched east to assist Washington in his dire necessity, had gone there never to return. By the wayside, on the westward march, sat the careworn widow, the orphan and the aged parent seeking in vain for those most dear to them.

Colonel Aeneas Mackay came to America in the commissary department of the Eighteenth Foot, Royal Irish Regiment, and very soon after that located near Pittsburgh. He was appointed a justice of the peace of the Westmoreland county courts when the county was formed, in 1773, and was prominent in resisting the encroachments of Dunmore's and Connolly's soldiers. The reader will recall the urgent manner in which he advocated that Pittsburgh be made the county seat. Later he was engaged in border defense and as such was made

a colonel of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment. A notice of his death was printed in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, of February 8, 1777, which was as follows:

On Saturday last, died of putrid fever at Trenton, New Jersey, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, Aeneas Mackay, Esq., colonel of the Eighth Regiment of Pennsylvania Continental Forces, and yesterday his remains were interred with the honors of war in the First Presbyterian Burying Ground in this city. In him his country has lost a faithful servant and good officer, his widow an uncommonly tender and affectionate husband, his children an indulgent father, and the world an honest man.

In 1787, when General William Irvine was put in command of Fort Pitt, he reformed the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment into two companies and designated them as a detachment from the Pennsylvania lines. They were placed then under the command of Colonel Stephen Bayard. In the meantime, the regiment had been kept up from year to year by recruits enlisted largely in Westmoreland county and in Pittsburgh. Both before and after it was reformed, the regiment had been constantly engaged in doing frontier duty and so continued until the close of the Revolution.

Some of the punishments inflicted on the soldiers of the Eighth Regiment and of other regiments, notably the Ninth and Thirteenth Virginia regiments, parts of which were here in Westmoreland in 1779, 1780 and 1781, may interest the modern reader. In each of these were soldiers who did not conform to the military discipline, and courts-martial were accordingly numerous. Of the Eighth Regiment, Isaac Aiken was charged with theft and, being found guilty, was sentenced to fifty lashes. James Maxwell, who refused to do his duty, was sentenced to ride astride of a wooden horse for ten minutes, with a musket tied to each foot. Edward Wilkie, who was found guilty of many offenses, was sentenced to one hundred lashes and to be drummed out of the regiment as a common vagabond, with orders not to appear again on the threat of instant death. Thomas Kelley was sentenced to five hundred lashes, and, in order to ameliorate his punishment, or perhaps to insure his surviving it, a surgeon was detailed to attend the execution of it.

Many depredations were committed by the Indians in Westmoreland and around Pittsburgh in the early years of the Revolution and indeed during the entire war, but in 1777 they became more numerous. It would be impossible to give these in detail, but any one foray made by the Indians on the western frontier is more or less representa-

tive of all of them. The capture of Andrew Mackay by the Mingoes became one of the most noted episodes of border history. He had come from the County of Tyrone, in Ireland, and settled in Philadelphia about 1764, and shortly after that came to Westmoreland, where he and his brother were engaged in the fur trade with the natives, with headquarters in Pittsburgh. During the contest with Virginia over this territory, he was appointed a justice by Governor Penn and had taken an active part in asserting the rights of Pennsylvania as against those of Virginia to Southwestern Pennsylvania. It will be remembered that he was taken to Staunton as a prisoner by Connolly and that, to escape the serious disturbance around Pittsburgh, he and his brother moved their store to Kittanning. There were about five or six families there then. Joseph Speer and the McFarlands soon built up a good trade with the Indians from the three river valleys.

The Eighth Regiment, being enlisted for home defense, when taken East, left the western border almost unprotected. The dangers multiplied and McFarland wrote for a company to protect them, but the limited military force forbade them sending troops here. Many of the settlers moved East or to safer places. Colonel Mackay also had a post at Kittanning and had considerable supplies of military stores, all of which were left almost without a guard when the Eighth Regiment was called East. Samuel Moorhead, who lived nearby, finally formed a small company of Rangers for frontier protection, and McFarland acted as lieutenant. There are many traditions concerning McFarland's capture, but they are unfounded and, moreover, they conflict with well-known facts and serve only to prove how unreliable that sort of testimony must always be regarded. The stories handed down by traditions for a few generations can rarely ever be corroborated by contemporary documents, though the traditions are much more romantic and interesting than the real happenings. From letters written at the time, it is quite certain that the British in Canada, who were preparing to send Indians and soldiers to Southwestern Pennsylvania, were anxious to first learn of the strength of the armament in and about Pittsburgh, and accordingly sent out a small squad of spies to learn of the situation and report to them. Four Indians, two Chippewas and two Iroquois, were sent down the Allegheny from Niagara. Part of the way they were accompanied by two British soldiers, who gave out at Franklin, and there while resting, awaited the return of the Indians. On the 14th of February, 1777, they appeared on the opposite side of the Allegheny from Kittanning, and called for assistance in crossing the river.

McFarland was accustomed to this, for the Indians with furs for sale had frequently come to trade at his store in that way. He accordingly crossed the river in a canoe. Upon landing, he was at once taken a prisoner and hurried off to Niagara. The tradition that his wife, who was a Miss Lewis, of Virginia, whose somewhat romantic marriage we have referred to in former pages, saw this capture in speechless horror, is doubtless true, for the capture was made in full view of their log cabin across the river. The long journey through the deep snow to Niagara was made with great difficulty. From there he was taken to Quebec, but he refused to give the British the desired information. James McFarland, his brother, was at that time a captain of the First Pennsylvania, under Washington, and, through his efforts, Andrew was exchanged in 1780, whereupon he at once joined his wife and child in Staunton, in Virginia, and all three of them returned to their old home in Westmoreland. McFarland's capture, however, did great good in one sense, for at once the settlers united with the Ranger Company for self-defense and, as far as possible, guarded the river front.

A more important and more dangerous episode of the western border of 1777, known as the Gunpowder Expedition, was managed by George Gibson. Nearly all of the gunpowder used in the West was made in the East and had to be carried on packhorses, perhaps from Wilmington, Delaware, to Hannastown or Pittsburgh, where it was high in price and was generally paid for by furs and skins. But the alliance between the British and the Indians in this region was ruinous to the fur trade, for why should the Indians trap and hunt when in the employ of the British army, and bountifully supplied by the English with blankets, firearms, ammunition and whiskey? Powder was, therefore, unusually scarce in all western settlements, for the soldiers in the East were consuming fully the output of the factories, and but little could be spared from the army supply, which seemed to be of greater importance. Here, in Westmoreland, it was necessary for each settler to keep powder on hand at all times and, when his supply ran down he invariably resorted to Fort Ligonier, Fort Pitt or Hannastown to have it replenished. The Ranger method of defense was adopted over the whole frontier. They went rapidly to the relief of any stricken community and generally made the Indians glad to seek the cover of the wilderness. But, as can readily be imagined, they were almost powerless without powder. For several weeks, in 1777, the forts themselves were almost ineffectual for want of powder. It was then that Captain George Gibson, assisted by Lieutenant Wil-

liam Linn, executed a most daring project which greatly relieved the situation.

Gibson had been brought up in Lancaster and in early manhood had gone to Pittsburgh to deal in furs. He had, before coming here, been to sea in two or three voyages and had travelled much among the Indian tribes in the West. He, by the way, was the father of the most eminent Pennsylvania jurist, Chief Justice John Bannister Gibson. Linn had come from Maryland and had survived the slaughter of Braddock's army and had also been in Dunmore's War. They had raised a company in and about Pittsburgh and entered the Revolution as a part of the Virginia regiment. Each of them, therefore, had an abundance of zeal for the cause. They were now sent to the Monongahela valley for home defense, and were deputized by Virginia to journey to New Orleans for powder. Fifteen hardy young pioneers accompanied them. They built flatboats on the Monongahela and started down the Ohio on July 19, 1776. The news of the Declaration of Independence had just reached them and had added zeal to all western pioneers. The Ohio was lined with Shawnees, Wabash and Miami Indians who were then trying to exterminate the settlers of Kentucky as well as of Ohio. The western British posts were to be considered also, for, should the Detroit forces learn of the expedition, there would be no hope of a successful return. All of the company, under Gibson and Linn, were clad in the homespun garments of that day, but as a matter of caution carried rifles, tomahawks and knives. No one in this section knew of their destination, for the entire Southwest was filled with Tories and spies. Strong, active and daring young men were selected, and the story was given out that they were going down the river as traders. They met parties of settlers going to Fort Pitt to escape from the Indians in Ohio and Kentucky. Many savages were seen, but the apparent trading party was not molested, and, by passing the English fort at Natchez at nighttime, they reached New Orleans in about five weeks.

Louisiana was then governed by the Spaniards. Gibson had letters of credit to Oliver Pollock, formerly of Philadelphia, and to other merchants of New Orleans who were friendly to us. Through their influence with the Spaniards, the powder was secured. Spain did not like England then, though they were not at war with each other. The English spies and merchants in New Orleans soon discovered the presence of the party. Complaint was made to the Spanish officers and Gibson was arrested and put in prison, but, it being a Spanish prison, he was very kindly treated. The Spaniards, though not

friendly to us, were not slow to help us, if, in doing so, they could quietly injure their old traditional enemy. Pollock purchased twelve thousand pounds of powder for eighteen hundred dollars and secreted it in his storehouse. Then the one-fourth of it was put in boxes and marked as various kinds of merchandise and sent quietly by a sailing vessel by the way of the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic ocean to Philadelphia.

To have sent it all by sea to Philadelphia would have necessitated the transportation of the greater part of it to Western Pennsylvania and Virginia on packhorses. Nine thousand pounds were turned over to Lieutenant Linn. It was placed in casks and smuggled in the night to the barges which were tied up in a concealed cove above New Orleans. Lieutenant Linn also hired twenty or more additional boatmen, for the force which brought his empty barges down the stream could not take the laden ones back, and the object was to return as rapidly as possible, so as to avoid danger. He set out in September, 1776. The best he could do was to force his barges slowly up the river. At the falls of the Ohio, at Louisville, it was necessary to unload the casks and carry them to the head of the falls, whilst the barges were dragged up with heavy ropes. On their way, the river was frozen up and forced them to await the return of the warm spring weather. They finally reached Fort Henry, where Wheeling now stands, on May 2, 1777, where their valuable cargo was turned over to David Shepherd, county lieutenant of Ohio county, Virginia.

In the meantime, Gibson had reached Philadelphia and reported that Linn was returning by the river. Orders were sent at once to Fort Pitt to raise a hundred men to go down the Ohio to meet the barges and protect them, for this was considered by far the most dangerous part of the route. But the Fort Pitt authorities miscalculated the time that Linn would likely reach the Northern Ohio River and they were only ready to start when the word came that he had reached Wheeling.

Shepherd, by a strong guard, conveyed the powder to Pittsburgh, where Colonel Crawford stored it in the powder magazine of Fort Pitt for safe keeping. All honor was due to Linn and his brave men. Though Virginia and Pennsylvania had but recently been at war with each other, Virginia acted nobly in this matter. The powder was purchased and paid for by Virginia, but her representative, Colonel Crawford, regarded it, as he said, "for the use of the continent." Part of it was given to the Rangers in and around Fort Pitt and to soldiers in Westmoreland county who were then ready to be mustered into the

Continental service. The stock lasted until 1778 and, by the way, supplied Colonel George Rogers Clark for his famous expedition to Illinois. Both Gibson and Linn were promoted, and to each of them was granted extra pay for his services. Linn, after other services in the Revolution, settled near Louisville, Kentucky, where he was killed by the Indians while going to attend court on November 5, 1781. He was scalped and his body was found the day following. Gibson, as lieutenant-colonel, was with St. Clair's army in his campaign against the Indians and received a wound in the battle of November 4, 1791, from which he died a few days after, during the retreat to Cincinnati.

Those who understood well the methods of the British in the Revolution saw that they were trying to subdue the frontier by urging Indians on to more brutal outrages. Congress, therefore, offered to take charge of Fort Pitt and of all southwest and garrison it at public expense. We have referred to Captain John Neville occupying the fort. He was, on June 1, 1777, relieved by Brigadier-General Edward Hand, who had so deported himself in the Continental army that Washington selected him as the most efficient officer to defend the southwestern border. General Hand learned, like Braddock, that to successfully fight the Indians required a different style of warfare from battling with the trained soldiers of a civilized country. He was born in Ireland and was educated as a physician. He came to America as assistant surgeon in the Eighteenth Royal Irish Regiment of Foot when twenty-three years old in 1767. Stationed for a time at Fort Pitt, he resigned from the army and practiced medicine in Lancaster. When the news of Lexington and Concord thrilled the western people, he assisted in raising troops and was a lieutenant-colonel in Thompson's battalion of Pennsylvania Riflemen after the First Regiment of Pennsylvania Line. He was a colonel and did good work at Long Island, Trenton and Princeton and, in 1777, was made a brigadier-general. Then he was sent to Pittsburgh to defend the western border and to relieve Neville, as we have said. He brought no forces here, but took charge of the two companies of the Thirteenth Virginia, which had been raised in Westmoreland. He carried authority from Washington to call on the militia for such assistance as he might need in any project in which he engaged.

The chief object of those in command of the American army throughout the Revolution was to avoid the English and keep from meeting their superior forces and numbers in open battle. Hand had had experience only in that style of warfare. Here, the Indian enemy could not be seen, yet his arrows and bullets came from every bush,

while he evaded the enemy with a skill scarcely approximated by the most successful rangers under Washington. It was the custom of the savage to hunt the settlers in small bands, often eight or ten; to go to a peaceable community by night and murder as many citizens as they could, steal all they needed, burn the property and be gone by morning to infest other localities many miles distant, or to skulk away to their homes in the trackless forest. They left no trail save the ruins they wrought, and shrewd indeed was the white soldier who could trace them to their wigwams. Murders were numerous all over the county, but they were extremely so in 1777, after Hand arrived. Many parties were sent out by Colonel Hamilton, of the British forces of Detroit, sending out about two or three British with about fifteen to twenty Indians in each party. He reported to Quebec in 1777 that he had sent out fifteen parties consisting of about thirty white men and two hundred and ninety Indians, the parties averaging twenty-one men each. The Indians were mostly Wyandottes, Miamis and Shawnees from Ohio. Westmoreland was also invaded by many parties from the Seneca tribes in Western New York.

Hamilton at all times offered protection to the settlers if they would follow to his post or join the forces of the English at any place. Indeed, such proclamations were often found in communities marked by the desolated hand of the savage. Hand concluded to invade the Indian country with his force, destroy their towns and provisions and drive them farther west. The Ohio tribes were less nomadic than most of the Indians, for they had towns, huts, cornfields, and raised many vegetables which were stored away for their winter use. To destroy these, compelled them to hunt for a living and, by thus going farther west, they had less time to devote to the border settlements. Hand accordingly attempted to collect the militia from Westmoreland and Bedford counties and from the western part of Virginia, intending to go down the Ohio to the mouth of the Big Kanawha. In this project he was sustained by the government of both States and by Congress. He expected an army of two thousand men, but he forgot in his calculations that every community had been drained to supply the eastern army and that the few who were left were needed badly at home to defend their firesides and those they loved most dearly.

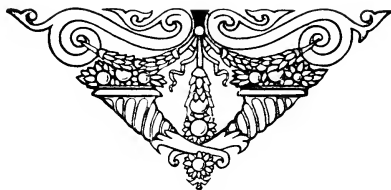
Colonel Archibald Lochrey gathered up about one hundred men who marched to Fort Pitt and thence to Wheeling, but finding no army there they abandoned the expedition, after waiting a week, and returned home. A few small squads had come in and a larger body of militia had met at Fort Randolph, but, after waiting for two or three

weeks, all returned to their homes. Raids from the Indians were of common occurrence all this time in Western Pennsylvania and the community as far east as Bedford was overrun by them. Eleven men were killed near Fort Palmer in the Ligonier valley, and two days later four children were killed within sight of Fort Palmer. Four men were killed and a woman captured near Fort Ligonier, while the stockade fort near Blairsville was attacked. Captain James Smith, the noted Indian fighter and author, in the meantime organized a party of Rangers that pursued them and killed five of their number near Kittinging. When the snow fell, the Indian raids ceased for a time, for the wary red man did not venture into a settlement when his footprints could be traced in the snow.

During the winter General Hand learned that the British forces of Detroit had built a fort on the Cuyahoga, where Cleveland now stands, and had collected there a large quantity of supplies to be used by the Indians in the following spring. This he concluded to capture and destroy. He called for mounted men supplied with provisions for a short campaign and offered to furnish arms and ammunition for all of them. All goods captured, he said, were to be sold and the proceeds divided equally among the victors. About February 15 a company of five hundred horsemen were thus collected at Fort Pitt, ready to march. Colonel Crawford was in command of the Youghiogheny forces, and, with this most formidable band, General Hand expected to accomplish great results. He went down the Ohio and thence by the Beaver river and the Mahoning river toward Cuyahoga. The rain melted the snow and travel became very difficult. All streams were swollen and their passage in many places was impossible.

When these multiplied hindrances had almost forced him to abandon the expedition, he found Indian tracks on some higher ground. This revived the drooping spirits of his men, and a party followed the tracks and came upon a few huts of Delawares. An attack was made, but they found only one old man and a few deserted squaws and some small children; all of these escaped except one. The old man and one squaw were shot and the other squaw was captured. Word was received that ten miles farther on a squad of Indians could be found, but the strong forces sent out found only four squaws and a boy, all of whom, save one squaw, were indiscreetly put to death by the soldiers. One of his men was wounded and one drowned. The rains continued and prevented him from going farther west. So he returned with his force to Fort Pitt and brought with him two squaws. No real frontiersman or Indian fighter could otherwise than deride such

an expedition, and it was ever afterward called the "Squaw Campaign." As we may imagine, Hand was disgusted with Indian warfare and left Westmoreland by resignation. He became adjutant-general of the United States army and was more successful in other lines of warfare. He was also a member of Congress in 1798. Though an efficient officer in the regular service, he failed absolutely, as did Braddock, when he came to fight the Indians. He died at Lancaster in September, 1802.



CHAPTER XVIII

THE REVOLUTION—Continued

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Revolution, Continued.—Morgan's Rifles.—The Honor Due Pennsylvania.—Quotations From Bancroft and Lee.—Tories of Southwestern Pennsylvania.—Their Escape to Detroit.—A Second Gun Powder Expedition.—Thrilling Incidents.—The Disastrous Ending.—Treaty With the Indians.—White Eyes; His Reasonable Demands; His Death.—General McIntosh.—Forts McIntosh and Laurens.—Hardships Prevailing in Both.—Abandoned by Broadhead, Who Becomes a Strong Commander.—Samuel Brady; His Character.—Chastises the Indians.—Broadhead Chastises the Northern Tribes.—Severe Winter Follows.—Indian Depredations.—Forage for Provisions.—Hannastown Farmers March to Attack Indians.—Perfidy of the Delaware Tribe.

One of the great names of Westmoreland is that of Daniel Morgan, who will not soon be forgotten by the American people. He was commander of Morgan's Rifles and, as the hero of Cowpens, his name will shine with star-brightened splendor as long as the American people revere true courage and patriotism. Reference has been made to his participating in the Braddock expedition, but it is not generally known how closely his name is linked with old Westmoreland and with the Eighth Regiment. Virginia long ago erected a monument to his memory, and the service of Morgan Rifles is almost, if not quite, as familiar as any story in the Revolutionary annals.

The part which Pennsylvania took in the rifle regiment, and especially the soldiers of the Eighth Regiment, is often almost forgotten by us from the fact that Morgan himself was a Virginian. The glory which the justly renowned "Rifles" won in the north should be almost equally divided between Virginia and Pennsylvania and yet is unjustly given almost entirely to the former State. The regiment was usually designated as "Morgan's Rifles" and sometimes as "Morgan's Partisan Corps," for this was in reality its official name. It was a rifle corps organized by General Washington himself, of which Daniel Morgan, of Virginia, was made colonel. Richard Butler, of Pittsburgh, a colonel of the Ninth Pennsylvania, was lieutenant-colonel and Captain Joseph Morris, of New Jersey, was major. The officers were all well known to Washington, and he evinced his marvelous knowledge of men in selecting them. The entire corps was made up of the most expert sharpshooters of the Continental army, having in mind, of course, the physical strength, the soldiery deportment and

the necessary agility of the marksman. It was considered a great honor among the soldiers of the Revolution to be chosen for this service. Their duty was to fight somewhat independently, to keep themselves concealed, to climb trees and, in these positions, to pick off officers and others at long range, who were important in the command of the enemy. Their mission was at all times dangerous.

The Fifth Company of Morgan's Rifles was commanded by Captain Van Swearingen, of the Eighth Pennsylvania. The Third Company was commanded by Captain James Knotts, who won distinction under Wayne in the storming of Stony Point. From General James Wilkinson's "Memoirs," we take the following return of Morgan's Rifle Corps. Among the rifles, according to the "Memoirs," Pennsylvania is credited with furnishing one hundred and ninety-three; Virginia, one hundred and sixty-three, and Maryland, sixty-five. There were five hundred and eight in all, and the others were probably selected from other States. They have been most highly spoken of by all authorities and must ever be remembered as among the best soldiers of the Continental army. Of their services at Stillwater, which is another name for Saratoga, Bancroft has written these words:

In concurrence with the advice of Arnold, Gates ordered out Morgan's riflemen and the light infantry. They put a picket to flight at a quarter past one, but retired before the division of Burgoyne. Leading his force unmolested through the woods, and securing his right by thickets and ravines, Morgan next fell unexpectedly upon the left of the British center division. To support him, Gates, at two o'clock, sent out three New Hampshire battalions, of which that of Scammel met the enemy in front; that of Cilley took them in the flank. In a warm engagement Morgan had his horse shot under him, and, with his riflemen, captured a cannon, but could not carry it off.

General Henry Lee, in his "Memoirs of the Revolution in the Southern States," speaks of Colonel Richard Butler as the renowned second and rival of Morgan in the Saratoga encounter. First Lieutenant Basil Prather and Second Lieutenant John Hardin, with parts of their commands, were also with Morgan and did splendid service in a series of encounters which resulted in the ignominious surrender of Burgoyne's army. The command under Morgan consisted of picked men from the companies of the Eighth Regiment. Van Swearingen was undoubtedly the most noted captain of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment. On September 9, 1777, he and a company consisting of one lieutenant and twenty privates were captured by an unexpected charge of the enemy which scattered Morgan's soldiers right and left. He was turned over to the Indians, who were part of the British forces

in the campaign, but was rescued by General John Fraser's horsemen, who took him before the general as a prisoner. Fraser questioned him closely concerning the size and strength of the Continental army, but could elicit no information from him save that it was commanded by General Gates and General Arnold. Fraser then threatened he would hang him unless he would give him the desired information, but this drew nothing from Van Swearingen but the calm reply, "You may if you please." Fraser then rode off a short distance to a part of the field close by, which called for a moment's attention, leaving Van Swearingen in charge of Sergeant Dunbar, who, in company with Lieutenant Aubrey, ordered him to be guarded among the other prisoners, but directed that the guards should not ill treat him. But almost immediately, when Fraser rode away, he came in full view of Morgan himself, who directed one of his sharpshooters, Timothy Murphy, to take a steady aim at him. The result was that Fraser was shot dead ere yet his threat to hang Van Swearingen had scarcely died upon his lips. This circumstance probably saved Van Swearingen's life.

A short time after this, when Burgoyne's army had been captured and sent to Virginia, Dunbar and Aubrey were with them, and Van Swearingen made special efforts and succeeded in having them exchanged because of their kindness to him when he had been their prisoner. Van Swearingen was of immense build, brave, determined and patriotic, and, like Washington, had the gift of perseverance, even though the cause seemed at times to be almost hopeless. At Valley Forge he encouraged his disconsolate associates by both money and kind words of cheer. After he returned from the war he settled in Washington county and became its first sheriff in 1781. His daughter was married to Captain Samuel Brady, the daring scout, who was equally noted in Southwestern Pennsylvania history. Lieutenant John Hardin, of the Eighth Pennsylvania, and of Morgan's Rifles, returned to Westmoreland at the close of the war, and from there moved to Kentucky, where his name is now revered as General John Hardin. When he was lieutenant of the Eighth Regiment he shot an Indian who was carrying letters of importance from the main body of the English army to the commander at Fort Ticonderoga. He took part in the battles with Indians as fought by General Harmar and afterwards by General St. Clair in 1791.

All through the western border during the Revolution were found adherents to King George, and Pittsburgh being the metropolis for this section was particularly a headquarters for them. Many of them

had formerly belonged to the English service. Some were conscientious members of the Church of England and had the Englishman's proverbial reverence for the sovereign. Others were actuated by mercenary motives, for it must always be borne in mind that the wealth was with the British army and the poverty and privations were with the colonial army. The apparent weakness of the colonial cause, as compared with that of the Englishman's acknowledged strength, discouraged many otherwise honest pioneers to despair of succeeding and, in addition to this, the gold of the English made the way to the army an alluring one. Many in and around Pittsburgh were discouraged and disgusted with General Hand's successive fiascos in Indian fighting. In the winter of 1777 and 1778 the English army had possession of Philadelphia. The Continental Congress had been driven west and finally sat in the little country hamlet of York, Pennsylvania, while the thinly clad and half-fed remnant of Washington's army which had survived Brandywine and Germantown was languishing at Valley Forge. Hamilton, the bold and daring English governor at Detroit, had agents continually circulating throughout the border settlements, offering tempting rewards in gold and promises to those who would join his forces.

Most of the Tories in Southwestern Pennsylvania had their secret headquarters at the house of Alexander McKee, which stood upon the banks of the Ohio, where the town of McKees Rocks is now built. McKee was a leader of the Tories and exerted a wide influence all over Western Pennsylvania. He had formerly been a justice at Hannastown and later an Indian trader. For many years before the Revolution he had been the agent of the King in the Indian affairs at Pittsburgh. This gave him a wide acquaintance among the tribes and among the Shawnees. He had a wife and family of half-breed children. For such services Colonel Bouquet had given him fourteen hundred acres of land at the mouth of Chartiers creek, where he had lived much of the time when he was not in Pittsburgh. Early in 1776 he was discovered to be in correspondence with the British and, upon his apprehension, was put on his parole not to give aid to the enemy and not to leave Pittsburgh without the permission of the Revolutionary commander. In 1778 General Hand suspected him of having renewed his disloyal correspondence with the English and accordingly ordered him to go to York, Pennsylvania, where the Continental Congress was then in session and where he would submit himself to their examination and trial. This command was not complied with promptly by him, because of his pretended illness, but as this excuse

could not last always, he resolved to go to Detroit and ally himself directly with the English army.

Matthew Elliott was a man much younger than McKee and who, understanding the Shawnee language, had been employed by the Fort Pitt authorities to carry messages of peace to the western Indian tribes. Being captured at Detroit, he was finally released and returned to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, by way of Quebec, New York and Philadelphia. All of these places were then held by the British, and Elliott was greatly impressed by the apparent strength of the English army as compared with the colonial armies as he had seen them. He was convinced that the colonies could not succeed and, on his return, associated himself with McKee and the other Tories. Through Elliott perhaps, McKee was made to believe that he would be secretly killed if he ventured to York, as he had been ordered to do, and this in some degree induced him to join the English army.

The Tories who intended to follow his example met at McKee's house on March 23, 1778. They were Alexander McKee and Robert Surphlit, his cousin; Simon Girty, Matthew Elliott and a man named Higgins. Girty was born in Pennsylvania and had been captured by the Seneca Indians when a youth, where he learned their language and thus secured employment by the Americans as an interpreter and messenger. He is supposed to have been faithful to the cause until but a few days before his flight. He was with Hand in the Squaw Campaign, and no better reason can be assigned for his treachery unless it was the promise of position with the English, or perhaps a direct payment of gold. News of their meeting and intended flight reached General Hand in Pittsburgh on Saturday evening. He accordingly ordered a company of soldiers to go to McKee's house on Sunday morning to arrest them, but his troops reached there too late, as the Tories had left in the night. They made their way to Ohio and urged the Indians all along the way to make war on the settlers. When Governor Hamilton heard of their flight, he sent an agent, Edward Hazle, to meet them and bring them safely through the Indian country to Detroit. They were at once commissioned in the British service.

For almost a score of years, Girty, Elliott and McKee were relentless in their warfare on their own race. They left behind them, however, in and around Pittsburgh, a number of Tories, mostly members of the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment, part of which was then guarding Fort Pitt. These Tories left behind had formed a plot to blow up the fort by powder and they meant to escape down the river in

boats. In some way this gunpowder plot became known, but barely in time to prevent the explosion. Sergeant Alexander Ballantine and eighteen or twenty of the conspirators escaped in a boat belonging to the fort on April 20. Soldiers were at once sent out in pursuit of them and it was very near an equally matched race between them down the Ohio river. They were finally overtaken at the mouth of the Muskingum. Eight of them jumped from the boat and were lost in the wilderness. Others were killed in the conflict, while the remainder were brought back to Pittsburgh and tried by a court-martial, of which Colonel, formerly Justice, William Crawford was president. The testimony taken showed that the leaders were Ball, William Bentley and Elizer Davis. Upon conviction, two of them were shot and one of them was hanged. Two others were sentenced to one hundred lashes on the bare back, and the whippings took place on the parade ground in front of the fort. This was perhaps the last official act of General Hand before he left for the East. It put an end for a time to all treachery and conspiracy within the fort.

Powder again became scarce in 1778, for the store brought here by Linn was about exhausted, particularly after Clark had supplied his army with it. Virginia, therefore, ordered a second expedition to New Orleans in quest of this most necessary article. The powder was again purchased by correspondence with Oliver Pollock and it was sent by the Spaniards to St. Louis, where they had a small outpost even as early as 1768. Patrick Henry was then Governor of Virginia, and appointed David Rogers, of Redstone, now Brownsville, a man of high standing as a frontiersman, to conduct the expedition. He had been a justice in the Virginia courts in Westmoreland and was a member of the Revolutionary committee and, combined with his knowledge of the law a thorough understanding of the Indian race. He brought together about forty men for the work, all being hardy young woodsmen, most of whom had seen military service. Among them was Basil Brown, a son of Thomas Brown, who founded Brownsville.

They built flatboats along the Monongahela river and at Fort Pitt in June, 1778. With them left two other boats carrying settlers to Kentucky. It seemed that Rogers had not been informed of the transportation of the powder from New Orleans to St. Louis, and his company lost much time in going down the Mississippi for it. They then went up the Arkansas river a short distance to a Spanish fort, where Rogers learned that the powder had been sent to the fort at St. Louis. From there six of his command journeyed in a light boat to New Orleans, where he procured the proper papers authorizing him to

lift the powder. After procuring these they set out for the Arkansas river by an overland route, because of the danger of passing the British fort at Natchez. After many days of travel over swamps and forests, they reached their boat and set out at once for St. Louis. At that time it was a small place of less than a thousand people, composed mostly of the roughest element in the West. The fort was under the command of Don Francisco de Leyba with one hundred soldiers. The sale and the transfer of the powder had been made clandestinely, and with the heavily laden boats the slow journey up the Ohio river was made in the summer and fall of 1779. For hundreds and hundreds of miles, both sides of the river were covered with a dense forest which had scarcely been penetrated except by Indians or wild animals.

In October they approached the locality where Cincinnati now stands, where they saw a few Indians about a mile distant, who were crossing the Ohio river in canoes. Rogers thought his crafts had not been seen, for the Indians acted apparently as though they were merely following the daily routine of their nomadic lives. Thinking they were on their way to attack some settlement, Rogers decided to capture them and destroy their habitation. The powder boats were moored in the mouth of the Licking river, and the crews repaired to the ground where now the town of Newport, Kentucky, stands. Confident of victory, they probably pushed through the wilderness without due caution. At all events they were soon surrounded by Indians, for the few whom they saw on the river were only scouts who served as decoys to entrap the company. The savages in the woods were headed by Simon Girty and Matthew Elliott, who led a party of about one hundred Indians. The Americans, so cleverly entrapped, were fired on from all sides and many of them fell dead at once. Those who fled through the woods were mostly run down, killed and scalped. The thick underbrush, however, enabled thirteen of them to get away, but most of them were wounded and all of them endured all manner of privations before they reached the settlement. Captain Rogers was shot in the abdomen and aided by John Knotts, was concealed in a friendly ravine until night fall. The savages soon made way with the spoils of their victory and crossed the river to the Ohio side. Knotts cared for Rogers as best he could until the day following, when the latter was delirious and near his end, whereupon Knotts, after effectually screening him, made his way home.

Robert Benham, a commissary, was shot through both legs, but concealed himself in the branches of a fallen tree. He had kept his rifle with him, but was afraid to fire lest the report attract the Indians

in the neighborhood. Finally, when pressed with hunger, he shot a raccoon. The report of his gun attracted Basil Brown, who was likewise concealed nearby. Brown had been wounded in the right arm and left shoulder and was unable to use his arms, but could walk without difficulty. By uniting their forces, they had two good legs and two good arms. Brown moved the raccoon with his feet, perhaps by kicking it, to Benham, who built a fire, roasted the meat and fed his companion and himself. Benham put a folded hat between Brown's teeth and, by wading into the river, Brown managed to fill it with water and carried it to his thirsty companion. Brown chased rabbits, squirrels and wild turkeys within reach of Benham's carefully aimed rifle. In the meantime, Brown spent all of his spare time on the river, anxiously waiting for a boat to pass up or down and, on the nineteenth day after the disaster, described a flatboat moving down the river, the crew of which was attracted by his cries. They landed and took the wounded prisoners to Louisville. Both recovered and lived many years afterward. Brown died in Brownsville in 1835, aged seventy-five years, while Benham removed to Kentucky and purchased lands where the disaster occurred, and thus became the founder and pioneer of Newport, Kentucky. The writer has often talked to a most accomplished and elderly woman of Brownsville, born several years prior to Brown's death, who knew him, and who, in her early youth, often heard of him and the unfortunate gunpowder expedition.

The Delaware Indians were always more friendly to the white race than any other tribe. During the time of the Revolution they lived on the Tuscarora and Muskingum rivers in Ohio. They bore the same name and were the same tribe that a century before had inhabited the eastern part of Pennsylvania and had treated with William Penn under the elm trees in Philadelphia. They had been driven west nearly five hundred miles by the encroaching white men. It was the idea of Congress and General McIntosh that this tribe should be allied with the American army, and that they should attack and overthrow the English forces at Detroit which, as the reader has seen, were constantly annoying the Western Pennsylvania frontier. The East could not then, and has never since, appreciated the difficulty of such a march. It was necessarily through three hundred miles of wilderness, inhabited by savages, nearly all of whom were deadly against the colonists. The unsettled country could not give the army any support and the entire supplies must, therefore, be taken with them. General Hand and many others besides McIntosh had entertained the same project, but the difficulties always proved too great to be over-

come. The part of the project which contemplated the alliance with the Delawares is an interesting chapter in Pittsburgh history. White Eyes was chief and sachem of the Delaware tribe. He was a very strong character and ranks high among the more noted American Indians. It is believed he hoped his tribe would become civilized and, for that reason, became interested in the success of the American cause.

In June, 1778, Congress ordered a treaty with the Delawares to be held at Fort Pitt on July 23. Virginia named General Andrew Lewis, who had defeated Cornstalk and his troops at Point Pleasant in Dunmore's War, and his brother, Thomas, as their commissioners to attend the treaty. Pennsylvania did not appoint any one in particular and the treaty was postponed until September. In the meantime, the Delawares, being friendly, came to Fort Pitt to attend the treaty and when Broadhead reached Pittsburgh he found many wigwams of savages and warriors on the rivers around the fort. On September 12 the conference began and was held in one of the buildings within the fort. Colonel George Morgan was then Indian agent, and a letter-book kept by him or his secretary affords a good idea of the proceedings. The Delaware tribe alone was represented in the treaty; though invitations to other tribes to unite had been sent to the West, none of them came. All other tribes were allied with the English and for many months had coaxed and threatened the Delaware tribe, endeavoring to induce them to join the English also. Chief White Eyes realized the danger of thus bringing upon his tribe the wrath of all the western Indians, and of the British post at Detroit as well. The representatives of the Delawares who acted chiefly in the conference were White Eyes, Kilbuck and Captain Pipe. They appeared with all the paint, feathers and glitter of their race, and Pipe was particularly celebrated for the brilliancy of his adornment. They were attended by a band of Indian warriors, all attired in the brightest colors and with gaudy blankets. General McIntosh, his colonels and staff officers, not to be entirely outdone in brilliancy, wore their best and most glittering uniforms. Soldiers in hunting shirts and with arms walked back and forth before the barracks, offsetting in some degree, the show of warriors who attended their chiefs.

By the terms of the treaty, the United States entered into an alliance with the Indians. The treaty included a mutual defense, if necessary, and it also recognized the independence of the Delaware tribe as a nation and guaranteed their territory to them forever. The treaty furthermore provided for the admission of the Delaware nation into

the American Union as a state, but this last agreement was not to be binding until it was first approved by Congress. Lewis told the Indians of their intention to take Detroit, and asked permission to cross their territory and receive assistance from them. It will be remembered that their country included the region west of the Allegheny river, north of the Ohio river, and extending as far west as the Hocking and Sandusky rivers, and must be crossed directly in a campaign against Detroit. They asked for time to consider this proposition, and a few days after agreed that this should be put in the treaty, but asked that a place of safety be built for their families if their warriors joined the expedition of the American army against Hamilton's forces in Detroit.

White Eyes spoke most eloquently and with little of the usually tiresome Indian verbage, speaking with great force and clearness. He said: "As many of my warriors as can possibly be spared will join you and go with you." He requested that Colonel John Gibson be appointed Indian agent, and requested further that a schoolmaster to teach their children be sent to his tribe. The marvelous wisdom on the part of the unlearned savage was entirely disregarded by Congress. The Indians also agreed to sell corn and meat to the armies on their way to Detroit and to furnish Indian guides. The treaty was signed and the conference ended on September 17, 1778. The treaty bore the signing marks of the Indians and the signatures of the Lewises, McIntosh, Broadhead, Crawford, John Campbell, John Stevenson, John Gibson, Arthur Graham, Benjamin Miles, Joseph L. and John Finley. Then presents were given to the Indians and with great joy they went to their western home to prepare for the war against the British at Detroit.

McIntosh prepared at once to march against Detroit by calling out the militia from the western counties. Westmoreland county failed to respond, for its people were drained to the last extent already, but three Virginia counties in Pennsylvania furnished about eight hundred men who met in Pittsburgh. The work of gathering provisions for the army was a great undertaking. Added to the eight hundred troops were five hundred from Fort Pitt, mostly from the Eighth Regiment and the Thirteenth Virginia. They built a road on the south bank of the Ohio river to Beaver river, while they built a fort commanding the Ohio on the west bank of the Beaver. The site is in the present town of Beaver, above the station of the Cleveland and Pittsburgh railroad. It was named Fort McIntosh and was built after the style of the forts of that day, of heavy logs with earth for filling. On it were mounted six-pound cannon.

Stores could be taken that far west on boats, but further on the march to Detroit, all supplies must be taken overland. The Delaware Indians were impatient at the delay of four weeks in building Fort McIntosh, a stronghold which could be of no use whatever, they thought, in the capture of Detroit. After much search a drove of cattle was procured, and, on March 3, the army marched westward with their weak stock, weak horses and heavy supplies. They could only march six or seven miles per day. In Ohio, White Eyes, whose company of warriors had joined them, was treacherously killed, perhaps by a Virginia militiaman, but the manner and circumstances surrounding his assassination have never been fully known or understood. His death greatly dismayed the Indian followers, as well it might, and most of them left the army for their homes. Winter was approaching and the general was compelled to think of abandoning the expedition. He built a fort, as had been promised in the treaty, for the protection of the Indians, and hoped that from it in the spring he could better reach Detroit. It was near the present town of Bolivar, Ohio, and was named Fort Laurens, after Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, who was then president of the Continental Congress. He could not get supplies to support his army in that country. The weather was growing cold and he was compelled to return to the Ohio with most of his forces, leaving one hundred and fifty men of the Thirteenth Virginia under Colonel John Gibson to guard Fort Laurens during the cold, bleak ensuing winter. Colonel Broadhead, with a stronger force, was left at Fort McIntosh on his return, and the general and his main army came rapidly to Fort Pitt. The Wyandottes, Miamis and Mingoes were enraged at the erection of Fort Laurens almost in the very heart of their territory. A band of Indians prevented them from hunting in the woods surrounding the fort, and they had scarcely provisions enough to last them half the winter.

McIntosh sent Captain John Clark, of the Eighth Pennsylvania, with fifteen men and a train of packhorses and provisions, consisting of flour and meat to relieve them. Clark and his convoy left about January 15 and reached the fort on January 21. He set out on his homeward march on January 23 and was attacked by Simon Girty and a band of Mingoes, who killed two, wounded four and captured one of his men. Captain Clark was chased back to Fort Laurens, but soon resumed his journey and came through to the Ohio without difficulty. Girty carried his prisoners to Detroit and then returned to Fort Laurens with a larger force. By February 15, two hundred Miami and Mingo Indians surrounded the fort. They were headed by Girty and by Captain Henry Bird. Gibson wrote to McIntosh an

account of his surroundings and ended his letter by saying: "You may depend upon my defending the fort to the last extremity." The garrison had cut firewood for winter use and piled it in the forest less than a mile away from the fort. On February 23 a wagon was sent out with a guard of eighteen soldiers to haul in a part of it. As they passed a small mound or hillock, a band of Indians sprang upon them and killed and scalped all but two, whom they took as prisoners. They then laid siege to the fort. They camped at night in the dreary woods, and in daytime they ventured near enough to taunt the soldiers by waving the scalps of their slain comrades. The food of the garrison was cut down to a quarter of a pound of flour and a quarter of a pound of meat per day for each man. Gibson sent out a messenger who eluded the vigilance of the savages and reached Fort McIntosh on March 3. It was nearly two weeks, however, before the general could arrange for men to relieve the starving garrison and, in the meantime, their situation grew desperate.

The Indians increased, so that one day they apparently had eight hundred and fifty warriors around the fort, though it was afterward learned that in reality they had only about two hundred, who were marched around a hill, and who showed themselves about four or five times over to those who watched from the garrison. The Indians, through Captain Bird, then asked the garrison to surrender, thinking that this show of numbers would induce them to capitulate. They offered a safe passage home to all soldiers, but the garrison refused their overtures. They then promised to go away if the garrison would give them a barrel of flour and a barrel of meat. The Indians, of course, thought the garrison was almost starving and could neither hold out much longer nor comply with their demands for the provisions. Gibson took the correct view of the matter and, although he had but little left, he willingly sent out the two barrels to give the Indians the impression that he had an abundance of stores and provisions. The snow was deep all around the fort and the savages were almost without food for themselves. They feasted on the barrels and on the day following left for their homes.

On March 23, the garrison was relieved by three hundred regulars and two hundred militia, escorting a train of packhorses with plenty of provisions sent by Colonel Broadhead from Fort McIntosh. The starving soldiers were so overjoyed by the appearance of this relief corps that they fired guns which frightened the packhorses into a stampede and much of their provisions and many of the packhorses were lost. Colonel Gibson and his starving soldiers returned to Fort Pitt, they being relieved by Major Vernon, of the Eighth Pennsyl-

vania. Before going to Fort Laurens, McIntosh wrote to Washington asking to be recalled from frontier service, for he had probably concluded that he was a failure in Indian warfare. Washington complied with his request and named Broadhead, of the Eighth Pennsylvania, as his successor in command of Fort Pitt. McIntosh went at once to Philadelphia, while Broadhead removed from Fort McIntosh to Fort Pitt. In writing of McIntosh on February 20, General Washington said:

I wish matters had been more properly conducted under the command of General McIntosh. This gentleman was in a manner a stranger to me, but during the time of his residence in Valley Forge, I had imbibed a good opinion of his good sense, attention to duty and disposition to correct public abuse, qualifications much to be valued in a separate and distinct command. To these considerations were added (and not the least) his disinterested concern with respect to the disputes which had divided and distracted the inhabitants of the western world which would have rendered an officer from either Pennsylvania or Virginia improper, while no one could be spared from another state with so much convenience as McIntosh. He is now coming away and the section in command, Broadhead (as there will be no military operations of consequence to be conducted) will succeed him. But once for all it may not be amiss for me to conclude with this observation that with such means as are provided I must labor.

Broadhead believed that the building of Fort McIntosh and Fort Laurens was useless. The soldiers in the latter fort suffered for want of food all spring, and, in May, Broadhead ordered most of them to return to Fort McIntosh to escape starvation. Major Vernon remained, however, with twenty-five men until August 1. The fort could not be supported properly so far away from the base of supplies, with their miserable means of transportation westward. Broadhead soon issued an order dismantling the fort and it rapidly fell into decay. Even yet, however, its green-walled embankments may be seen on the west side of the Tuscarora river, near Bolivar. Broadhead was a man of much strength, though Washington seemed to regard him as fitted for the Pittsburgh post only, because there was no special military operation to be conducted. He proved to be the most successful commander who came to this section during the Revolution. He had a thorough knowledge of the surroundings, and had distinctive ideas of his own concerning the frontier defense which he proceeded to execute. McIntosh turned over to him about seven hundred and twenty men when he left the fort. Most of them were already in the fort, though some were at Fort McIntosh and other western posts.

With the warm weather of the spring came also Indians from the Upper Allegheny river. There lived the Senecas and the Muncies, who came down the stream in canoes until the settlements were almost in sight, when they hid their barks in the forest, divided their forces into small bands and proceeded to kill and scalp settlers, capture their women and children and devastate the country generally. Almost invariably they were gone in one or two days, passing up the river before a concerted action on the part of the soldiers or settlers could be made. It is almost impossible for us at this day to appreciate the difficulties of guarding against this predatory Indian warfare. In the spring or early in the summer of 1779 the northern part of Westmoreland county was almost depopulated in this way. Broadhead organized a number of bands of scouts who went out from Fort Pitt and made regularly laid out tours through the forests skirting the western settlements, and in this way they did great work.

The three principal bands were led by Captain Van Swearingen and Lieutenant Samuel Brady and John Hardin, all of them keen frontiersmen and well schooled by service in the Eighth Regiment and in border warfare. It was in this work that Brady won his enduring fame as an Indian fighter. He despised the Indians with a bitterness and malignancy that is rarely found in the human breast. His brother James had been killed by the Indians near Williamsport in July, 1778, while working in a wheat field. Though shot, wounded with a spear and scalped, the brother lived for days in great agony before death relieved him. In April, 1779, his father, Captain John Brady, was shot dead while conveying supplies on the west branch of the Susquehanna. This was committed by three Iroquois Indians concealed in a thicket nearby. Brady can, therefore, scarcely be blamed for his lifelong hatred of the race.

Broadhead kept scouts out all spring and was preparing for an expedition among the Senecas. His delay was entirely due to a lack of supplies, which were brought over the mountains from the East. His soldiers in Fort Pitt were without meat and were ragged and without shoes. The scouts learned from the Indians to clothe themselves in deerskins and to make moccasins for their feet. Many of the scouts wore feathers and painted themselves after the style of the savages, so that they might more readily approach the enemy without being detected. They usually had with them a few friendly Delawares who were of great value because of their knowledge of the forest. In the early summer, Broadhead learned that a party of Indians from the Seneca tribe was preparing to come down the Alle-

gheny. He investigated the rumor by sending three scouts up as far as Fort Venango, where the town of Franklin now stands. There the scouts were discovered and chased down the river by the Indians in canoes. The race was a very exciting one and was very nearly evenly matched. The Indians only abandoned the pursuit when they reached the settlements near the mouth of the Kiskiminetas river, but they did not return to their home up the Allegheny until they had raided the country north and east of Fort Pitt and killed a woman and four children on the Big Sewickley. They took a number of prisoners and stole six horses and many other articles of value from the settlers.

When the news of these depredations reached Fort Pitt, two parties were sent out to intercept them. The authorities of the fort were not sure that they were the same party who had chased the scouts down the river, though they strongly suspected it. Brady took twenty men, all painted and dressed like Indians, and went rapidly up the river, hoping to overtake them on their return to their homes. Late one evening they found the canoes of the marauders hidden at the mouth of a small creek flowing from the east into the Allegheny river. It was probably Redbank, which is about fifteen miles above Kittanning.

The Indians had encamped on higher ground near the creek and were preparing supper. Near the canoes, hobbled horses which they had stolen, were cropping grass from the creek bottom. The streams were swollen and the scouts were compelled to go up the stream two miles before they could cross, after which they came down the north bank of the creek until they were close to the Indian camp and there concealed themselves in the tall grass. Crawling like animals, they came almost in touch with the Indians, who, with their prisoners, were sleeping around the embers of the campfire. Brady and an Indian guide crawled close enough to locate the position of the captives, for by no chance shot or thrust in the dark must they be injured. One warrior was aroused from his slumbers. He arose, walked around the camp until he was within six feet of Brady, peered in every direction, stretched himself several times, and seeing or hearing nothing, laid down again as though to sleep. Then the two scouts crawled back to their friends and prepared to attack them at the earliest dawn of morning, the delay until daylight being necessitated through the fear that the prisoners might be injured. In doing this, a number of scouts crawled to within a few feet of the sleeping camp and there lay quietly awaiting the rising sun. When day was breaking, one Indian awoke the rest and all stood around the rekindled fire, laugh-

ing and chatting. At a prearranged signal they were fired on by the scouts from the grass and bushes nearby. The chief, whom Broadhead wrote to Washington was a notorious warrior of the Muncie race fell dead. Two others were found badly wounded in the forest nearby. Brady and his party recovered the captives unharmed and brought them with the stolen horses, property and all the arms of the Indians back to Westmoreland.

Most of the Indians who had annoyed the settlers around Fort Pitt during 1778 and 1779 came either from Ohio or from the headwaters of the Allegheny river, for Governor Hamilton, the troublesome Detroit commander, had been captured by General George Rogers Clark, at Vincennes, Indiana, in February, 1779, and that seat of war was in some degree silenced. Moreover, the Shawnee tribe in Ohio had been badly used up by troops from Kentucky in May, 1779. The Senecas of the Allegheny was the strongest of the Six Nations and their men were sagacious, courageous and cruel. Their chief leaders at this period were Cornplanter and Guyasuta. The Seneca wigwams in the Allegheny and Genesee valleys exhibited hundreds of scalps as the trophies of their incursions into Western Pennsylvania.

Colonel Broadhead, with the consent of Washington, led an army up the Allegheny in July, intending to intercept a similar army sent by Washington from the East, and led by the renowned General John Sullivan. In four weeks after getting permission, Broadhead was ready to march, though he had been preparing ever since he took charge of the fort. He, with the carpenters sent from Philadelphia, had built sixty boats, some of which were only hollowed out poplar logs, but most of them were regular skiffs or canoes. A number of cattle and a train of packhorses were also made ready. A stockade had been built by Colonel Stephen Bayard at Kittanning and called Fort Armstrong after General John Armstrong, who had so effectually defeated the Indians there in 1756. Broadhead left Fort Pitt, August 11, 1779, with six hundred and five men. Fort Armstrong was to serve as sort of an advance post on the way north. Broadhead had with him some militia and a number of Delaware Indians, the latter being used as scouts and were commanded by Brady and Hardin. The troops marched along the east bank of the Allegheny while the provisions were taken up in boats. Almost incessant showers came down, and they were thus subjected to many hardships. Like most pioneers, they were greatly subject to rheumatism. At the mouth of the Mahoning, the supplies were put on horses and all moved slowly up the river. They followed the Indian trail from the Mahoning, going

almost directly north. The path was narrow and very rough, so that great caution was necessary at every step of their journey.

Near the present station of Thompson, when Hardin was in advance with fifteen white scouts, seven canoes containing about thirty Indians were seen. The party was most likely headed by Guyasuta, for Cornplanter was then in the Genessee valley in New York contesting with scouting parties from Sullivan's army. The thirty Indians were probably on their way to invade our settlements. When they saw the troops, they boldly landed and at once made ready for a fight. To do this they threw aside nearly all of their clothing, for it was their custom when fighting to be encumbered with as little as possible. Their eagerness to fight was a proof that they had not seen the main army which was some distance in the rear. Both parties hid behind trees and rocks and the conflict began. But in a few minutes another party of scouts came up in the rear of the Indians and began firing. Broadhead, hearing the report of the muskets, first put a guard around his train of supplies and then pushed on to relieve the advance forces, but reached the scene of action only to see Indians making a flying retreat. They were chased away without their canoes; some of them swam the river to escape. Most of them disappeared at once in the underbrush which lined the river bank. Five Indians were lying dead on the ground and, from the blood marked paths of retreat, others must have been fatally wounded. Eight guns and canoes, nearly all of their clothes and blankets and extensive provisions, were left behind and taken by Broadhead. But three of Broadhead's men were slightly wounded. From there the army marched to Conewago, leaving some stores at that place guarded by forty men who hurriedly built a rude fortress, but the Indians had deserted the country and Broadhead's army met with no contest.

From Conewago they marched twenty miles, and near the Allegheny they discovered a number of Indian villages and large fields of corn, peas, squash, melons, etc., which the Indians were cultivating for their winter food. The settlement was about eight miles long, covering the rich alluvial bottom land on the bank of the river. The soldiers found all houses deserted, but took much property which, in their haste to depart at the approach of the enemy, the Indians had failed to carry with them. The Iroquois, long before this and perhaps before the advent of the Englishman in Western Pennsylvania, had learned to build log huts after the style of the settlers. There were about one hundred such houses and many of them were large enough for several families.

Broadhead's troops set to work at once to destroy them and to destroy also the growing corn, vegetables, etc. He wrote that five hundred acres of corn growing splendidly were destroyed and that not less than three thousand dollars worth of booty was taken from the houses before they were burned. On their way home they passed French creek and near the mouth of the Conneaut creek they found another deserted Indian town with about thirty-five large houses and these were also destroyed. From French creek the army came to Fort Pitt by the Venango path which ran almost north and south through Butler county. They reached Fort Pitt on September 14 and did not, in this campaign, lose either men or horses. Broadhead, in his report, foretold that the expedition would be a great benefit to the frontier of Pennsylvania and expressed his highest opinion of the conduct of the officers and soldiers on their march. "Their perseverance and zeal," wrote he "during the whole campaign through a country too inaccessible to be described, can scarcely be equalled in history." Congress passed a resolution of thanks to Colonel Broadhead and Washington, in his order book of October 18 said: "The undivided perseverance and firmness which marked the conduct of Colonel Broadhead and that of the officers and men of every description in this expedition, do them great honor and their services entitle them to the thanks and to this testimonial of the general acknowledgment."

A campaign of this kind, as above described, into the Indian country was at best very destructive to the natives and, as a result, they were forced to seek winter quarters farther west and south, and many of them never returned. But Broadhead's campaign was followed by one of the severest winters in the history of the United States. It set in late in 1779 and lasted until March or April, 1780. The British drove wagons across the harbor between New York and Staten Island on the ice. Around Pittsburgh the winter was equally severe. Snow fell early and accumulated until it was four feet deep in the valleys and on the mountains it was much deeper. All communication with the east was cut off and all of Westmoreland county suffered for every possible convenience. Scouting parties made up by the soldiers of Fort Pitt, were not only impossible but unnecessary, for the deep snow prevented the Indians from coming here to commit depredations. Many Delawares came to the fort early in the winter and were kept there until spring, thus further depleting their limited stores. The deep snow destroyed innumerable deer and game birds which could not get to the ground for food. The Indians suffered correspondingly and especially those whose crops and houses had been destroyed by Broadhead's troops. These suffered worse than any others. Scores

of them starved to death, and, whilst this weakened the enemy, it but increased the hatred and malice of the race for the pioneer settlers and the American army. It reduced the Senecas to such an extent that when spring came they could scarcely renew their depredations, and settlers around Fort Pitt for once were allowed to plant their spring crops in peace so far as their worst enemies in the North and East were concerned.

The western tribes, however, had plenty of corn and a much less rigorous winter. Supplied with guns and ammunition by the British, the Wyandottes and Shawnees soon fell upon the settlers. A maple syrup boiling party in Beaver county was attacked by the Wyandottes. Five men were killed and six children were carried away as captives on March 12, and still later they captured a boat that was going down the Ohio and killed three men and took as prisoners twenty-one women and children. Broadhead wrote, on April 27, that between forty and fifty people had been killed or captured in the three Virginia counties around Pittsburgh, though no harm had as yet been done north and east of Fort Pitt. He saw the importance of another expedition but could not get provisions to sustain an army more than a week in advance. The cost of transporting provisions from the East frequently far exceeded their value and, moreover, packhorse trains were often robbed, even by white men. The posts up the river were garrisoned by militia from surrounding communities, but in a very weak manner, for the settlers were compelled to subscribe money and provisions to sustain them. These raids had been going on for years with but slight loss of Indian lives. The eastern authorities did not and could not understand why the comparatively large armies in the West could neither protect the settlers nor slay the enemy. It took nearly a century to teach the American people that they could not successfully fight the Indians, and they only learned it when the race was wellnigh driven beyond the border of civilization.

In May a few small bands of Senecas came down the Allegheny river and killed five settlers near Ligonier; two on the Braddock road at Turtle creek and two at Bushy run, and also set fire to a mill and to other property. The settlers gathered for safety from all parts of Westmoreland at Fort Pitt and this reduced the supply of the already scanty rations. Fortunately, it was a very dry summer and the rivers soon became too low for the Indians to journey back and forth in their canoes. The settlers were, therefore, practically free from depredations from that source for the remainder of the summer of 1780. Broadhead had learned of an assemblage of Indians and British on the Sandusky river, which was preparing to march east and attack

Fort Pitt. He sent the trusted Lieutenant Samuel Brady, with five white troopers, all attired and painted like Indians, and two Delawares as guides on the long and dangerous scouting journey, to learn the true circumstances. They travelled through the Wyandotte country by night and concealed themselves in thickets by day. They found hundreds of Indians collected near Upper Sandusky and every indication that they were preparing for war. After observing their movements from their concealed positions for about two days, the scouts set out for Fort Pitt, but with their supply of rations so exhausted that they subsisted for a week entirely on wild berries.

As the returning scouts neared the junction of the Mahoning and Shenango rivers, they had but two charges of powder left. Brady had one of these and approached within shooting distance of a deer, but when he pulled the trigger his gun "flashed in the pan," that is, failed to go off. As he was priming it again, for everything was damp, his quick ear detected the approach of Indians. Concealing himself he saw an Indian on a horse and riding behind him was a captive woman, while the Indian held her child in his arms. Following him were six warriors on foot. Brady recognized the woman at once to be Mrs. Jennie Stoops, from the Chartiers settlement in Westmoreland, now Washington county. As the mounted Indian approached, the scout took aim and shot him through the head. He fell from his horse and dragged the woman and child with him, and the scouts, with the rescued woman and child pushed rapidly eastward. As they approached Fort McIntosh they met a band of settlers, including Mrs. Stoops' husband, who were in pursuit of the Indian band and their captives, and the woman and child were thus returned to the husband and father. After thirty-two days' travel, they reached Fort Pitt, where a false rumor of their capture had preceded them. So glad were the soldiers of their return that much powder was consumed in celebrating it. Colonel Broadhead recommended Brady's promotion and, on July 25, the Council made him a captain, dating his commission from September, 1779.

Luxurious crops of corn and rye and wheat in the summer of 1780 followed the cold weather and deep snow of the previous winter, but the dry weather so reduced the streams that mills, propelled at that time almost by water power entirely, could not be operated to grind the grain, and the people here in the Southwest could not buy flour. But few of the settlers had cattle for sale, for the Indian raids from year to year had destroyed hundreds of them. Moreover, the garri-sons had no money with which to purchase stock, though the soldiers hungered for fresh meat. Broadhead was compelled to purchase with

due bills redeemable in Continental currency which, in 1780, was almost worthless. On August 18, 1780, Broadhead wrote to the President of Congress: "The troops have been without bread for several days and begin to murmur, but I expect to get a little grain chopped in a bad horse mill near this place and if possible prevent a mutiny until a further supply can be procured. I hear the packhorse men have left the service, so not a shilling have we to purchase with." The authorities in the East abandoned the idea of supplying Fort Pitt from that base by packhorses, and attempted to supply it from the County of Westmoreland. William Amberson, of Pittsburgh, was appointed commissary, but poor success attended his efforts, for, on September 5, Broadhead wrote that the soldiers were alternately without bread and meat and that he was not possessed of two days' allowance in advance. He further wrote in the same letter that "unless something is speedily done these posts, which are of the utmost importance, must be evacuated, and the county will of course be deserted or, as some have held, join the enemy."

A few days after this, the ragged soldiers marched to the house of Broadhead and by their spokesman told him that they had had no bread for five days and were extremely reduced by hunger. The general told them as best he could what efforts he was putting forth to secure provisions and the men went quietly back to their barracks. Very soon a small amount of flour and a few cattle arrived, but not enough to last any length of time. All this time the Indians were troublesome, but the army without provisions was powerless to protect the settlers. The commander was growing desperate and procured permission from the Continental authorities to take such supplies as the army needed by force. Captain Brady, with a few men, was appointed to execute this work, but he was instructed to take only from the farmers who could spare, and not to take from those who had suffered severely from the Indians. Brady was instructed further to place a fair value on all cattle and sheep taken, and give a receipt for them, so that the true indebtedness might some day be paid by the government. But the farmers had received word of his mission in advance of his coming and had driven their cattle and sheep to secluded ravines and neighboring forests where they hid them. Brady found but little stock in the community that came within the limits of his authority. All that his party procured was consumed at Fort Pitt as rapidly as it was sent in by him. In some sections they were met by angry farmers who were armed to resist the taking of their cattle, and Brady, having been instructed not to provoke violence, could not take animals from those who showed determined resistance. Brady was a farmer him-

self and had a deep sympathy for those who had struggled along against years of frontier privations and whose purpose was to protect their small herds so that larger ones might be produced. This duty, he said, was the most unpleasant one he was ever called upon to execute. Lieutenant Uriah Springer headed another party and, after they had been out about two months with but little success, they were recalled.

Broadhead also tried to call on volunteers for an expedition against the Wyandottes, but in this he failed entirely. He had the power to draft men, but he could not do this on account of the dispute between Virginia and Pennsylvania as to the ownership of the territory, and further, he did not want to incur the wrath of the people if it could be avoided. In reply to his call for an army to go against the Wyandottes, the Delawares showed themselves as true to the Pittsburgh treaty, and came to the fort ready for the warpath. Broadhead told them frankly that his garrison was too poor to support an expedition. The warriors had brought with them their squaws and their children and encamped around Fort Pitt. Very few of the early pioneers at that time, distinguished between a good and a bad Indian, or rather, they regarded them all as bad, and the whole race as deserving instant death or extermination. Accordingly, a large body of farmers, rangers and soldiers was raised at Hannastown and marched to Fort Pitt to attack the friendly Delawares encamped there. Broadhead, hearing of it in time, placed a strong guard around the campers, and this doubtless saved our history from a disgraceful massacre of really innocent and friendly Indians. He sent them, accompanied by the best hunters and marksmen of the fort to the Big Kanawha in Virginia to hunt buffalo during the winter and bring the meat up the river as soon as spring should open up. The garrison was by this time reduced to about three hundred men and required fewer supplies of meat and flour from the East to subsist them until spring.

Colonel Broadhead was anxious to lead an army against the Wyandottes and Shawnees of Ohio, whom he thought richly deserved a chastisement, and all the time he depended on the help of the Delawares. This tribe obeyed the terms of the Pittsburgh treaty more strictly than might have been expected until 1781, considering particularly the unfortunate death of White Eyes. Kilbuck was elected in place of White Eyes and he was ever loyal to the American cause, but the tribe grew tired of being allied with the weak forces of the colonies, for, in truth, Broadhead had nothing to give the Indians, while the British had everything to offer which was attractive to the savage mind. All other tribes, as well as the British, sent agents to the Dela-

ware Indians to join the league against the colonists' cause. Young warriors homeward bound from incursions in the East, delighted to flash the rich trophies of their trip in the eyes of the Delawares, and this excited the ambitious youths of the tribe to follow in their footsteps in their attitude against the colonists. In February, 1781, while Chief Killbuck was at Pittsburgh, the Delawares accordingly voted to enter the war against the settlers of Pennsylvania and Virginia.

For this perfidy, the chief never returned to his tribe. He and his family and a few other loyal Indians removed to Salem, Ohio, and notified Broadhead of the act of the Delawares. Broadhead now concluded to march an army through the Coshocton region to punish the Delawares for their bad faith. His force at Fort Pitt had been reduced to about two hundred, but from Virginia he received one hundred and thirty-four volunteers or militia, and with these he was able, on April 10, to march an army, the fighting strength of which was about three hundred men, into the Muskingum valley. Bad weather prevented rapid marching. Killbuck and a few of his warriors from Salem and five other Delawares went to join these troops and fight against their own race. The chief town at Coshocton was reached on April 20. Fifteen warriors were met who fought bravely, but all were killed. Most of the volunteers were mounted on their own horses, and showed no mercy to the Indians, though they did not harm the old men, the women and the children. They took much "peltry" and destroyed about forty head of cattle owned by the Indians. Broadhead knew that by a further journey of fifteen miles many more Indians could be destroyed, but the militia refused to go further, saying that they were worn out by the bad weather and must return home. They were not under Broadhead's command or restraint, having volunteered for the service, and the colonel was powerless to order them. On their return, they found, in Newcomerstown, about thirty Delaware Indians, who had left their tribe and who supplied the troops with corn and meat to strengthen them on their march to the Ohio. At Wheeling they sold the furs which they had taken from the Indians without recompense for a very snug sum of money, as indicated in the Pennsylvania archives, first series, volume 9, page 161.

In "Notes on the Settlement of Indian Wars," etc., by Rev. Joseph Doddridge, the story of this campaign is told quite differently from this, and reflects severely on the high character and soldierly deportment of Colonel Broadhead. The same narrative has been followed in "Craig's History of Pittsburgh" and in "Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio." Doddridge was the original author on the subject, but

depended largely on his imagination for his statements, or perhaps repeated stories of tradition which the ignorant pioneers had given him around the old-fashioned fireplaces of Ohio, when he was a credulous youth. This version is from Broadhead's own account of the affair which was not published when Doddridge wrote his imaginative story. It is, moreover, borne out by a letter from Simon Girty to the Lieutenant-Governor of Detroit and by other contemporary records which have been published recently and which are incontrovertible.



CHAPTER XIX



THE REVOLUTION—Continued



CHAPTER XIX.

The Revolution, Continued.—The George Rogers Clark Expedition.—Opposition to Him.—Jealousies Among Army Officers.—Broadhead, Lochry, Hays, John Hardin, Gabriel Cox.—The Lochry Expedition.—Cruel Treatment of Prisoners.—Lochry's Character.—Edward Cook Succeeds Lochry.—General Irvine; His Character.—The Slaughter of the Moravians.—The Outcome.—The Crawford Expedition.—Crawford Burned at the Stake.—Lachland McIntosh.

Much has been written about General George Rogers Clark's expedition to the West. In 1778 he had practically secured the Illinois country for Virginia, a section which that colony had claimed before by virtue of her original charter, but, after July 4, 1776, a right granted by an English monarch was seriously discounted and actual possession, or possession gained by contest, gave a much stronger show of title than though it came from the English Crown. Clark's brilliant success in former expeditions had gained for him the approval of the government of Virginia. He was, therefore, given one hundred and forty soldiers, with power to complete an army in the western settlements of Virginia and Pennsylvania. He promptly sent agents to the vicinity of Pittsburgh, who purchased provisions, cattle, etc., for his expedition. This encroachment aroused Broadhead, who not only had to subsist his army on the western products, but who had a laudable ambition to capture Detroit himself. Jealous of Clark's movements, he wrote: "I have hitherto been encouraged to flatter myself that I should sooner or later be able to reduce Detroit, but it seems the United States cannot furnish either troops or resources for the purpose, but the State of Virginia can." He was about to stop the collection of supplies when Washington wrote him to aid Clark all he could and give him "Craig's Field Artillery," and at least one company of infantry.

Clark reached Western Pennsylvania in the month of March and established headquarters at Colonel Crawford's place on the Youghiogheny river, near Connellsville, and also with Dorsey Pentecost, on Chartiers creek. But the pioneers were divided as to their duty. Those who opposed the Penns and upheld Virginia in her claims of territory in this section favored Clark's expedition, while the others, as a general rule, opposed it. There were many who took this as a pretext for doing nothing for either party, claiming, not without reason, that they had enough to do to plant their crops and defend their

homes from the savages, whilst others of Penns' adherents supported Clark loyally, hoping that he could exterminate the obnoxious nest of Indians and British in the northwest. Clark meant to raise an army of two thousand troops and go down the Ohio in boats, and then march overland to Detroit, but he found that the western people were still being raided by Indians from the Scioto, the Muskingum, and the Sandusky rivers, and that an expedition to chastise these Indians was much more popular in Pennsylvania than one against Detroit. He accordingly, with great wisdom, changed his plans, or, at all events, announced the change, saying he would march against the Ohio savages first, though his ultimate purpose of reducing Detroit remained unchanged.

Broadhead was not only jealous of his expedition, but was suspicious that he cared nothing for the depredations which the western Indians were committing, so that he could capture Detroit. Clark had written: "If our resources should not be such as to enable me to remain in the Indian country during the fair season, I am in hopes they will be sufficient to visit the Shawnee, Delaware and Sandusky towns. Defeating the enemy and laying those countries to waste would give great ease to the frontier of both states." These were, indeed, the words of an honest soldier and are entitled to credence. President Reed, of Pennsylvania, approved of the campaign and, notwithstanding the contest between Virginia and Pennsylvania, advised that friends of Pennsylvania join Clark's expedition, saying that they would thereby not only give no offense to his government, but, on the contrary, that their actions would be considered highly meritorious.

Christopher Hays was at that time a member of the Council of Pennsylvania from Westmoreland county and brought a letter to the above effect, from President Reed to our people. Hays was himself opposed to Clark and did not deliver the letter dated May 15 until July 23, when it was too late to do any good. Hays, however, called a meeting of the officers of the militia of Westmoreland county to arrange for a more perfect frontier defense. They met on the Big Sewickley at Captain John McClelland's house and, undoubtedly contrary to Hays' expectations, decided by a majority vote, to aid General Clark with all the power that in them lay. The meeting resolved to furnish three hundred men for the expedition and appointed Colonel Archibald Lochrey to enlist them either by volunteer or by draft. A great opposition went up from this western section at once concerning the draft measure, for it was the first instance in Western Pennsylvania that such drastic measures were proposed.

Lochry and Clark, as the meeting of officers had directed, consulted as to the manner then in vogue of drafting men in Virginia. Such meeting was called to convene at Crawford's on July 16. All who would were to enlist, and after that the remainder of the soldiers needed were to be secured by draft. July 16 was chosen because nearly every citizen was a farmer and, by that time, it was thought they might have their harvests well out of the way before they would be called on to shoulder their muskets in the western expedition. In the meantime, Washington county had been erected and the new county at once set up an additional rival power to Virginia. Its leading men were probably too much uplifted by their offices to be controlled by an authority that had no relation whatever with Virginia. The meeting called for July 16 was poorly attended, and proceedings were instituted at once to raise men by draft. They had really no legal authority in Pennsylvania for drafting, and the majority vote at the militia-meeting ordering it was not able to pass such a measure and make it legal. The Virginians hated the Pennsylvanians and the enforcement of the draft gave them the longed for opportunity to vent their wrath by many needless examples of personal insult and out-lawry. The drafting party from Virginia were little less lawless than Connolly's soldiers had been. They seized and beat men, frightened women, broke into houses, impressed provisions and caused almost a reign of terror in the land.

A very pronounced man against these high-handed proceedings was Captain John Hardin, who resided at Redstone. The reader will recall his loyal son John, of the Eighth Regiment, who afterward became one of the most noted men of Kentucky. With forty or fifty mounted men, Clark visited his place in person and at last threatened to hang him. Hardin had wisely secreted himself, but they secured one of his sons and held him prisoner for several days. The troops broke open Hardin's mill and house, and killed such of his live stock as they could use, and, with their horses, lived at his expense for three days. Clark gave out that Hardin's estate had justly been forfeited by treason and he cautiously gave the estate to Mrs. Hardin. An honest settler in Clark's campaign denounced the draft as an illegal proceeding. The settler was put in jail at once and with the threat on Clark's part that he should be hanged in a short time, but this threat was not executed. It is likely that these foolish and unlawful acts on the part of Clark, whom all acknowledge as a brave soldier, were in some degree excusable because of this unlooked for opposition, and furthermore because he was drowning his troubles by the intemperate use of old rye, with which the community abounded.

Gabriel Cox headed a body of ruffians who tried to arrest John W. Douglass in the new county. Breaking open his house at midnight, they threatened his wife and children and even threatened the defenseless woman with the sword, but she did not tell where her husband was concealed. Colonel Marshall wrote to Philadelphia: "Cox and his party have taken and confined a considerable number of the inhabitants of this county; in a word, instances of high treason against the state are too many to be enumerated." Thomas Scott wrote that Clark's conduct had been highly oppressive and abusive and that the particulars were both ruinous and horrid. Christopher Hays and Scott both signed a letter saying: "The general's expedition has been wished well and volunteers to that service have been encouraged, but we have heartily reprobated the general standing of these two counties with an armed force in order to dragoon the inhabitants to obedience to a draft under the laws of Virginia." These unwise proceedings on the part of Clark caused the failure of his expedition. It is probable, though, that had he been sustained he could have overpowered the savages and captured Detroit and thus saved the West from years and years of bitter suffering. Clark's army was concentrated at the mouth of Chartiers Creek, where McKees Rocks now stands, and from there marched to Wheeling, where boats were built, for the upper part of the Ohio river was too shallow to navigate. He left Wheeling on August 8 with about four hundred men and Craig's battery of three field pieces. Disappointed in the size of the army and with little hope of success, he was too much of a soldier to abandon the project, and so wrote to Thomas Jefferson, at that time Governor of Virginia, as he was leaving.

In the meantime, Colonel Archibald Lochry had gone on peaceably in raising the company he was instructed to enlist to join Clark's expedition, but met with great objection. Jealousy was not confined to Broadhead. There was a general quarrel among the officers of the western posts, and it is abundantly proved by complaining letters of Perry, Cook, Lochry, Marshall, Duncan and Hays. Broadhead and Duncan were accused of speculating with public money in buying farm and mill sites, while Lochry and Perry were accused of speculating in ammunition and whiskey, the latter article being then regarded as one of the necessities of frontier life and extensively supplied to soldiers. Great quantities of it were purchased by the commissary. All of these charges were probably unfounded. President Reed had also upbraided Lochry when writing to him in March, 1781, saying: "It is with much concern that we hear that when troops are raised for your protection they are permitted to loiter away their time at

saloons or straggling about the country." All this perhaps urged Lochry, who was a man of high character and firm convictions, to demonstrate that he was deeply interested in the welfare of the country.

A small company of thirty-eight men under Captain Stokely had been raised for service in the general army, though their assistance was needed here at all times, for the frontier settlements for miles east of the Ohio were being almost daily overrun by Indians. Thirteen settlers were killed in the Hannastown region in April, two of whom were killed within a mile of the fort. Lochry, therefore, found it all the more difficult to enlist for a far off expedition. Captain Robert Orr had raised a company near Hannastown of about twenty men, and Captain William Campbell had a small company of men who were mounted. After waiting to finish their harvests, these honest yeoman, less than a hundred men in all, were brought together and started on their march on August 3. They were poorly clad for a campaign, one report saying that Stokely's company was in a manner almost naked. As they journeyed westward, others of their neighbors caught up with them, eager to join the expedition, so that Lochry's full force numbered one hundred and seven men. Ensign William Cooper had been sent out by the president of the Council with clothes and equipment for at least as many as belonged to Stokely's company, but he arrived too late and, though he hastened on to overtake them, it is doubtful whether they ever reached the troops. When Lochry's forces reached Wheeling, they found that Clark had gone on the same day, having left provisions and boats in insufficient number, with instructions that Lochry should follow them and join the army twelve miles below. But they were detained four days in Wheeling in preparing boats, and, when they reached the place designated, they found Clark had left the day before, leaving a few men under Major Craycroft, but no provisions nor ammunition, both of which they stood greatly in need of. Clark promised to await them at the mouth of Little Kanawha River, but when Lochry reached there he found only a letter attached to a board directing them to follow.

Their provisions were about exhausted, and forage through the new country was out of the question. Without a knowledge of the currents of the river, he could, moreover, scarcely hope to overtake Clark. Lochry accordingly sent Captain Shannon in a boat with seven men, hoping that they could overtake him and return with some supplies for his company. Shannon carried letters to Clark, but had not gone far until he and his men were taken prisoners by the Indians. Two days later Lochry sent out two men to hunt game, but they were

never heard of again. Clark had artillery with him and the Indians feared to attack his forces. They had also failed to attack Lochry, for these two forces were so close together that they supposed that they were working in conjunction. But the letters which Shannon carried for Clark gave the true knowledge of the situation and of Lochry's weakness, and when he was captured they fell into the hands of the enemy. About this time, about nineteen of Clark's men deserted and, in passing Lochry's company, learned of his weakness, after which they went over to the enemy. The Indians, therefore, with all this information, sent out in all directions and collected a large number of warriors a short distance above the mouth of the Miami, which flows into the Ohio, where they watched and waited for Lochry's arrival.

Close to the mouth of the Miami is an island which, to this day, is called Lochry's Island. Upon this island they posted the prisoners captured with Shannon, and promised to spare their lives only on condition that they would hail Lochry and his troops as they came down the river and induce them to land. Should they fail in this way, they were to be tomahawked at once. But Lochry and his troops, wearied with continued disappointments and misfortunes, landed on the Ohio shore, about three miles above this island. The place of landing invited the tired and hungry troops by its natural beauties. It was at the mouth of a small creek, since known as Lochry's creek, about ten miles below the mouth of the Miami river. The creek is the dividing line between Ohio and Dearborn counties, in the southeastern corner of Indiana. They landed about ten o'clock in the morning of August 24, 1781. They also landed their horses, that they might graze and thus obtain sufficient strength to sustain them until they could reach Louisville, yet one hundred and twenty miles below.

On the way down the river, Lochry's expedition had been closely watched by the Indians. A member of his company soon shot a buffalo. A fire was kindled and all the soldiers, save a few who were guarding the horses, were preparing a much needed meal. The Indians had runners out, and the landing was scarcely effected till word was passed along among the savages who lined the banks of the river. Near the landing place was a overhanging bluff, covered with large trees. On this bluff the savages collected and into the midst of the soldiers sent a volley of rifle and musket balls. The men flew at once to their arms, but the ammunition was exhausted after their first or second fire. Many of them attempted to escape by boats, but the enemy soon closed in on them and made prisoners of all who had not been taken. At the same time, canoes filled with Indians put

off from the Kentucky shore opposite, where they as well had been watching the movements. Lochry was not killed in battle, but while sitting on a log, a stealthy Shawnee came up behind him and sunk a tomahawk into his brain. He thus died bravely, while defending his country in a gloomy wilderness of a far-off territory, and did not receive even a decent burial.

The Indians then prepared to slaughter their prisoners, but a chief whom they obeyed came up at that time and stopped it. This was the noted chief, Joseph Brant, war chief of the Mohawks, who lived to contest a still more bloody field on the headwaters of the Wabash with the gallant General St. Clair in 1791. Forty-two of the soldiers were killed and sixty-four were taken prisoners. The attacking party was much larger than Lochry's and the prisoners and booty were divided according to the number of warriors engaged. The next morning the Indians set out for their homes with their prisoners, whom they kept until the close of the Revolution, late in 1782. They were ransomed by the British officers who had command of the British post, and were exchanged for prisoners whom the American army then held. The loss of Lochry's expedition was the heaviest sustained by the County of Westmoreland in any single action. None of them returned home until the spring of 1783, when they came by way of Quebec, New York and Philadelphia. Very few who were captured lived to return. After the men left Pittsburgh, nothing was heard of them for about twenty-two months. All this time their friends lived in hope, but at length hope sank in despair. Captain Orr wrote an account of the campaign which was published in the "Annals of the West," and as it is entirely corroborated by official documents it is entitled to the highest degree of credence. Orr had his arm broken in the engagement by a ball and was sent to Detroit to a hospital. From there he returned home and was afterward sheriff of Westmoreland county.

Samuel Craig, a lieutenant in Orr's company, was taken by the Indians on their march northward. As they were crossing a river they threw Craig overboard, intending to drown him, but he was a splendid swimmer and repeatedly made his way to the canoe and, with his hands on the side, tried to climb in. They beat him over the hands with the oars and placed his head under the water as often as he came to the surface for breath. Finally, when he was about exhausted, an Indian claimed him for his own and took him into the boat. In his long captivity, Craig suffered perhaps more than any other. Several times both he and his captors came near starving. He had a cheerful

disposition, was a good singer, and the Indians loved his songs. At one time they grew tired of their prisoners and took them all out and placed them on a log. They then blackened their faces, which meant they were to be killed, but just then Craig began to sing as loud and well as he could. This so pleased the Indians that they spared his life, while all others were put to death. Soon after this he was sold to a British officer for a gallon of whiskey. After his return, he was married to a daughter of John Shields and lived on the Loyalhanna, near New Alexandria, where his descendants reside to this day.

Clark's expedition went down the river as far as Fort Nelson, opposite Louisville, but by desertion and sickness his force, but small even at the beginning, was entirely unable to go against the Indians, and much less against the British at Detroit. There he remained for several weeks, while his forces gradually wasted away, the troops returning by small parties to their homes in Pennsylvania and Virginia. The company sent out by Broadhead from Fort Pitt, under Captain Isaac Craig had not gone with Lochry, and when they returned to Fort Pitt they could scarcely be made to believe that Lochry's troops had gone down the river at all, showing that Clark did not know that he was really to be supported by Lochry's men. These fine marksmen and rangers would have added greatly to Clark's expedition, but perhaps could not have changed results, though had they been with Clark the Lochry disaster would have been averted.

Archibald Lochry was one of the strongest men in Westmoreland county in the Revolutionary days. He was of North Irish extraction, but was born in Octoraro settlement, where he was an ensign in the Second Battalion in the provincial service. Both he and his brother William were appointed justices in Bedford county at its organization, and later, when Westmoreland county was organized, he was made a justice here, as the reader has seen. He took up a large tract of land in what is now Unity township, on the southside of the turnpike between Greensburg and Youngstown, near St. Xavier's convent. The land has since added great wealth to the county, for it is within the celebrated Connellsville coal belt. His correspondence is generally dated from that place, namely, "Twelve Mile Run," the name of a small stream on his land which flows into the Fourteen Mile Run and also crossed by the Forbes road about twelve miles from Ligonier.

His services as county lieutenant, then a position of great importance, although now unknown, made him very near, if not quite, the foremost man in Westmoreland county in the Revolutionary period. His name has been spelled differently from the spelling here. We

take this from his will which he signed "A. Lochry," and which is recorded in Will Book 1, page 31, of Westmoreland county. His ill-fated expedition, while it seemingly accomplished but little, was but one of the many sacrifices made to work out our final peace and harmony on the western border. As long as Western Pennsylvania people revere the struggles and courage of their pioneer ancestors, will the name of Archibald Lochry be held in high esteem. It is altogether probable that Lochry and Hays were jealous of each other. Hays was a member of the Council and wielded a great influence in Western Pennsylvania. Lochry, as county lieutenant, had been somewhat tardy, perhaps through press of other duties, in rendering up an account of his large expenditures. He was also loose with his military discipline, though no one doubted his honesty and patriotism.

Through the influence of Hays and Scott, Edward Cook was nominated as county lieutenant to succeed Lochry. On August 16, while the latter was going down the Ohio on his sad expedition, and before the cowardly blow of the Indian ended his life, Cook was elected in his stead. Cook's high character and standing among the pioneer element has been heretofore considered. He had been a lieutenant with Lochry for more than four years and was probably the ablest man for the position who was at that time accessible. Broadhead himself had had several quarrels with the men at Fort Pitt, not only with the militia officers, but with the members of his own staff. Finally, Alexander Fowler was appointed to audit the militia accounts of the West. Fowler was a Pittsburgh merchant, and had publicly accused Broadhead of speculating with money which belonged to the army. General John Gibson was the next in command, and was more popular with the soldiers and officers of Southwestern Pennsylvania than Broadhead. They accordingly asked the latter to resign, and a court-martial was ordered. Broadhead, knowing perhaps that he was innocent of all charges, refused to resign until Washington ordered him, on September 6, to turn the command of Fort Pitt over to Gibson. On September 17 he obeyed and went to Philadelphia, where he was acquitted of all charges against him. Gibson had but a temporary command, for General William Irvine was appointed on September 24, 1781.

Irvine was born in Ireland of Scotch-Irish parentage and was graduated from the University of Dublin and educated as a physician. Before coming to America he had spent several years as a surgeon in the English army. Here he practiced medicine in Carlisle and was successful, not only in his profession, but in business as well. When the agitation of 1774 came, he was one of the leaders of his commu-

nity and a member of the provincial convention. Assisting in the organization of the minute-men, he became a leader of the patriotic cause and, in June, 1776, was appointed colonel of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment. This regiment marched through New York and took part with General St. Clair, Benedict Arnold and others who invaded Canada. At the battle of Three Rivers, June, 1776, Irvine was captured. In seven weeks he was released on a parole which compelled him to remain out of service until May, 1778. After that he was a colonel in the Second Pennsylvania and commanded a brigade under General Wayne in New Jersey. He came to Pittsburgh when forty years old and proved himself the most capable and accomplished officer of Fort Pitt during the Revolution. He was not, however, so successful as Broadhead had been and, moreover, did not arrive until November 1, 1781, when the Revolutionary War was practically over, for Cornwallis had surrendered to Washington on October 19 previous. Irvine's first duty at Fort Pitt was to more thoroughly systematize the military service and try to conciliate the hostilities which existed between the settlers and the militia.

The slaughter of the Moravian Indians can fortunately, by no possible story of history, be attributed to the forces of Fort Pitt or to the people of Westmoreland county, but its evil results and general effects on the frontier are such as to prompt us to review it briefly. It is one of the most disgusting and brutal episodes of Southwestern Pennsylvania, and it teaches the reader that the butchering was not all done by the savages. Rev. John Heckewelder was the leading missionary among the Sandusky Indians, many of whom had professed Christianity and were, in the main, living good lives. They took neither side between the English and the colonies, though their preachers, Heckewelder and Zeisberger, were favorable to our cause. The Moravians numbered about one hundred families, living in three villages on the Tuscarora river. These villages were named Schoenbern, Salem and Gnadenhuetten. The villages were composed of reasonably well built log cabins and around them were good gardens and comparatively large fields of corn. These Indians had also horses, cattle and some rude implements of agriculture. The Moravians occasionally, perhaps of necessity, entertained war parties of hostile Indians and, doubtless quite as often, showed equal courtesy to the invading armies of the colonies.

The Indian incursions of 1782 in Western Pennsylvania began early because of the early return of spring. On February 8, a young man named John Fink was killed near Buchanan's Fort, on the Monongahela river. Two days later a body of Indians visited Robert

Wallace's place, killed his live stock, destroyed his furniture, stole household goods and carried away his wife and three children, the father being away from home at that time.

Shortly afterward a band of Indians captured John Carpenter, but he was rescued by his neighbors. Two of his captors were Wyandottes and the others told him that they were Moravians. Some time before this, the Moravian Indians had been removed by the British authorities under De Peyster to the Sandusky river, for the reason that they were supposed to be friendly to the colonists and their presence between the British posts and Fort Pitt was a menace to the English officers. Moving them with considerable hardships, they had been impoverished by the loss of household goods and had been compelled to leave their crops ungathered.

With the early spring time of 1782, many of them came back to their uninhabited log huts to gather up their possessions and to secure at least a part of the corn they had been forced to leave unharvested. In the fall previous, 1781, the frontiersmen had decided to raid the Moravian Indians and, under Colonel David Williamson, from seventy-five to a hundred men went there to compel them to go further West. But this being after they had been removed by the British, Williamson and his officers found the villages almost deserted. The few who were gathering up corn were brought to Fort Pitt, where General Irvine treated them kindly, and later sent them to their people on the Sandusky. But when the outrages of February, 1782, broke out, about one hundred fifty or sixty young men volunteered and were again led west by Colonel Williamson. Over swollen streams they pushed their way toward the deserted Indian village of Gnadenhuetten. Not far from this place was found the naked and mutilated body of Mrs. Wallace impaled on the sharpened trunk of a small tree and nearby was the dead body of her innocent child. Robert Wallace, the husband and father was with the party when they came upon this horrible spectacle. After burying the bodies of the unfortunate victims, the pioneers, with feelings of hatred for the Indians, which may be imagined, pushed onward, following the trail of the marauders. As they neared the town of Gnadenhuetten, scouts brought back word that it was full of Indians. The reader will understand what the impetuous members of this expedition perhaps could not, that the Indians in the town which many of the same volunteers had found deserted in November previous, were really Moravian Indians, who were there but temporarily to harvest their corn, for they had passed the severe winter in their new homes.

Some of them had been there for some time, but they had come in small bands, perhaps impelled to do so because of excessive hunger, but they were not all Moravians, for there were perhaps eight or nine Wyandotte warriors among them. It was also the Wyandottes mainly who had raided Western Pennsylvania early in February, but they were undoubtedly accompanied by some few of the Moravian Indians, whose savage instincts still remained and who were not true to the Moravian faith. Williamson, be it said, approached the town as though he believed it was filled with savages, by dividing his forces into three squads, but the Indians showed no resistance whatever. This alone should have opened the eyes of the company to the true situation. The colonel then told them they must go to Fort Pitt, and this seemed to please them. At his suggestion they sent messages to the other towns telling them to come to Gnadenhuetten. One of the squad, under Williamson's command, had killed two Indians in a corn-field before they reached the town. Other Indians discovered later were not killed, but brought in alive. When the Salem Moravian Indians arrived they were about ninety-six in all. They were all disarmed and confined in a log church, in which they had doubtless often attended religious services held by their pious ministers, Heckewelder and Zeisberger.

While the pioneers were examining the huts, they found many household goods apparently stolen from settlers and some of them were readily identified by Wallace as the property stolen from him but a few weeks previous. Moreover, one Indian woman was wearing a dress which belonged to Mrs. Wallace and was clearly identified by her heartbroken husband. This seemed proof positive to the volunteers, and they were determined that the Indians should at once be put to death. Some of the captains under Williamson favored the same manner of death to the Indians that was perpetrated on Mrs. Wallace and her child. All were brought before them and all denied their guilt. Unfortunately for the innocent, it was developed that some of them, a very few, had recently been on the warpath. These had their hair trimmed and had yet traces of paint on their faces, all of which indicated their guilt. This testimony was probably sufficient evidence to prove the guilt of the Wyandottes, but, in the judgment of the impetuous young men who had but recently seen the mutilated body of Mrs. Wallace and that of her child, and who did not believe in the Christianity of the savage race, it was sufficient to condemn the whole party to instant death.

Colonel Williamson was not resolute and scarcely tried to resist

the general clamor for vengeance. He unfortunately put the question to his soldiers, as to whether the prisoners should be put to death or taken to Fort Pitt. It is well authenticated that only eighteen of the volunteers voted for leniency. It was, therefore, decided to kill the Indians the next morning. Accordingly, on March 8, they were brought, two by two, to a cooper shop and were beaten to death with mallets and hatchets. Some of them died praying, as they had been taught to do by the missionaries. Others went to the block chanting savage war songs. Two of them broke away, but were shot down. After all the men were killed, the women and children were taken to another building and killed in a like manner. One noble white man, after killing fourteen Indians, handed the mallet to a friend, saying that his arm was tired. About forty of the volunteers took part in the murder and they thus killed forty Indian men, twenty women and thirty-four children. All save two boys were put to death. One of these had hidden in a cellar and escaped, while the other survived the stroke of the mallet and the removal of his scalp, and both escaped to tell the story. "By the mouths of two witnesses shall these things be established." It is not likely that those who stood by regarded this horrifying spectacle as a serious crime. It was to them the meting out of justice to fiends incarnate, who had spent their lives in savage warfare, and in murdering innocent men and women. It was, as a general rule, considered no worse to kill an Indian than to kill a dangerous wild beast or a rattlesnake, and the children of savages were regarded as the offspring of beasts whose thirst for blood would develop with their years. All buildings of the towns, including the houses which held the bodies of the murdered Indians, were burned to ashes. All the Indians' property, including eighty horses, was taken by the volunteers and brought to Pennsylvania.

It was but a short time, March 24, until a similar raid was made on Killbuck Island at the mouth of the Allegheny river, for after Broadhead had destroyed Coshocton, Killbuck and his friends, who were friendly to our cause, had settled on this island. Indians from Killbuck's people frequently accompanied scouting parties to the fort and were of great service to them. Killbuck was moreover a colonel in the United States service. These friendly Indians were guarded by troops from Fort Pitt, but the guards were surprised and several of the tribe, including Nanowland, a friendly scout who had so often accompanied Captain Brady, were killed. Killbuck and some of his friends saved their lives only by escaping to Fort Pitt, where Gibson was in temporary command. The volunteers were greatly enraged at

Gibson because he had befriended the Indians. The people did not believe in the existence of a friendly Indian. The raiders were collected from in and about Hannastown and included many of the most daring rangers of the community. They, of course, did not have any faith in the professed friendship of those they swore to kill. Inquiry was made by General Irvine, but it was found that the people decidedly sustained Williamson's party in the slaughter of the Moravians and that a united populace would resist any measure of punishment instituted against them. An entertaining story entitled "Three Villages," by William Dean Howells, perhaps the foremost novelist of his generation, is founded on this massacre, though it is not entirely faithful to the true history of the affair.

This terrible slaughter fell as a just vengeance on but a few who were really guilty. Its greatest effect was to arouse all the savage tribes without exception to fiercer hostilities than ever against the colonists, and this fell not only upon the guilty alone in Western Pennsylvania, but on the defenseless pioneer wherever he was found. The crimes which followed were too many to enumerate. They brought about another expedition under Colonel William Crawford, who in former days had sat on the Westmoreland bench. General Irvine had been asked to command it, but he knew too well the difficulty of commanding volunteers. They were scarcely subject to military restraint and he, therefore, determined not to leave the army. He did, however, aid the expedition in every way he could, but was unable to spare any troops, except one surgeon, Dr. John Knight, and Lieutenant John Rose, a Russian nobleman who served in the American army with singular ability and skill. The forces under Colonel Crawford were nearly all Scotch-Irish farmers from what is now Washington county, who were mounted on their own horses. Colonel David Williamson was a candidate for the position of commander, but, by the influence of General Irvine, was defeated by Colonel Crawford by five votes. The mounted troops met on the west bank of the Ohio river, about three miles below Steubenville, and started northwest on May 25. It was Crawford's hope that by rapid horseback marching, he could surprise the Indians. On the contrary, he was watched nearly all the way by stealthy spies of the enemy who, being able to run more rapidly than Crawford's army could march, almost daily reported his progress to the forces at Sandusky and Detroit. It took Crawford's mounted men ten days to make the journey, and the Indians could not have asked more time to prepare for his coming.

He reached their headquarters on June 3, but found it deserted.

The commander then learned that the Indians had had notice of his approach and advised a retirement, but the council of officers and the troops opposed it and another day's march was determined on. Late in the afternoon, they were fired on by a body of Indians and British. After a spirited fight, night closed down on them and temporarily ended the contest. The following day the battle was resumed with the opponents far apart, so that the fighting was done at long range. In the afternoon, a Shawnee band of one hundred and forty Indians reinforced the allied enemy, and Crawford thought the enemy now far outnumbered his troops, but in reality they were then about equally matched in numbers. The Pennsylvanians, therefore, concluded to steal a hasty retreat in the night. The Scotch volunteers unfortunately became panic-stricken by the darkness, and fled in great confusion. Some had lost their horses in the battle and, in their flight through the wilderness, were easily run down and killed by the enemy. Among the troops were Crawford's son John and nephew, William Crawford, and his son-in-law, William Harrison. Failing to find them among the troops, the colonel awaited their approach and finally came up with Dr. Knight and nine others who had lost their way in the darkness. The day following, the troops retreated more orderly and even repulsed an attacking band of savages. Colonel Williamson had taken charge of the retreat and, on June 12, reached the Ohio with about three hundred men. Others came straggling in afterward until nearly all had returned, the missing soldiers in the end being perhaps less than fifty.

Among those who were captured were Crawford's son-in-law and nephew. His son John returned to his home. All privates who were captured by the Indians were put to death at once, while the officers were saved for special torture. Crawford's cruel punishment and death has been written of a great deal and perhaps of all outrages committed by the Indians is the one which will dwell longest in the memory of a civilized people. He was tied to a tree, and, amid fiendish yells of joy, the Indians, thinking they were avenging the death of the Moravians, who had perished but recently, tortured him in every manner they could think of. They put burning wood near him, so as to increase his torture and made him walk on the hot coals. They stood off with guns and shot powder into his naked flesh until he was literally covered with black spots. They heaped red hot coals upon his head and rubbed his flesh with burning sticks of wood. The squaws, as remembered by Dr. Knight, cut his ears off and scalped him and placed burning coals on his bleeding head. While enduring

this agony he saw Simon Girty, whom he knew well, among his tormentors and shouted to him, saying, "Shoot me, Simon, to end my misery," but Girty tauntingly replied, "I can't do it, for I have no gun," though he stood beside an Indian who held his rifle in his hand. For three hours he endured this agony when, at last, the brave but exhausted colonel sank into a most welcome death. Dr. Knight stood by and was made to witness most of this horrifying scene, and was told that he was being saved for a similar exhibition in another locality on the night following. This was the purpose of the Indians, but when they were taking Dr. Knight to the next Indian town he fortunately made his escape and, though entirely naked, after traveling twenty-two days with such food as he could procure in the wilderness, he reached Fort McIntosh and thence returned to his home. Had Colonel Crawford but continued his retreat instead of halting to look for his son and son-in-law, he would doubtless have reached home safely, as did most of his command. There were only about fifty missing in the end, among them Harrison, the son-in-law. While the Colonel waited, he and those with him were captured, most of them being put to death at once. There were two of this expedition who were captured and who escaped and reached their homes, notably one John Slover, who, with Dr. Knight, shortly afterward wrote out extended reports of the expedition, their capture and escape, and those who are interested in them will find them in the American Archives, second series, volume 14, page 708.

Lachland McIntosh was born of Scotch-Irish parentage at Inverness in 1725. His parents came to America with General James Oglethorpe and founded a home with his colony in Georgia. At the age of seventeen he entered the mercantile business in Charlestown, South Carolina, which he relinquished to learn surveying, and to serve later in the militia of Pittsburgh. Though many of his people became Tories, he was from the first an enthusiastic American and was made a colonel in the beginning of the Revolutionary War, and, in 1776, was promoted to brigadier-general. Quarreling with Button Guinnett, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, he was challenged to fight a duel which resulted in the death of Guinnett. McIntosh was tried for murder and acquitted. Opposition in Georgia raised over this unfortunate affair, impelled him to leave the South. In 1778 he was attached to Washington's army at Valley Forge, and, from there, came to Westmoreland county.

CHAPTER XX

THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTION

CHAPTER XX.

The Close of the Revolution.—Campaign of General Benjamin Lincoln.—Sir Guy Carleton Adopts Humane Methods.—Ephraim Douglas Selected for Dangerous Mission; His Strong Character.—Western Pennsylvania Exhausted by Revolution.—Scalping; The Method, Result, Etc.—Rewards Offered for Scalps.—The Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment Removed.—Militia Called Out.—James Smith Marches Up the Allegheny.—The Rangers Called Out.—Wilson.—The Butler Family.—Raising the Flag at Yorktown.—A Duel Averted.—General Irvine's Order at Close of the War.

Still another campaign against the Indians was arranged for by General Benjamin Lincoln, who had charge of the War Department of the United States, in 1782. This expedition was to be led by General Irvine from Fort Pitt and was to be composed of twelve hundred soldiers. They were to be collected from Western Pennsylvania and Virginia and to be reinforced by a detachment from Colonel Moses Hazen's regiments, which were then stationed at Carlisle and Lancaster. Delays in the arrival of Hazen's troops caused a postponement of the expedition from August to October 8, and still another until late in October.

On October 23, however, word came to Pittsburgh of the appointment of Sir Guy Carleton as commander of the British forces in America. He was a man of both brain and conscience, and was naturally horrified at the burning of Colonel Crawford and other prisoners, as well as at the union made between the savages and his own people in waging war in America. He gave orders at once to all of the British of the border to prevent, rather than instigate, any further deeds of violence on the part of the savages. His orders forbade the British posts of Detroit and Niagara from sending out parties of Indians against the frontier settlements. Thenceforth, these posts were to act only on the defensive. The word was sent promptly to Fort Pitt on the 27th of September, and it recalled the proposed campaign of General Irvine. General Hazen received the word at once and abandoned his westward march, but the important message to Irvine was sent by a traveler who was journeying westward on private business, who lingered on the way and did not deliver the letter to Irvine. In the meantime, Irvine sent Captain Samuel Brady east to meet Hazen and his forces and hasten them to Fort Pitt. Brady was shrewd enough

on his way east to find the bearer of the letter at a wayside inn, and thus the word of Carleton's appointment and the end of the troubles from the allied forces of the British and Indians reached Fort Pitt on October 23. This incident throws some light on the usual manner of conducting, even the most important business, in the Revolutionary days.

While Indian depredations did not end with the accession of Sir Guy Carleton, a stop was put to the inhuman warfare carried on by the British with the Indian allies. How much more glorious would the English nation be, had they always employed agents of high character and humane principles like Sir Guy Carleton. Even after the Revolution closed, the Indians had been so long and so thoroughly allied with the English that they could not realize that peace had been declared between the two countries, or that orders to stop their depredations against the pioneers had been issued by the British commander. The Pennsylvania Council accordingly asked Congress to take some action in the matter. When, in April, forty people were wantonly put to death or taken in captivity by the Indians, for they doubtless thought they were carrying out the wishes of their English allies, the request was repeated, and Congress acted at once. The scheme adopted was to send a messenger among the Indians to inform them that the English had been compelled to make peace with the United States, and that the British armies were to evacuate Detroit and Niagara, and that above all things the United States desired to live in peace and harmony with the inhabitants of the forest.

To perform this most dangerous mission, Major-General Benjamin Lincoln, then Secretary of War, selected Major Ephraim Douglas, of Westmoreland county. He, too, was of Scotch-Irish parentage, though born in Carlisle, in 1750, and was the son of Adam Douglas. When thirteen years of age he had watched an army of emaciated soldiers under a strong commander move slowly westward from his home to relieve Fort Pitt, and doubtless shortly afterward was thrilled with the startling news of Bouquet's great victory at Bushy Run. Shortly after that he came to Pittsburgh to work as a carpenter, and still later engaged in the Indian fur trade with such men as Devereaux Smith and Richard Butler as partners. In 1776 we have seen that he was appointed quartermaster of the historic Eighth Regiment. Captured with General Lincoln's forces at Bound Brook, New Jersey, on April 13, 1777, he was kept a prisoner for two years in New York. When at length he was exchanged, he was made assistant commissary of the army of Southwestern Pennsylvania. Douglas was a man

of great strength, great energy, great kindness and of great courage. These rare qualities, added to his knowledge of the Indian country and his high character, commended him to the Secretary of War for this important mission. He was accompanied on his journey by Captain George McCully, whom he knew well and who had also served in the Revolution. They took with them a guide who knew the western settlements better than they. All were provided with good horses and with a white flag, known throughout all nations as the emblem of peace.

They left Fort Pitt on June 7, 1783, and reached Sandusky on June 16. They first visited the principal towns of the Delawares, where they were kindly received by Captain Pipe. They remained two weeks in conference with the captain and his associates, but no treaty could be effected with the tribe until they had first treated with the Wyandottes and Shawanees, for the latter tribe, it will be remembered, had dominion over the Delawares, having formerly taken up the hatchet and forced them into an open and unwilling war. Captain Pipe sent an agent, however, to the Shawanee towns, calling the chiefs to a consultation with the Delawares at Sandusky. The chiefs of the Wyandottes were away from home, and it was soon learned that many of the Shawanees had been called to Detroit to meet the British commander. Captain Pipe entered into Douglas' plans most heartily and advised him to go to Detroit to meet the chiefs in the presence of the English, and he assured him that without the authority of the Wyandottes in the council which was to meet soon on the opposite side of the river from Detroit, no extended peace was possible. Douglas took his advice and, with Pipe and two other chiefs, set out for Detroit. In the meantime, Douglas had greatly influenced the Indians with whom he came in contact and had induced in them a most universal desire for more friendly relations with the American people. Hearing of their approach, the commander, De Peyster sent Matthew Elliott and three others to meet them and to conduct them to the fort.

Elliott had been a Pittsburgh Tory and knew Douglas before the former had stolen away from Pittsburgh in 1778. All were invited to attend the Indian council at Detroit. De Peyster treated them with extreme courtesy, but would not allow Douglas to hold a council with the chiefs alone, maintaining that he had no authority from his government to do so. He objected also to Douglas' letter from the Secretary of War, which stated that the King had been "compelled" to make peace with the colonies; for this, he said, might arouse the con-

tempt of the Indian mind for the British, which would be injurious to both them and the English. Nor did he wish the Indians to know that the English had agreed to evacuate Detroit and Niagara. As a final arbiter of these matters he referred Douglas to General Allen McLean, who was then commanding Fort Niagara. De Peyster gave Douglas very little assistance in his main object, that is, to effect a peace with the Indians. On July 6 the looked for council was held near Detroit. Eleyen tribes were present, being represented by Indians from nearly every section between the Scioto river and Lake Superior. De Peyster told them the object of Douglas' visit there and of the peace with Great Britain, and that he could no longer assist them in war against the colonies. He told them that Douglas represented the American army, who desired peace with all Indians and advised them to close their warfare with the United States. The chiefs were impressed with Douglas' mission and gave him many expressions of friendship. The conference was attended with great good. The change of sentiment among the Indians will be better understood when it is remembered that Captain Pipe was the leader of the band which tortured Colonel Crawford.

Douglas and his party then traveled northeastward through Ontario to Niagara, but McLean raised the same objection that De Peyster had offered. While he would not permit Douglas to address the Indians, yet, through Colonel Butler, he informed them of the desire of the United States for peace and harmony with all Indian tribes. While there, Douglas had a long talk with Captain Joseph Brant, chief of the Mohawks, and tried to impress upon his savage mind the really kind disposition of the American people toward the Indians. Governor McLean asked Douglas to go to Quebec to confer with the Governor-General of Canada, but he did not comply with this request, feeling that he had accomplished all that was possible, and that he should return to report to the authorities who had sent him. McLean sent him through Oswego, and he returned by way of Albany to Princeton, New Jersey, where the government of the United States then had its headquarters, and where he reported in person to General Benjamin Lincoln. His entire mission was fraught with great good, by practically terminating the Indian outbreaks on the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania.

But the close of the Revolution left the western district of Pennsylvania in a very impoverished condition. With many soldiers in the field and ranging parties performing almost daily duty and with the militia constantly guarding the fort, agricultural interests were sadly neglected and many homes which, prior to that, had been supplied in

abundance were reduced to absolute want. There were scarcely men enough during the Revolution to gather the scanty crops. Sometimes they were not permitted to plant their crops in the spring, and sometimes those who planted and sowed amid the dangers from the roaming Indians in the forest were unable to reap their harvest. Often the husband and older sons went to the fields in the morning and never returned, or perhaps, on their return, found their loved ones had been captured or murdered. Men, women and children were taken as prisoners and carried away, and frequently nothing was heard of them for months or years, and often they were never heard of again. This apparently never ending warfare had induced the authorities of the government to, from time to time, increase the bounty on the scalps of Indians.

A person who was scalped is generally supposed to have been killed, though we have many instances of those who survived the injuries. The scalping itself did not necessarily kill the victim, for it consisted in taking the skin from the crown of the head in a piece about four inches in circumference. This operation was performed by the savage by taking a firm hold of the hair with the left hand and, when the skin was tightly drawn from the skull bone, a sharp knife readily severed a circular piece from the head. Scalping was invariably performed by the Indian after he had apparently killed his victim, though sometimes he afterwards recovered. It was a custom among the Indians in warfare among themselves when the Europeans first arrived in America, and was probably then only used to verify the number of the enemy that they had slain. The great greed for scalps among the Indians was induced by the rewards offered by the British. Many honest pioneers regarded the Indian as the natural enemy of the white man and it soon became the general belief that the only solution of the Indian question was the utter extermination of the race. From an early date, the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania had offered a bounty for the scalps of Indian warriors. In 1756, says Craig, in "Early Pittsburgh," Governor Morris had offered one hundred and fifty Spanish dollars for every male Indian above the age of twelve years taken prisoner and delivered to the authorities. For the scalp of every male Indian under twelve years taken in war, one hundred and thirty Spanish dollars; for the scalp of every Indian woman produced with the evidence of being killed, fifty Spanish dollars. These bounties were paid by the commanders of the forts in Western Pennsylvania, upon the delivery of the prisoners or the scalps, with the proper proof of the manner in which they were taken. The jailkeepers at the county seats were also authorized to pay for them.

In 1764 Governor Penn offered a reward of one hundred and fifty dollars for every male Indian prisoner over ten years old, and one hundred and thirty-four dollars for his scalp when killed. For every male or female, under ten years of age, when captured, he offered one hundred and thirty-four dollars and fifty dollars for the scalp when killed. In 1782 there was a standing reward of one hundred dollars for a dead Indian's scalp and one hundred and fifty dollars for the Indian if captured alive and brought to the garrison at Fort Pitt. The same offer was made for white men who were taken prisoners while aiding the Indians. Colonel Samuel Hunter, Colonel Jacob Stroud and others in this section were authorized to offer these rewards. It is somewhat startling to the modern reader to notice the manner in which prominent men of that age wrote of this apparently inhuman system of warfare and rewards. In a letter to President Reed, Colonel Hunter says that he had just organized a party to go scalp hunting and that, though they do not make as much money out of a dead Indian as out of a living one, yet it was much less trouble and much more agreeable to the hunter to shoot him at once and scalp him afterward than to be bothered carrying him along as a prisoner. Colonel Archibald Lochry, who has been so prominently mentioned in these pages, wrote from his home near Latrobe that there was no doubt but that the reward would insure a good end. In the same letter he asks for more ammunition to supply a party of scalp hunters. Colonel Hunter reported later of an unsuccessful return of his party, so far as securing scalps was concerned, and President Reed wrote him a consoling letter advising him to be of good cheer, and expressed a hope that another hunting excursion would prove more successful. Many scalps were thus taken, and, on one occasion, thirteen, with the accompanying certificates, were sent to Fort Pitt in one package.

The scalp hunting business reached its highest point in 1781 and 1782, if the colonial records are to be believed. It must not be forgotten by the reader that the Indians were all these years engaged in the same business and were paid much higher rates by the English for scalping white men, women and children, and even innocent babes. This method of warfare was undoubtedly questionable, but the reader must remember that the exigencies of the times prompted it. The bounty was rarely ever taken by well-established settlers, but whether the theory was right or wrong, the authorities never offered a bounty on the scalps of friendly Indians. Perhaps the average settler did not discriminate between a friendly Indian and a hostile one. Nevertheless the government itself was actuated by good intentions toward all but the hostile warrior. The well-known treachery of the race was

ever present in the mind of the white man. The modern saying, "that the only good Indian is a dead one," undoubtedly existed in the minds of the rangers of long ago. George Wilkinson, in "The American Pioneer," says the scalp bounty law was brought into disrepute by killing friendly Indians to sell their scalps. There was no bounty during part of the Revolution on living Indian prisoners and this led to the death of some, there being a bounty on dead ones. Moreover, a friendly Indian was much more easily scalped than a hostile one. At all events, the abuse of the law, says the above writer, "brought the scalp bounty measure into disrepute," and it was rightfully repealed. It had been offered mainly to encourage settlers to sustain the soldiers in battle.

As the reader will remember, the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment was raised in Westmoreland county exclusively for border defense and, on an emergency, it was ordered to New Jersey. After its removal from this section, in January, 1777, the whole western border was laid open to the most violent Indian depredations. The militia was called out, but they were poorly equipped and, if paid at all, it was in depreciated Continental currency. In 1777 and 1778 there were numerous depredations all along the border. The Indians under the leadership of Simon Girty, or others of like character, seemed lurking in every place of concealment. The dangers in this community from ambuscading red men are illustrated in Captain James Smith's narrative which has been previously referred to. In consideration of these difficulties, he marched a regiment up the Allegheny river to chastise the Indians for their depredations. In his notes he says they marched in four columns, each about forty rods apart, with scouts posted on the flanks of each column. The men of each column marched about a rod apart. In case of an attack, each man was to make for the nearest tree. This was to keep the Indians from surrounding them and prevent them from shooting more than once without exposing themselves. In the early evening they encamped in a hollow square, each line being about a quarter of a mile long. Guards were placed outside watching for the approach of an enemy and to guard the cattle which were taken along as meat for the army. These were dark days indeed.

The Continental Congress had no power to raise money to carry on the war, except by promises to pay in the future. These promises were based upon the credit of the country and depended entirely on the success of the struggling Continental army. Every one knew that if the cause of the colonies failed, their promises to pay would be worth nothing. No man who entered the service after 1778 expected to be paid in Continental money, for it had then depreciated until it

was almost worthless. For the expenses of the army, which must be paid, Congress depended almost entirely on private subscriptions. Soon the depreciation was so great that they ceased sending it out as soldiers' pay. It was under these difficulties that Colonel Broadhead marched out with his regiment in the summer of 1778 and did great service against the Indians of the Allegheny valley. His regiment cut off a party of about forty savages on their way to raid Fort Pitt and the surrounding communities. Both Colonels Smith and Lochry accompanied the expedition. It had a salutary effect upon the peace and good order of the western communities, but the army returned exhausted, for, serving without pay and clothing themselves, they had nothing wherewith to recuperate unless their work at home went on while they were gone.

These were difficulties almost without limit heaped upon the pioneers of Westmoreland county and they were all thoroughly understood and taken advantage of by the enemy. Finally the Supreme Executive Council issued a proclamation encouraging young men to turn out to fight the Indians in small bands and in a manner somewhat after the Indian style. This proclamation had good effect. There was an adventure in it which was very attractive to small parties of energetic rangers. Prominent among them were David Shaw and his brother, the Brownlees, Colonel Wilson, the Barrs, the Wal-laces, Captain Brady, Captain Van Swearingen, Samuel Shannon, William Cooper, Joseph Erwin, Michael Huffnagle, James Guthrie, Matthew Jack, James Smith, Thomas Stokely, and many others. These were all bold young rangers, any one of whom might be figured as a hero in the inspiring novels of Sir William Scott; might have taken the place of Bois Gilbert or Ivanhoe, or of the bold MacGregor, with his foot upon the heather of his native land and his eye on the peak of the much-loved Ben Lomond. They went forth dressed in homespun garments, each armed at his own expense, and they were comparatively well armed for that day, for each carried a rifle or musket, a knife and a hatchet. They acted together or each separately, as the occasion demanded. They stood together for protection and they were frequently well acquainted neighbors and friends who would not stop at any danger to rescue a pioneer or a companion from difficulty.

These rangers patrolled the country from the junction of the Three Rivers to Fort Ligonier. They had officers whom they obeyed, whether they were in small parties or engaged in a general turn out for public defense. More than all this, they were at home in the woods and, upon any sign or news of distress, they knew how to travel by

the shortest route to the place of need. They could soon spread the news of the presence of Indians over an entire community, and they very rapidly gathered the women and children to the nearest block-house or place of safety. From long experience in the woods, they could travel the most trackless forest on the darkest night with unerring steps. Their faculties for hearing and sight, like those of the Indians, were so sharpened to such acuteness by constant use that they noticed the slightest movement of an Indian in the bushes, and sounds which fell on deafened ears of the unskilled were distinctly heard and understood by them. They could endure long tramps through the woods and over the mountains. They were daring and reckless riders and rapid runners and were experts in the use of the rifle, so that they rarely ever failed to hit the mark. From places and difficulties in which capture seemed almost inevitable, members of their association many times freed themselves by a display of agility and strength which made even the hardened Indian marvel and fall back. All these qualities were bred and born in them from their youth, and were, in hundreds of instances, necessary for their preservation. Quick perception, unerring judgment and boldness of execution, scores of times saved their lives. For years they were the salvation of our pioneer homes and to them we owe every possible mead of praise.

Stephen Bayard, of whom we have spoken so often, was born January 23, 1744, of a well-known family in Maryland. The first years of his life was spent as a Philadelphia merchant. In the beginning of the Revolution, he raised a company in Philadelphia and was made its captain. The company at once became part of St. Clair's command in the expedition to Quebec. Later he served under Richard Butler, of Pittsburgh, in the Eighth Regiment and when it returned from Valley Forge, Bayard came with it and settled in Pittsburgh. He was a colonel under Broadhead in his expedition against the Indians in Ohio and was in the expedition up the Allegheny river. In 1781 he commanded a regiment at Fort Pitt. After the Revolution, Bayard remained in Pittsburgh and became one of its wealthy citizens. He had taken up large tracts of land on the Monongahela river and on one of these founded a boat building town which he named after his wife, Elizabeth; and the town yet bears her name. In the War of 1812, President Madison offered him a major-general's commission, but he wisely declined it because of his age. He died in Pittsburgh on December 13, 1815.

George Wilson, lieutenant-colonel of the Eighth Regiment, was a native of Augusta county, Virginia. He had been an officer in the

French and Indian War and had settled in the west shortly after its close. He was appointed a justice for this western district, first of Bedford county and later of Westmoreland, and held the position for many years. He will be remembered as one of the trustees appointed to locate the county seat in Westmoreland and also as a leading spirit in Dunmore's War, during which he was one of the three justices arrested by Connolly. He died like Colonel Mackay, from the effects of the long march of the Eighth Regiment to New Jersey.

The Butler family was purely a Westmoreland and Pittsburgh family, and was the most noted one hailing from the West during the Revolution. Their father was Thomas Butler, who had been born in Ireland, and three of his sons, namely, Richard, William and Thomas, were also born there. Richard, as will be remembered, was lieutenant-colonel of Morgan's Rifle Regiment. From his first connection with the regiment he drilled them in all seasonable hours, and much of the glory gained by them in battle was due to the pains which he took in preparing them for future actions. He was with General Wayne when he charged up Stony Point and was prominent at the last when Cornwallis was compelled to surrender to Washington. In 1790 he was appointed a major-general, but unfortunately, as we have said, he was killed the following year, 1791, while fighting the Indians in Ohio in St. Clair's celebrated battle of the Wabash. His brother, Thomas Butler, was a law student in Philadelphia in 1776. When the Revolution was raising the patriotic spirit of the city, he enlisted as a private and rose to the rank of captain, serving until the close of the war. It was he, Thomas Butler, whom Washington publicly thanked for heroic services at the battle of Brandywine. At the battle of Monmouth he defended a dangerous ravine while his brother Richard's regiment was retreating through it. For this, he received the special thanks of General Anthony Wayne. He was also in the battle of the Wabash with St. Clair in 1791 as commander of a battalion. When St. Clair, in that battle, ordered a bayonet charge against the Indians, Thomas Butler was on horseback and had had his arm broken by a ball, yet, in this painful condition, he led the charge. He was removed from the field by a third brother, Edward. Thomas Butler died on September 5, 1805.

Percival, the fourth son, was born in Carlisle and entered the Revolution when eighteen years of age as a lieutenant. He was at Valley Forge, Monmouth, and Yorktown, and the great commander had implicit confidence in him. He moved to Kentucky in 1784 and was adjutant-general of that State in the War of 1812. Edward Butler was too young to enter the Revolution, but was a captain in St.

Clair's army in 1791, and, in 1794, was an adjutant-general in General Wayne's army, in its successful expedition against the western Indians, showing that he had in a high degree the military spirit so noted in his family. The mother of the Butlers was a strong-minded, patriotic woman who was willing to part with her husband and sons and endure the hardships which their absence added to her life, if, by so doing, the cause of the colonies might be advanced. It was probably this spirit that led Washington at his own private table, surrounded by army officers, to propose a toast, "The Butlers and their five sons." Lafayette passed an equally great compliment to the family by saying that when he had a particularly difficult order to execute he gave it into the hands of one of the Butlers.

At the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, Baron Steuben had command of the trenches at the time that the overtures of surrender were sent out by the British. While the terms of capitulation were being considered by Washington and his generals, Lafayette's division marched up to relieve Steuben, the time for such relief having arrived. But the Baron did not want to be relieved then. He knew that the surrender of Cornwallis, the most momentous incident in the Revolution, would soon be at hand, and, because of the great sacrifices which he, a foreigner, had made for the American army, he had a pardonable desire to share in the honor of hoisting the Stars and Stripes. This dispute was laid before Washington, who decided that neither Baron Steuben nor Lafayette should hoist the flag, but that the honor should be conferred on Ebenezer Denny, of Pittsburgh. But, when Denny was about to raise it and plant it on the rampart, Steuben, perhaps forgetting himself in the excitement of the moment, hurried forward, took the flag and hoisted it himself. Richard Butler thought this an insult to the Westmoreland troops and, therefore, challenged the Baron to a duel. Both these men had rendered great services to the Continental army, and there was now too much glory among the American troops to allow two of its best and most faithful officers to engage in a deadly conflict, but nevertheless it required all the efforts of Washington, Hamilton and Rochambeau to prevent the duel.

At the risk of being tedious, we have tried to portray the sufferings of old Westmoreland people during the Revolution in as graphic a manner as the meagre records will warrant. The pioneers had more important duties to perform than to make notes of the events of the day. The reader must remember that there was no newspaper published then in Western Pennsylvania and, for information concerning this period, we must depend largely upon letters, army orders and

upon tradition, but enough has come down to us to give some idea of the hardships to which the pioneers were subjected. Perhaps the people hardly realized that the surrender of Cornwallis meant in reality the close of the long contest. At all events, there was no special demonstration when the glorious news was received by our people. General Irvine issued the following order from Fort Pitt, which was doubtless received with less joy than its true import warranted:

General Irvine has the pleasure of congratulating your troops upon the great and glorious news. Lord Cornwallis, with the troops under his command, surrendered as prisoners of war on the 19th of October last to the allied armies of America and France, under the immediate command of His Excellency, Washington. The prisoners amount to upward of five thousand regular troops, nearly two thousand Tories and as many negroes, besides a number of merchants and other followers. Thirteen pieces of artillery will be fired on this day at ten o'clock in the fort, at which time the troops will be under arms with their colors displayed. The commissaries will issue a gill of whiskey extraordinary to the non-commissioned officers and privates upon this joyful occasion, November 6, 1781.



CHAPTER XXI

SOLDIERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

CHAPTER XXI.

Soldiers of the Revolutionary War from Westmoreland County.—A Brilliant Honor Roll.

The following list of soldiers of the Revolutionary War who enlisted from Westmoreland County, is as nearly perfect and complete as the limited records enable us to make:

Roll of Captain John Nelson's Independent Company of Riflemen.—A resolution of Congress, dated January 30, 1776, directs that Captain Nelson's company of riflemen, now raised, consisting of one captain, three lieutenants, four sergeants, four corporals, and seventy privates, be enlisted for the service in Canada, on the same terms as the other troops ordered for that service. It was ordered to New York, March 13, 1776. It was, by General Arnold's orders, attached to Colonel De Haas' battalion in Canada, and after De Haas' battalion left Ticonderoga, November 17, 1776, it was attached to the Fourth Battalion, Colonel Wayne's, and on the 24th of March, 1777, was attached to Colonel Francis Johnson's Fifth Pennsylvania.

Names, rank, etc., from January 30 to November 30, 1776:

Captain—

Nelson, John, of Westmoreland County, commissioned Jan. 30, 1776.

First Lieutenant—

Oldham, William, com. Jan. 30, 1776.

Second Lieutenant—

Ott, Adam, com. Jan. 30, 1776.

Third Lieutenants—

McCullom, Robert, com. Jan. 30, 1776; resigned July 12, 1776.

Archer, Joseph (or Joshua), com. July 12, 1776, vice R. McCullom, resigned.

Sergeants—

Price, Richard, appointed Feb. 15, 1776; died at Fort George, Oct. 30, 1776.

Hartley, Thomas, app. Feb. 7, 1776.

Smith, Andrew, app. Feb. 6, 1776.

McCowen, Robert, app. Feb. 7, 1776.

Carr, John, app. Oct. 30, 1776.

Corporals—

Preston, Edward, app. Feb. 15, 1776; died Sept. 20, 1776.

Bonner, Joseph, app. Feb. 22, 1776.

Brown, Jesse, app. Feb. 21, 1776.

Fugate, John, app. Feb. 13, 1776.

Carr, John, app. Sept. 21, 1776; promoted Oct. 31, 1776.

Nelson, Thomas, Sr., app. Oct. 31, 1776.

Privates—

Bird, Thomas, enlisted Feb. 28, 1776; deserted May 2, 1776.

Bower, Francis, enl. Feb. 19, 1776.

Brooks, Robert, enl. Feb. 7, 1776; deserted May 2, 1776.

Bradley, Edward, enl. March 1, 1776; sick in hospital.

Campbell, Barnett, enl. Feb. 10, 1776; sick in hospital.

Caldwell, James, enl. Feb. 18, 1776.

Cunningham, John, Feb. 17, 1776; furloughed by Gen. Gates.

Carr, John, enl. Feb. 14, 1776; promoted corporal Sept. 21.

Collins, Joseph, enl. Feb. 15, 1776; des. March 15, 1776.

Coffman, Isaac, enl. Feb. 9, 1776; des. April 1, 1776.

Cox, John, enl. Feb. 20, 1776.

Clipper, Valentine, enl. Feb. 21, 1776; des. May 2, 1776.

Corbett, John, enl. Feb. 28, 1776; furloughed by Gen. Gates.

Campbell, William, enl. March 5, 1776.

Carmichael, —, enl. March 8, 1776.

Davis, Morgan, enl. Feb. 12, 1776.

Deal, Jacob, enl. Feb. 12, 1776.

Ditch, Philip, enl. March 12, 1776.

Downey, John, enl. March 14, 1776.

Downey, Thomas, enl. Feb. 10, 1776.

Eakle, Henry, enl. Feb. 17, 1776.

Easter, Nicholas, enl. March 8, 1776; des. March 18.

Eastley, Charles, enl. Feb. 7, 1776; des. April 14.

- Edminston, Robert, enl. Feb. 19, 1776.
 Ebersole, Christian, enl. Feb. 8, 1776.
 Fisher, Samuel, enl. Feb. 10, 1776;
 des. March 27.
 Fitch, Joseph, enl. Feb. 17, 1776.
 Flack, George, enl. Feb. 19, 1776.
 Forsyth, Abraham, enl. March 11,
 1776.
 Fuller, Christian, enl. Feb. 22, 1776.
 Gridley, Jasper M., Feb. 15, 1776;
 joined Donnell's artillery company Nov.
 21, 1776.
 Gown, John, enl. Feb. 13, 1776; des.
 May 2, 1776.
 Gutting, Andrew, enl. March 13, 1776.
 Hand, William, enl. Feb. 23, 1776.
 Harrigan, Michael, enl. Feb. 10, 1776.
 Harris, George, enl. Feb. 7, 1776.
 Holland, Henry, enl. Feb. 11, 1776.
 Holt, William, enl. March 17, 1776.
 House, Michael, enl. Feb. 6, 1776.
 Jameson, Samuel, enl. March 22, 1776.
 Johnston, James, enl. Feb. 10, 1776.
 Kelley, James, enl. Feb. 9, 1777.
 Kirkpatrick, William, enl. Feb. 17,
 1776; fur. to Maryland.
 Lemon, Isaac, enl. Feb. 19, 1776; des.
 May 8, 1776.
 Love, William, enl. Feb. 23, 1776; des.
 March 12, 1776.
 McCulloch, David, enl. Feb. 9, 1776;
 killed at Fort Ann, May 29, 1776.
 McGuire, Daniel, enl. Feb. 12, 1776.
 McGuire, Thomas, enl. Feb. 12, 1776.
 McManus, William, enl. Feb. 19, 1776.
 Mitchell, John, enl. Feb. 14, 1776;
 des. April 14, 1776.
 Morgan, Evan, enl. March 1, 1776.
 Mullady, Robert, enl. Feb. 7, 1776;
 des. April 2.
 Murphy, Arthur, enl. Feb. 14, 1776.
 Nelson, Andrew, enl. Oct. 25, 1776.
 Nelson, Thomas, Jr., enl. Oct. 25,
 1776.
 Nelson, Thomas, Sr., enl. Feb. 10,
 1776; pro. to corp. Oct. 31, 1776.
 Nixdorff, Samuel, enl. March 7, 1776.
 O'Brian, John, enl. Feb. 19, 1776; des.
 May 2.
 Onsell, Abraham, enl. Feb. 10, 1776.
 Phyfer, Emanuel, enl. Feb. 16, 1776.
 Pooder, Tobias, enl. Feb. 5, 1776.
 Ralston, James, enl. Feb. 7, 1776.
 Reed, Thomas, enl. Feb. 20, 1776.
 Rerick, George, enl. Feb. 14, 1776;
 des. March 14.
 Roach, Morris, enl. Feb. 12, 1776.
 Slucer, John, enl. March 6, 1776; fur.
 by Gen. Gates.
 Smith, John, enl. Feb. 10, 1776; des.
 May 2.
 Smith, William, enl. Feb. 24, 1776.
 Stonemyer, John, enl. Feb. 2, 1776.
 Stuckey, Michael, enl. Feb. 19, 1776;
 des. May 2, 1776.
 Teel, William, enl. Feb. 12, 1776.
 Tingle, George, enl. March 9, 1776;
 des. April 22, 1776.
 Trepner, George, enl. Feb. 21, 1776.
 Wallace, James, enl. Feb. 12, 1776;
 acting as butcher at Mount Independence.
 Wells, Richard, enl. Feb. 26, 1776.
 Williams, John, enl. March 14, 1776.
 Wolf, John, enl. Feb. 13, 1776.

Roll of Captain William Butler's Company, from January 5 to November 25, 1776, as they stood at Ticonderoga. Enlisted in the vicinity of Greensburg, Westmoreland County. Many of the company reenlisted in Third Pennsylvania, Captain Jas. Chrystie:

Captains—

Butler, William, com. Jan. 5, 1776;
 pro. major Oct. 7, 1776.

Chrystie, James, com. Nov. 11, 1776.

First Lieutenant—

Butler, Thomas, com. Jan. 5, 1776.

Second Lieutenant—

Seitz, Charles, com. Jan. 5, 1776;
 dropped Sept. 20, 1776.

Ensigns—

McCully, George, com. Jan. 5, 1776;
 pro. 2nd lieut. Sept. 20, 1776, vice Lieut.
 Chambers, discharged.

McMullan, Nathan, Sept. 20, 1776,
 vice Parke, discharged.

Sergeants—

McCully, Robert.

Jack, Thomas.

McClanen, Hugh.

Carrell, Thomas.

Corporals—

McKee, George.

Bennett, Abraham.

Kelso, John.

Webb, William.

Privates—

Branch, Elijah.

Brown, John.

Calagan, James.

Carothers, John, enl. at Carlisle;

wounded in the left hand at Three Rivers; re-enl. under Richard Butler, and served three years; resided in Butler County, Pa., in 1817.

Coil, Charles.
Conner, John.
Cowley, William.
Craig, James.
Davis, Amos.
Davis, Robert.
Dixon, Robert.
Doyle, Bryan.
Ewin, William.
Fleming, George.
Fleming, Henry.
Forbes, James.
Futhey, Robert.
Gordon, Andrew, in 1820, residing in West Nantmeal Township, Chester County.
Hanna, David.
Hamilton, James.
Henry, John.
Heron, Patrick.
Jones, Hugh.
Jordon, Garret.
Kennedy, James.
Kinsey, James.
Kyle, William.
Laferty, Patrick.

Leas, Edward.
Lindsey, John.
Lucas, William.
Martin, William, Jr., enl. at Carlisle; re-enl. in Third Pennsylvania.
Martin, William, Sr.
Matthews, William.
McCarrel, Dennis.
McConnel, James.
McCord, Matthew.
McFadden, Thomas.
McGill, James.
McKenzie, John.
McMillan, John, enl. at Greensburg, March 1, 1776; re-enl. Third Pennsylvania.
Meyer, Dennis.
Navel, Edward.
Patterson, William.
Roberts, Jonathan.
Roddy, Isaac.
Rucraft, George.
Stover, John.
Smith, John.
Stimble, Isaac.
Sutherland, John.
Sweeney, James.
Verner, Robert.
Wilson, Samuel.

Roll of Captain Stephen Bayard's Company, January 5, 1776, to November 25, 1776:

Captain—

Bayard, Stephen, com. Jan. 5, 1776.

First Lieutenants—

Chrystie, James, com. Jan. 5, 1776; afterwards captain Third Pennsylvania.

Craig, John, com. Nov. 11, 1776.

Second Lieutenant—

Dunn, Isaac Budd, com. Jan. 5, 1776; pro. July 4, 1776.

Ensigns—

Black, James, com. Jan. 5, 1776; pro. July 4, 1776.

Marshall, John, pro. Nov. 11, 1776.

Oates, James, pro. Nov. 11, 1776.

Sergeants—

Shepherd, John.

Philips, Barney.

Cosgrove, Andrew.

Points, Joseph.

Boyd, Thomas.

Jones, Thomas, re-enl. April 8, 1777, in Capt. Coren's company of artillery; trans. to artillery artificer, Capt. N. Irish's company, where he served three years.

Drummer—

Maxwell, John.

Fifer—

Dougherty, George.

Corporals—

Wood, Thomas.

Barret, James.

Brown, Patrick.

Privates—

Allen, Patrick.

Baggs, John.

Black, Benjamin.

Burris, James.

Campbell, Alexander.

Cox, William.

Coyle, Robert.

Donohoe, Patrick.

Dougherty, William.

Duffield, John.

English, Joseph.

Greer, George.

Harkins, Thomas.

Holliday, John.

Hollis, John.

Johnson, Patrick.

Leech, William.
 Lackey, Patrick.
 Martin, William.
 McCord, William.
 McClennon, Robert.
 McConnell, Andrew.
 McCracken, William.
 McEvoy, Daniel.
 Melroy, Edward.
 McFadden, Connel.

McKinley, Charles.
 Moor, William (died March 13, 1776).
 Murphy, Thomas.
 Quigg, John.
 Ruttledge, James.
 Thompson, James.
 Weary, John.
 Wiley, Robert.
 Work, Aaron.

Roll of Captain Joseph Erwin's Company.—This company was raised in Westmoreland county, joined the regiment at Marcus Hook, subsequently included in the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Regiment, then in the Second, and finally discharged at Valley Forge, January 1, 1778, by reason of expiration of term of enlistment. Engagements were Long Island, White Plains, Trenton, Quibbletown, Brandywine, and Germantown:

Captain—

Erwin, Joseph, Westmoreland County, app. March 9, 1776; commission dated April 6, 1776; pro. capt. in Ninth Pa.

First Lieutenant—

Carnaghan, James, from second lieutenant; missing since the battle, Aug. 27, 1776; after release he repaired to headquarters in December, 1776, and served as a volunteer at Trenton and Princeton; pro. first lieutenant in Eighth Pa. on Jan. 15, 1777.

Second Lieutenants—

Carnaghan, James, app. March 16, 1776; pro. first lieutenant, Oct. 24, 1776.

Sloan, David, pro. third lieutenant, Aug. 9, 1776; killed in battle, Aug. 27, 1776; left a widow Mary, and daughter Ann, aged eleven, in 1789, residing in Westmoreland County.

Third Lieutenants—

Sloan, David, app. March 19, 1776; pro. second lieutenant, to date from Aug. 9, 1776.

Brownlee, Joseph, commission dated April 15, 1776; pro. second lieutenant, Oct. 24, 1776; missing since the battle, Aug. 27, 1776.

Sergeants—

Lindsay, William.
 Roddy, Samuel.
 Dugan, James.
 Justice, John.

Drum and Fife—

Howard, George.
 Gannon, John.
 Geyer, John, drummer-boy (eleven years of age), son of Peter Geyer, be-

low; wounded in the heel at Germantown; disch. Jan. 1, 1778, at Valley Forge; was a stone-mason, residing in Metal Township, Franklin County, in 1821.

Privates—

Anderson, Martin.
 Bentley, James.
 Brown, Andrew.
 Brownfield, Daniel, missing since the battle, Aug. 27, 1776.

Brownlee, John, April 1, 1776; disch. Jan. 1, 1778; resided in Donegal Township, Washington County, in 1814.

Bryson, Andrew, April 1, 1776; drafted into the artillery at Brandywine; disch. Jan. 1, 1778; resided in Bedminster Township, Bucks County, in 1816.

Carnahan, Joseph.
 Dunnough, William.

Doyle, Sylvester.
 Fitzgerald, Henry.

Forsyth, James.
 Gannon, Jeremiah, missing since the battle, Aug. 27, 1776.

Guthry, John, missing since the battle, Aug. 27, 1776.

Guthry, William, missing since the battle, Aug. 27, 1776.

Geyer, Peter, enl. at Hannastown; disch. at Valley Forge, Jan. 1, 1778; wounded by a bayonet in the groin, and by a ball in the leg at Germantown. His wife, Mary, went with his company as washerwoman, with her son John, above mentioned, and accompanied the regiment in all its march; she was 86 years of age in 1821, then residing in

Cumberland County; she had three other children, Jacob, Mary, and Catharine.

Henderson, Edward.

Hennan, David.

Hennan, John.

Henry, John, missing since the battle, Aug. 27, 1776.

Heslet, Robert.

Holiday, William.

Johnston, Robert.

Kelly, Philip.

Leech, Archibald, disch. Jan. 1, 1778; resided in Armstrong County in 1811.

Leech, James.

Leonard, James, disch. Jan. 1, 1777; resided in Warren County, Ohio, in 1831, aged 87.

McClelland, David.

McCollister, James.

McCord, William.

McKenzie, Andy, "a volunteer," missing since battle, Aug. 27, 1776.

Miller, Peter, resided in Bedford County in 1819.

Moor, William, missing since battle, Aug. 27, 1776.

Mull, William, missing since battle, Aug. 27, 1776.

Nail, James.

Nelson, James, missing since battle, Aug. 27, 1776.

Nelson, William, "wounded in left knee;" resided in Westmoreland County in 1789.

Orr, David.

Riddle, John.

Riddle, Robert.

Roddy, Patrick.

Sims, John.

Singlewood, Stephen, missing since battle, Aug. 27, 1776.

Stamper, Charles, missing since battle, Aug. 27, 1776.

Stone, Allen.

Stoops, John, missing since the battle, Aug. 27, 1776.

Twifold, William, missing since the battle, Aug. 27, 1776.

Waddle, William, April, 1776; disch. Jan. 1, 1778; resided in Westmoreland County in 1819.

Waterson, John.

Wead, Maurice.

Wilkinson, Angus, missing since battle, Aug. 27, 1776.

Three sergeants were also captured, but the roll does not indicate which.

Roll of Captain James Carnahan's Company. (March 1, 1777, to May 1, 1777. Mustered at Red Bank, May 9, 1777):

Captain—

Carnahan, James; lived in Washington County, Pa., for many years after the war.

First Lieutenant—

Hoffner, George.

Ensign—

Dugan, James.

Sergeants—

Fitzgerald, Henry.

Waddle, William.

Justice, John.

Drummer—

Guyher, John.

Fifer—

Macklen, John.

Privates—

Brownlee, John.

Bryson, Andrew.

Carnahan, Joseph.

Chapman, George.

Colter, William.

Cooke, John.

Deen, Rexs.

Doherty, Andrew.

Dolen, Charles.

Gagger, John.

Grea, James.

Gannon, Jeremiah.

Guthry, William.

Guyer, Peter.

Hartsgrove, Samuel.

Heslet, Andrew.

Heslet, Robert.

Horneck, Daniel.

Howard, John.

Hunter, James.

Johnson, Robert.

Kennan, Roger.

Kenny, Thomas.

Leech, Archibald.

Leech, James.

McClelland, David.

McGauhey, Philip.

Miller, Peter.

Mills, Andrew.

Moore, William.

Mulvaney, Patrick.

Murphy, Arthur.

Riddle, John.

Scuse, John.

Sims, John.

Singlewood, Stephen.
Smith, Thomas.
Southerland, William.
Stewart, James.

Swerths, Ferdinand.
Tryne, Peter.
Weeble, George.
Wilkinson, Angus.

Roll of Captain Matthew Scott's Company. (March 1, 1777, to May 1, 1777):

Captain—

Scott, Matthew, April 18, 1777.

First Lieutenant—

Brownlee, Joseph, res. June 22, 1777, on account of promotion of Thomas Johnson.

Second Lieutenant—

McCracken, William.

Ensign—

Gregg, Robert, Feb., 1777, from sergeant.

Sergeants—

Wallace, Thomas.
Viney, Pattan.
Boyd, William.
McKinsey, Andrew.
Boyl, Daniel.

Drum and Fife—

Howard, George.
Hann, David.

Privates—

Adams, William.
Archer, Zach.
Caven, William.
Coffee, James.
Dennis, James.
Dixon, Patrick.
Dixon, Samuel.
Doherty, Barnabas.
Dowds, James.
Dunfey, Michael, enl. Feb. 28, 1777.
Elliot, John.
Fargher, Charles.
Flinn, Patrick.
Gageby, James.

Galbraith, James.
Gilmore, Thomas.
Harper, Samuel.
Hodge, John.
Hoof, Jacob.
Jacob, John.
Keaton, John.
Kelly, Matthew, enl. Feb. 23, 1777.
Kennedy, Thomas, enl. Feb. 16, 1777.
Kerrigan, John.
Lean, John.
Lewis, David, enl. Feb. 24, 1777.
Maffot, William.
McCrank, Edward.
McCurdy, Alexander.
McMullin, Neal.
Mitchell, Alexander.
Mitchell, John.
Moor, Hampton.
Murdagh, Patrick.
Nickelso, James.
Orpet, Richard.
Pots, Hance.
Quindlin, John.
Riley, James.
Salter, John.
Sharp, Andrew.
Shearer, Thomas.
Woods, Hugh.
Wright, Aaron, enl. Feb. 24, 1777.

For muster-roll of Capt. Matthew Scott's company of foot in the Thirtieth Pennsylvania Regiment, in the service of the United States, commanded by Col. Walter Stewart, for the month of June, 1778, see vol. x, p. 771, Pa. Arch. N. S.

Roster of Field and Staff Officers:

Colonels—

Mackey, Æneas, of Westmoreland County, July 20, 1776; died in service, Feb. 14, 1777.

Brodhead, Daniel, from lieutenant-col. Fourth Pa., March 12, 1777; joined April, 1777; trans. to First Pa., Jan. 17, 1781.

Lieutenant-Colonels—

Wilson, George, July 20, 1776; died in service at Quibbletown, February, 1777.

Butler, Richard, from major, March 12, 1777; ranking from Aug. 28, 1776; trans. to lieutenant-col. of Morgan's rifle command, June 9, 1777; pro. to col. of Ninth Pa., ranking from June 7, 1777; by an alteration subsequent to March 12, 1777, Richard Butler was placed in the First Pa. and James Ross in the Eighth Pa.

Ross, James, from lieutenant-col. First Pa.; res. Sept. 22, 1777.

Bayard, Stephen, from major, ranking Sept. 23, 1777; trans. to Sixth Pa., Jan. 17, 1781.

Majors—

Butler, Richard, July 20, 1776; pro. to lieutenant-col., March 12, 1777.

Bayard, Stephen, March 12, 1777, ranking from Oct. 4, 1776; pro. to lieutenant-col., to rank from Sept. 23, 1777.

Vernon, Frederick, from capt., Fifth Pa., ranking from June 7, 1777; trans. to Fourth Pa., Jan. 17, 1781.

Captains—

Kilgore, David, died July 11, 1814, aged 69 years, 4 months and 12 days; buried in the Presbyterian graveyard of Mount Pleasant (Middle Church), Westmoreland County.

Miller, Samuel, died in service, Jan. 10, 1778; left a widow, Jane Cruickshanks, who resided in Westmoreland County in 1784.

Van Swearingen, Aug. 9, 1776. Van Swearingen had been in command of an independent company in the pay of the State from February until Aug. 11, 1776, in defense of the frontiers in Westmoreland County.

Piggott, James; on return June 9, 1777, he is marked sick in camp.

Ourry, Wendel.

Mann, Andrew; on return of June 9, 1777, he is marked sick in quarters since May 2.

Carson, Moses, left the service April 21, 1777.

Miers, Eliezer.

[The foregoing captains were recommended by the committees of Westmoreland and Bedford Counties, and directed to be commissioned by resolution of Congress of Sept. 14, 1776. The names of the captains appear on the first return we can find in the order indicated (as remarked by the compilers of the archives), but date of commissions cannot be ascertained. Probably they were all dated Aug. 9, 1776, as Van Swearingen's.]

Montgomery, James, died Aug. 26, 1777; his widow, Martha, resided in Westmoreland County in 1824.

Huffnagle, Michael, died Dec. 31, 1819, in Allegheny County, aged 66.

Jack, Matthew, from 1st lieutenant; became supernumerary Jan. 31, 1779; resided in Westmoreland County in 1835, aged 82.

Stokely, Nehemiah, Oct. 16, 1777; became supernumerary Jan. 31, 1779; died in Westmoreland County in 1811.

Cooke, Thomas, from 1st lieutenant; became supernumerary Jan. 31, 1779; died in Guernsey County, Ohio, Nov. 5, 1831.

Dawson, Samuel, from Eleventh Pa., July 1, 1778; died at Fort Pitt, Sept. 6, 1779; buried in First Presbyterian churchyard in Pittsburgh.

Moore, James Francis, from Thirteenth Pa., July 1, 1778.

Clark, John, from Thirteenth Pa., July 1, 1778; trans. to First Pa., July 17, 1781.

Carnahan, James, from Thirteenth Pa., July 1, 1778; trans. to Fourth Pa., Jan. 17, 1781.

Finley, Joseph L., from Thirteenth Pa., July 1, 1778; brigade-major, July 30, 1780; trans. to Second Pa., Jan. 17, 1781.

Finley, John, from 1st lieutenant, Oct. 22, 1777; trans. to Fifth Pa., Jan. 17, 1781.

Crawford, John, from 1st lieutenant, Aug. 10, 1779; trans. to Sixth Pa., Jan. 17, 1781.

Brady, Samuel, from capt.-lieutenant, Aug., 1779; trans. to Third Pa., Jan. 17, 1781.

Captain-Lieutenant—

Brady, Samuel, commission dated July 17, 1776; from Sixth Pa.; pro. to capt. Aug. 2, 1779.

First Lieutenants—

Moseley, Robert (written Moody in the return), res. May 16, 1777; resided in Ohio Co., Ky., in 1820, aged 60.

Cooke, Thomas, pro. to capt.

Finley, John, pro. to capt., Oct. 22, 1777.

Jack, Matthew, lost his left hand by the bursting of his gun at Bound Brook, N. J.; pro. to capt., April 13, 1777.

Hickman, Ezekiel.

Carson, Richard, left the service in 1777.

McGeary, William, res. April 17, 1777.

McDolo, Joseph, left the service in 1777.

[The foregoing first lieutenants were commissioned under the resolution of Congress of Sept. 16, 1776.]

Richardson, Richard, returned June 9, 1777, as recruiting.

Prather, Basil, returned Nov. 1, 1777, as on command with Col. Morgan from June 9; res. April 1, 1779.

Hughes, John, Aug. 9, 1776; res. Nov. 23, 1778; res. in Washington County in 1813.

Crawford, John, from second lieutenant, April 18, 1777; pro. capt. Aug. 10, 1779; pro. to Second Penna. with rank of captain from April 18, 1777.

Hardin, John, July 13, 1777; Nov. 1,

1777, returned as on command with Col. Morgan; res. in 1779; afterwards Gen. John Hardin, of Kentucky; murdered by the Indians near Sandusky, Ohio, in 1791.—*Wilkinson's Memoirs*.

Mickey, Daniel, became supernumerary Jan. 31, 1779.

Peterson, Gabriel, July 26, 1777; died in Allegheny County, Feb. 12, 1832.

Stotesbury, John, from Old Eleventh Pa.; commission dated April 9, 1777; he was a prisoner in New York for some time; trans. to the Second Pa., Jan., 1781.

Neilly, Benjamin, from ensign, Oct. 4, 1777.

Finley, Andrew, on return of Nov. 1, 1777, marked sick since Oct. 16; retired in 1778; resided in Westmoreland County, 1813.

Amberson, William; in 1779 he was deputy muster-general; resided in Mercer County in 1835.

Read, Archibald, *vice* Joseph Brownlee, Dec. 13, 1778; died in Allegheny County in 1833.

Graham, Alexander, *vice* Basil Prathier, April 1, 1779.

Ward, John, April 2, 1779; trans. to Second Pa., Jan. 17, 1781.

Second Lieutenants—

Thompson, William, Aug. 9, 1776; res. May 17, 1777.

Simrall, Alexander, Aug. 9, 1776; left the army in 1777; resided in Jefferson Co., Ohio, in 1834, aged 88.

Guthrie, James, Aug. 9, 1776.

Rogers, Philip, Aug. 9, 1776.

Smith, Samuel, Aug. 9, 1776; killed at Germantown, Oct. 4, 1777.

Montz, William, Aug. 9, 1776; res. April 17, 1777.

Beeler, James, Jr., Aug. 9, 1776.

Crawford, John, Aug. 9, 1776; pro. first lieutenant, April 18, 1777.

[The foregoing second lieutenants were commissioned under resolution of Congress Sept. 14, 1776, dating as above.]

Owine, Barnabas; marked on return of Nov. 1, 1777, as command in infantry. Carnahan, John, res. in 1779.

Ensigns—

Neilly, Benjamin, pro. to first lieutenant,

Oct. 4, 1777.

Kerr, Joseph.

Simmons, John.

Wherry, David.

Mecklin, Dewalt, res. April 17, 1777.

Weaver, Valentine.

Reed, John.

White, Aquila, left the army Feb. 23, 1777; resided in Montgomery County, Ky., in 1834.

[The foregoing ensigns were commissioned under a resolution of Congress of Sept. 14, 1776.]

Forshay, Thomas, left the service in 1777.

McKee, David, left the service in 1777.

Peterson, Gabriel; on a return of June 9, 1777, he is marked absent, wounded, from April 17, 1777; pro. to first lieutenant July 26, 1777.

Guthrie, John, app. Dec. 21, 1778.

Morrison, James, app. Dec. 21, 1778.

Wyatt, Thomas, app. Dec. 21, 1778; resided at St. Louis, Mo., in 1834, aged eighty.

Cooper, William, app. April 19, 1779.

Davidson, John, app. April 19, 1779; resided in Brown County, Ohio, in 1833, aged eighty-one.

Chaplain—

McClure, Rev. David, app. Sept. 12, 1776.

Adjutants—

Huffnagle, Michael, app. Sept. 7, 1776.

Crawford, John, lieutenant, 1780.

Paymaster—

Boyd, John, July 20, 1776.

Quartermasters—

Douglass, Ephraim, Sept. 12, 1776; taken prisoner while acting as aide-de-camp to Gen. Lincoln, March 13, 1777; exchanged Nov. 27, 1780; prothonotary of Fayette Co. in 1783; died in 1833.

Neilly, Benjamin, app. in 1778.

Surgeons—

Morgan, Abel, from Old Eleventh; res. in 1779; died in 1785.

Morton, Hugh, March 7, 1780.

Surgeon's Mate—

Saple, John Alexander, 1778.

Clothier—

Read, Archibald, 1778.

Non-commissioned officers and privates of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line. (Those marked (e) are taken from a list in the secretary's office of soldiers whose depreciated pay escheated to the State):

Sergeants—

Allison, John, died in Versailles, Ky., June 16, 1823, aged seventy-five.

Corporal—

Adams, Robert.

Drummer—

Atkinson, Joseph.

Fifer—

Adams, George.

Privates—

Abrams, Gabriel, Kilgore's company, 1776-79.

Aikins, Robert, resided in Bedford Co., 1790.

Alcorn, James, trans. to Invalid Corps, July, 1780.

Allen, William, des. Aug., 1778.

Amberson, Johnson.

Amberson, William, resided in Mercer Co., 1809.

Anderson, George, resided in Westmoreland Co., 1835, aged eighty-four.

Armstrong, George.

Askins, George.

Askins, James, deserted August, 1778.

Atkins, Isaac.

Sergeants—

Baker, Michael, died in Greene Co., Ill., Sept. 13, 1831.

Blake, William.

Byels, Joseph, of Piggott's company.

Fifer—

Bond, John.

Privates—

Bacon, John.

Bannon, Jeremiah.

Beard, John, des. August, 1778.

Berkett, Robert.

Berlin, Isaac, died in Crawford Co.,

June 16, 1831, aged seventy-seven.

Blake, Luke William.

Blake, Nicholas, enl. August, 1776.

Blakeney, Gabriel, private at Long Island; lieut. in Flying Camp; captured at Fort Washington; resided in Washington Co., 1817.

Bodkin, James.

Booth, George.

Boveard, James, Kilgore's company, 1776-79; died in 1808 in East Buffalo township, Union Co.

Boyer, Oziel, killed in action.

Brandon, Michael.

Bright, John.

Bristo, Samuel.

Broadstock, William.

Brothers, Matthew.

Brown, John, resided in Armstrong Co., 1825.

Burbridge, Thomas, Kilgore's com-

pany; taken Dec., 1780; in captivity three years; resided in Westmoreland Co., 1805.

Burket, Christopher.

Burns, Pearce, trans. to Invalid Corps, Aug., 1777.

Byar, David, August, 1777-79, Capt. Piggott's company; served at Saratoga under Van Swearingen; went West with regiment, 1778; at the building of Fort McIntosh and Fort Laurens; Pennsylvania pensioner, 1813.

Sergeants—

Cavanaugh, Barney.

Cheselden, Edward.

Clarke, James.

Cooper, William, Kilgore's company.

Crawford, Robert, Aug. 20, 1776, to Sept. 15, 1779; resided in Venango Co., 1825.

Fifer—

Clark, David (c), Capt. Kilgore's company, April, 1777.

Privates—

Cain, Bartholomew.

Cain, John.

Calahan, John.

Call, Daniel, resided in Westmoreland County, 1821.

Campbell, George, Mount Pleasant, Westmoreland Co., 1786.

Carr, Daniel.

Carregen, Martin.

Carswell, Joseph.

Carty, Richard.

Casevey, Patrick, des. Aug., 1778.

Castile, Samuel.

Cavanaugh, John.

Cavanaugh, Patrick, enl. at Carlisle, in Capt. Huffnagle's company; he saved

Gen. Lincoln from capture by the British in New Jersey; afterwards express-rider for Gen. Greene; died in Washington Co., April 5, 1823, aged eighty-three.

Chambers, Andrew.

Chambers, Moses, from Ligonier; des. Aug., 1778.

Chriswell, Joseph.

Churchfield, John, enl. July, 1776; wounded in the leg in the battle of Germantown; resided in Westmoreland Co., 1835, aged eighty-six.

Clark, Benjamin, Kilgore's company; wounded at Bound Brook, 1777; also in 1778 on march to Fort McIntosh; resided in Steubenville, Ohio, 1815.

Close, Robert.

Coleman, Joseph.

Conner, John.

Conner, Bryan, enl. July 2, 1777.

Conway, Joseph, des. Aug., 1778; died Jan. 16, 1823, in Bedford Co., aged sixty-eight.

Cooper, Leonard, from Maryland; des. Aug., 1778.

Cooper, William, Aug. 17, 1776, to Sept., 1779; resided in Venango Co., 1810.

Corner, Felix.

Coveney, Felix.

Cripps, John.

Critchlow, James, enl. Aug., 1776, in Capt. Moses Carson's company; served in all the Saratoga engagements under Lieut.-Col. Butler; resided in Butler Co., 1835, aged seventy-eight.

Crosley, Timothy.

Cruikshank, Andrew, Miller's company, Aug. 17, 1776, to Sept., 1779; resided in Butler Co., 1810.

Curtin, John.

Sergeants—

Dennison, James.

Donaldson, William.

Corporal—

Davis, William, died in Muskingum Co., Ohio, in 1834, aged eighty-two.

Privates—

Darragh, John.

Davis, John, died in Holmes Co., Ohio, June 7, 1830, aged sixty-four.

Dempey, Thomas.

Dennis, Michael.

Dennis, Thomas, killed in April, 1779.

Dennison, Joseph (c), trans. to Seventh Regt.

Desperett, Henry.

Dickerson, Henry, enl. 1776, in Van Swearingen's company, at Saratoga, etc.; resided in Washington Co., in 1813.

Dickson, William.

Dolphin, Joseph.

Dougherty, James, *alias* Capt. Fitzpatrick, des. Aug., 1778, and executed for robbery.

Dougherty, Mordecai, brother of above, des. Aug., 1778.

Dowden, John.

Du Kinson, Joseph, killed in action.

Sergeant—

Evans, Arnold (c).

Drummer—

Edwards, John.

Fifer—

Evans, Anthony, pro. to fife-major, Third Pa.

Privates—

Edwards, David (c).

Everall, Charles.

Quartermaster-Sergeant—

Fletcher, Simon.

Sergeants—

Font, Matthew.

Forbes, William.

Corporal—

Fitzgibbons, James.

Privates—

Faith, Abraham, Capt. Mann's company, Aug. 15, 1776, to Nov. 19, 1779; resided in Somerset Co. in 1825, aged seventy-four.

Faughey, James, des. Aug., 1778.

Fime, Joseph, trans. to Invalid Corps.

Fitzgibbons, David.

Fossbrooke, or Frostbrook, John, resided in Bath Co., Ky., in 1834, aged one hundred and four.

Fulton, Joseph, July 4, 1776.

Corporal—

Gladwin, John.

Privates—

Gallagher, Michael, June 7, 1776; des. before he reached the regiment.

Gallahar, John.

Germain, Henry.

Gibbons, David.

Gibson, Henry.

Gill, William, wounded in the hand at Bound Brook; resided in Mercer Co. in 1833, aged eighty-four.

Girdler, James.

Glenn, Hugh, killed in action.

Graham, Alexander, des. Aug., 1778.

Graham, William, Capt. Kilgore's company; resided in Westmoreland Co., in 1811.

Greenland, James.

Grimes, John.

Guthery, Archibald, killed Aug., 1779.

Gwyne, Joseph, June 7, 1776; served three years; resided in Greene Co. in 1808.

Corporal—

Halpen, Joseph.

Privates—

Hamill, Hugh, Finley's company, 1776-79; resided in Westmoreland Co. in 1809.

Hancock, Joseph (c), Capt. Mann's company, 1777; resided in Wayne Co., Ind., in 1834, aged seventy-seven.

Hanley, Michael.

Hardesty, Obadiah, resided in Lawrence Co., Ill., in 1833, aged seventy-one.

Harman, Conrad, died in Muskingum Co., Ohio, June 9, 1822, aged seventy-five.

Harvey, Samuel.

Hezlip, Rezin, Stokely's company; resided in Baltimore in 1813.

Hayes, Jacob, from Brandywine des. Aug., 1778.

Hayes, Joel, from Brandywine, des. Aug., 1778.

Hiere, David, des. Aug., 1778.

Hobach, Philip, resided in Madison Co., Ind., in 1820, aged sixty-four.

Hockley, Richard, Capt. Clarke's company; resided in Westmoreland Co., in 1813.

Hotten, John, Aug. 2, 1776, to Sept. 17, 1779; resided in Westmoreland Co. in 1812.

Humbar, Nicholas.

Hunter, Nicholas (*e*).

Hunter, Robert, John Finley's company; wounded at Bound Brook and Paoli; resided in Westmoreland Co. in 1808.

Hutchinson, John.

Sergeant—

Jamison, John, Capt. Miller's company; enl. in 1776, at Kittanning; resided in Butler Co. in 1835, aged eighty-four.

Privates—

Jennings, Benjamin, Sept. 9, 1776, to Sept. 9, 1779, in Kilgore's company; drafted into rifle regiment; died in Somerset Co. in 1807.

Johnson, Peter (*e*), resided in Harrison Co., Va., in 1829.

Jones, Benjamin, resided in Champagne Co., Ohio, in 1833, aged seventy-one.

Jordan, John, Westmoreland Co.

Justice, Jacob, resided in Bedford Co., in 1820.

Sergeant—

Kerns, Robert.

Drummer—

Kidder, Benjamin.

Fifer—

McKinney, or Kenney, Peter, Capt. Clarke's company, 1776-79; resided in Butler Co. in 1835, aged seventy.

Privates—

Kain, John.

Kairns, Godfrey.

Kean, Thomas, Aug. 23, 1776, Capt. Montgomery's company; he was an indentured servant of William Rankin.

Kelly, Edward.

Kelly, Robert.

Kemble, Jacob.

* Kerr, Daniel.

* Kerr, William, Capt. Miller's company, August, 1776, to Sept. 9, 1779; resided in Westmoreland County in 1823.

Kildea, Michael, paid from Jan. 1, 1777, to Aug. 1, 1780.

Sergeant-Major—

Lee, William, died in Columbiana Co., Ohio, Jan. 6, 1828, aged eighty-five.

Corporals—

Lewis, Samuel.

Lucas, Henry.

Privates—

Lacy, Lawrence.

Lacount, Samuel.

Landers, David.

Lawless, James.

Lacron, John.

Lewis, William, of Brady's company; resided in Morgan Co., Ohio, in 1821.

Lingo, Henry, resided in Trumbull Co., Ohio, in 1834, aged seventy-one.

Long, Gideon, resided in Fayette Co., 1835, aged seventy-nine.

Long, Jeremiah.

Luckey, Andrew, of Westmoreland Co.; Miller's company; became teamster to Eighth Pa.; discharged at Valley Forge; resided in Fayette Co. in 1822, aged sixty-eight.

Sergeant-Major—

McClean, ———.

Sergeants—

McClure, John.

McGregor, John.

Corporals—

McAfee, Matthew.

Mairman, George.

Drummer—

Miller, John, killed in action.

Privates—

McAlly, Edward.

McAnany, Patrick.

McCarty, Jeremiah.

McCauley, Edward.

McChristy, Michael, Capt. Van Swearingen's company, Oct., 1777.

McClean, Abijah.

McComb, Allen, of Mann's company, 1776-79; resided in Indiana Co. in 1810.

McConnell, John, Huffnagle's company, Aug. 28, 1776, to Aug., 1779; died in Westmoreland Co., Dec. 14, 1834, aged seventy-eight.

McFee, Laughlin, killed in action.

McGill, James.

McGlaughlin, Patrick.

McGowan, Mark, enl. in 1775, in Capt. Van Swearingen's company, for two years; Aug. 9, 1776, this company was broken up, and he reenl. under the same captain in the Eighth Pa., and served three years; resided in Mercer Co., Ky., in 1830.

McGuire, Andrew.

- McInamay, Patrick.
 McKee, John, resided in Bath Co., Ky., in 1830.
 McKenney, Peter.
 McKenney, John, Capt. S. Miller's company; enl. March, 1778.
 McKissick, Isaac.
 McKissick, James, Miller's company; resided in Maryland in 1828.
 McMullin, Thomas, August 1776-79; died in Northampton County in 1822.
 Martin, George.
 Maxwell, James, 1776-79, Capt. Montgomery's company; resided in Butler Co. in 1822.
 Mercer, George.
 Merryman, William.
 Miller, Isaac.
 Miller, John.
 Mitchell, James, Mann's company, 1776-79; resided in Somerset Co. in 1810.
 Mooney, Patrick.
 Moore, John.
 Moore, William, Capt. Jack's company, November, 1777.
 Morrison, Edward.
 Morrow, William, transferred to Invalid Corps, Aug., 1780.
 Mowry, Christian.
 Murphy, Michael.
 Murray, Neal, Aug., 1776, Miller's company; taken at Bound Brook, April 17, 1777; released, and rejoined at Germantown, where he was again taken and made his escape.
Fifer—
 Ox, Michael.
Sergeants—
 Parker, John.
 Porter, Robert, resided in Harrison Co., Ohio, 1834, aged seventy-one.
Privates—
 Paris, Peter, Invalid Corps, Aug. 2, 1779.
 Parker, Charles, 1776-79; resided in Armstrong Co., 1818.
 Pegg, Benjamin, Piggott's company, Aug. 13, 1776, to Sept., 1779; resided in Miami Co., Ohio, in 1834, aged eighty-two.
 Penton, Thomas.
 Perry, Samuel, Invalid Corps, Sept., 1778.
 Pettitt, Matthew, resided in Bath Co., Ky., 1834, aged seventy-four.
 Phillips, Luke, Aug. 28, 1776.
 Phillips, Matthew.
 Reed, Samuel.
 Ridner, Conrad.
 Robinson, Simon.
 Rooke, Timothy.
 Rourk, Patrick.
Sergeants—
 Sample, William.
 Smith, John, 1776 to Sept. 20, 1779; died in Indiana Co., 1811.
Corporal—
 Swan, Timothy, resided in Trumbull Co., Ohio, in 1834.
Privates—
 Seaton, Francis.
 Sham, Michael, resided in Rowan Co., N. C., in 1834, aged eighty-six.
 Shedacre, Jacob, Finley's company; killed by the Indians near Potter's Field, Centre Co., July 24, 1778; had served under Morgan at Saratoga.
 Shedam, Jacob.
 Sheridan, Martin.
 Sherlock, Edward, died in Ross Co. Ohio, Feb. 11, 1825, aged sixty-eight.
 Shilhammer, Peter, resided in Westmoreland Co. in 1824.
 Shuster, Martin.
 Simmons, Henry, June 12, 1776, Huffleagle's company.
 Smith, Henry, resided in Rush Co., Ind., in 1834, aged sixty-nine.
 Smith, John, Sr., resided in Frederick Co., Va., in 1834, aged ninety.
 Smith, John, 2d, resided in Westmoreland Co. in 1835.
 Smith, John, 3d, from Mifflin Co.; in Ourry's company, Oct. 1777; reenl. from Third Pennsylvania, Capt. Cook's; taken and scalped at Tuscarawas.
 Steel, Thomas.
 Stephen, Patrick, Capt. Kilgore's company, Oct., 1777.
 Stewart, Charles.
 Stewart, Francis.
 Stewart, Samuel.
 Stevenson, Samuel.
 Stokely, Thomas, Aug., 1776; resided in Washington Co. in 1823.
 Straphan, William.
 Stubbs, Robert.
 Sutton, David.
 Swift, John.
 Taggart, William, trans. to Invalid Corps, July, 1780.
 Tea, John.
 * Tharp, Perry, resided in Marion Co., Ky., in 1834.
 Turner, William, in Stokely's company, Sept. 17, 1776-79; resided in Connellsville, Fayette Co., in 1835, aged eighty-one.
 Tweedy, George.
 Van Doren, Thomas, Finley's com-

pany; served at Saratoga; killed by the Indians near Potter's Fort, Centre Co., July 24, 1778.

Vaughn, Joseph, enl. in Capt. Samuel Moorhead's company, April 24, 1776; served two years and six months; then drafted into Capt. Miller's, and served six months; resided in Half-Moon township, Centre Co., in 1822, aged sixty-two.

Verner, Peter, Invalid Corps, Aug. 2, 1779.

Sergeants—

Woods, John, trans. to Invalid Corps.

Wyatt, Thomas, pro. ensign, Dec. 21, 1778; shoulder-bone broken at Brandywine.

Corporal—

Ward, Matthias.

Drummer—

Whitman, John.

Privates—

Wagoner, Henry, 1776-79; resided in Cumberland Co. in 1819.

Waine, Michael, des. August, 1778.

Waters, Joseph, 1776-79.

Watson, John, July 4, 1777.

Weaver, Adam, 1776-79, Kilgore's company; resided in Westmoreland Co. in 1821.

Wharton, William, resided in Pendleton Co., Ky., in 1834, aged eighty-seven.

Wilkey, David, des. Aug., 1778.

Wilkie, Edward.

Wilkinson, William.

Williams, John, Invalid Corps, Aug. 2, 1779.

Williams, Lewis, resided in Muskingum Co., Ohio, in 1834, aged ninety-two.

Williams, Thomas, killed in action.

Wilson, George, Capt. Huffnagle's company, Oct., 1777.

Wilson, William, resided in Trumbull Co., Ohio, in 1820, aged sixty-eight.

Winkler, Joseph.

Wolf, Philip, resided in Bedford Co. in 1790.

Wyatt, Thomas, pro. sergeant.

Wyllie, Owen.

Wynn, Webster.

Roll of Captain John Clark's Company.—“In a detachment from Penna. Line, Commanded by Stephen Bayard, Esq., Lt.-Colo., for the months of Feb., March, & April, 1783:”

Captain—

Clark, John.

Lieutenants—

Peterson, Gabel.

Crawford, John.

Bryson, Samuel.

Everly, Michl.

Sergeants—

McCline, John.

Baker, Michl.

Blake, William.

Major—

Lee, William.

Corporals—

Gladwin, John.

Jonston, Peter, disc. March 17, 1783.

McAfee, Mathew.

Marmon, George.

Drummers—

Kidder, Benjamin.

Edwards, Johnson.

Fifers—

Bond, John.

Kenny, Peter.

Privates—

Amberson, Johnston.

Atchinson, Joseph, des. Sept. 7, 1783.

Biggett, Robert.

Boothe, George.

Cardwell, Joseph, des. April 1, 1783.

Caringer, Martin.

Carty, Richard.

Casteel, Saml.

Chalmers, Andrew.

Clark, James.

Conner, John.

Conway, Felix.

Cripps, John.

Dinnis, Michael.

Dinnison, James.

Dixon, William.

Dorough, John.

Fossbrook, John.

Gibson, Henery.

Girdler, James.

Harmon, Conrad.

Holtzley, Richard.

Hutchinson, John.

Jones, Benjamin.

Kerns, Godfrey.

• Kerr, Daniel.

Landers, David.

Lingo, Henry.

Lucas, Henry.

Maxwell, James.

McAuley, Edward.

McCristall, Michl.

McGill, James.

McGuire, Andrew.
 Mercer, George.
 Miller, Isaac.
 Mooney, Patrick.
 Morrison, Edward.
 Murphy, Michl.
 Ox, Michael.
 Parker, Charles.
 Rooke, Timothy.

Sherlock, Edward, prisoner of war;
 joined Feb. 5, 1783.
 Smith, John.
 Steed, James, des. 27th March, 1783.
 Stuart, Charles.
 Thorpe, Perry.
 Wharton, William.
 Willson, William.
 Winkler, Joseph W.

Extracts from the minutes of the Board of War:

March 22, 1777.—Moses Young was directed to pay Capt. Joseph Mitchell £40, for amo't of Blankets appraised for the use of his company of the First Batt'n of Westmoreland Militia; £25 of which to be charged to Congress.

Moses Young was directed to pay Captain Pomeroy £10 15 6, for Blankets appraised for the use of his company, of Col. Lochry's Westmoreland Batt'n £ of wh. to be charged to Congress for 4 Blks. lost in actual service, the remainder being delivered into the State store, and taken at the appraisement.

Moses Young was directed to pay the following Persons of Col. Lochry's Batt'n, of Westmoreland Militia, for Blankets appraised for their respective companies, £ of wh. to be charged to Congress for Blks. lost in actual service:

Captain John Shields.....	£9	7s.	6d.
Capt. Alex'r Thompson.....	19	0s.	0d.
Capt. John Perry.....	5	1s.	0d.
Capt. Robert Knox.....	13	2s.	6d.
Capt. Samuel Shannon.....	23	0s.	3d.

Moses Young was directed to pay James Moore £1 for 5 days' service in taking no'r of associators in Donegal Township, Westmoreland County, to be charged to Congress.

March 27, 1777.—Moses Young was directed to pay Capt. Beard, of Westmoreland County, 2 Battalion, £81 8 0, for subsistence of 47 men, to be charged to Congress.

Col. Ric'd Dallam was requested to pay Capt. Joseph Hueston & Lieut. Thos. Mason, of Westmoreland Militia, £35 17 8, for their wages as officers while on their march from Home & Back, they having received pay as Privates while at camp.

Mr. Moses Young was directed to pay George Hendry £454 6 0 for 1 Gill of spirit per man per day, for 308 men of Colonel Lochry's Battalion of Westmoreland Militia, for 59 days at 6d. per Gill, to be charged to Congress.

April 7, 1777.—Mr. Moses Young was directed to pay Colonel John Proctor £12 0 0, for Expense of an Express sent by the Committee of the County of Westmoreland, to the late Convention, for Arms & Ammunition.

May 29, 1777.—An order was drawn on Mr. Nesbitt, in favour of Capt. Michael Hufnagle, of the Eighth Penna. Regiment, for 300 Dollars, to be charged to Col. Danl. Broadhead.

Captain Moses Carson's Ranging Company.—Payroll of Captain Moses Carson's company of Westmoreland county, to range on the frontiers, July 9th, 1776, to August 9th, 1776:

<i>Captain</i> —	Hall, James.
Carson, Moses.	Hutton, John.
<i>Lieutenants</i> —	Hughy, Thomas.
Finley, John.	Jolly, Luke.
Sunrad, Alexander.	Jones, Ben.
<i>Ensign</i> —	Lindsay, Joseph.
Kerr, Joseph.	Long, Matthew.
<i>Privates</i> —	Long, George.
Beatty, Joseph.	Madden, James.
Berry, James.	McCan, John.
Burt, Patrick.	McAfee, Matthew.
Byerley, Francis.	McBride, Henry.
Clark, John.	Nailer, John.
Crawford, Rob.	Sampson, Thos.
Cronifeyer, Lawrence.	Stalt, Peter.
Darragh, Wm.	Sampson, Wm.
Dilworth, John.	Sloan, David.
Funt, Matthias.	Young, Wm.

Captain Thomas Stokely's Company.—Raised in the County of Westmoreland:

<i>Captain</i> —	Gibson, John.
Stokely, Thomas, Feb. 10, 1781.	Heamy, David Honey Bee.
<i>Lieutenant</i> —	Hilles, George.
Cummings, John.	Houdgson, William.
<i>Ensign</i> —	Justice, Peter.
Hooper, William.	McDonald, James.
<i>Privates</i> —	Mars, William.
Albridge, John.	Miller, Michael.
Beatly, John.	Murphy, Patrick.
Burns, John.	Patton, Isaac.
Butler, John.	Pheason, John.
Crossly, John.	Trindle, John.
French, Arthur.	Watson, Robert.



CHAPTER XXII

REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS

CHAPTER XXII.

Revolutionary Soldiers.—Places of Enlistment.—Length of Service.— Date of Death.—Place of Burial.

The following is only a partial list of the Revolutionary soldiers who have lived and died in the present Westmoreland County. It is difficult, if not impossible, to complete it, for many of them are forgotten and their graves are unmarked. The list may contain errors but it was gathered with great care. It is almost invaluable as far as it goes:

George Ament, of Franklin Township, died December 11, 1843, aged 85 years.

Christopher Ankerman, of Mt. Pleasant Township, died July 17, 1845, in the 88th year of his age. He was a drummer and later a soldier in the war. His place of burial is the Ankerman graveyard, near Lycippus.

John Ansley was a native of New Jersey. Prior to 1798 he removed to the northern part of Westmoreland County, where he spent the remainder of his life.

Thomas Anderson took up a large tract of land known as the Richlands, in Derry Township, near New Alexandria. There he died in 1826, aged 103 years, and was buried in the Salem Presbyterian churchyard, in Derry Township.

Joseph Brownlee was a lieutenant in Captain Joseph Erwin's Company, Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment. He was murdered by the Indians near Miller's Station (or Fort), two miles northwest of Greensburg, July 13, 1782, the same day that Hannastown was burned. A more extended notice of Captain Brownlee will be found in the chapter on the Burning of Hannastown.

Thomas Beatty, of Derry Township, died April 4, 1822, in the 70th year of his age. He enlisted in June, 1776, in Captain James Chambers' company of musketry, Colonel Raelly's regiment, Pennsylvania Line. In June, 1777, he reënlisted for three years in the First Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line. During nine months of that period he was a prisoner on board of a British vessel. He served until the end of his term and was honorably discharged.

David Brown, of Fairfield Township, died May 2, 1819, in the 70th year of his age.

John Brennen, of Hempfield Township, died July 10, 1826, aged 77 years. He enlisted in 1777 at McCallistertown, Pennsylvania, in Captain McCallister's company of musketry, Colonel Raelly's regi-

ment, Pennsylvania Line, for the war and served six years. He participated in the battles of Brandywine, Monmouth, Germantown and Paoli, being severely wounded by a bayonet in the latter engagement.

Hon. John Brandon died November 27, 1823, in Washington Township, Indiana County, in the 70th year of his age. He was a soldier from the battle of Bunker Hill to the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. After the war was over Mr. Brandon settled in Westmoreland County, and was elected sheriff in 1792 and again in 1801. He was also a State Senator and held several minor positions.

Leonard Beck, of Hempfield Township, died March 4, 1831, in the 72nd year of his age. His remains are buried at Seanor's Church, Hempfield Township.

John Barnes, of Unity Township, died December 10, 1836, in the 83rd year of his age.

Adam Brantuwer died in Westmoreland County, July 29, 1834, aged 84 years. He enlisted in Captain Thomas Craig's company, Second Pennsylvania battalion, Colonel Arthur St. Clair, on January 13, 1776, as a private for one year. At the end of that term he reënlisted in the Pennsylvania Line, for three years or during the war, and was honorably discharged in 1781.

James Block was sergeant in Captain Robert Orr's company in a battalion of Westmoreland militia, under command of Colonel Archibald Lochry. In 1781 the battalion was ordered on an expedition down the Ohio river, and on August 24th of that year, Sergeant Block was tomahawked and killed by the Indians. An extended notice of the Lochry Expedition is given elsewhere in these pages.

Joseph Bullman was a son of Thomas Bullman and Anna Walling. He was married November 18th, 1762, to Mary Baird, sister of Captain John and Major William Baird, and daughter of John and Avis Baird. All were of Monmouth County, New Jersey. Part of the time he was an ensign with Captain Carter and Colonel Hathaway. He removed to Westmoreland County and settled in Loyalhanna Township at a woolen factory near Fennell Church, where he spent the remainder of his life. His remains were probably interred at Congruity Presbyterian cemetery, as his son, Rev. Samuel P. Bullman, was a member of that church during his youth.

Jacob Byerly died in North Huntington Township, July 7, 1858, aged 99 years. He was born in Fort Bedford, and came with his father to the vicinity of Harrison City in 1762. He did valiant service on the frontier and in a number of expeditions against the Indians, and during the Revolution was attached to the Thirteenth Virginia regiment, part of which was stationed at Fort Pitt.

James Carnahan was a lieutenant in Captain Joseph Erwin's company of Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment. He was subsequently at various times a captain in the Second, Eighth and Thirteenth Pennsylvania regiments, Continental Line. He served from March, 1776, until 1781. He was accidentally drowned in the Allegheny river in the winter of 1786. His father, John Carnahan, was one of the early settlers in Bell Township, where he built a log house in 1774. Captain James Carnahan was the father of the late Dr. Carnahan, president of Princeton College. He is referred to elsewhere in these pages and was indeed one of our best men in the Revolution.

Garret Covode, of Fairfield Township, died February 21, 1826, in the 91st year of his age. His remains are interred in the old Fairfield Presbyterian churchyard. He was a native of Holland and a resident of Ligonier for 36 years. He was the grandfather of Hon. John Covode.

Captain Daniel Carpenter, of Franklin Township, died December 14, 1827, in the 79th year of his age. He was a captain in the Revolution under General Washington. He was a native of Lancaster County.

John Curry, Sr., died in Preble County, Ohio, August 27, 1835, aged 85 years. He was one of the first settlers on the Allegheny river in Westmoreland County, located three miles southeast of Freeport. He served several years in the war, and at its close returned to his home on the river. Three times the Indians burned his house, and three times he was compelled to flee with his family east of the mountains to escape the savages. In 1814 he removed to Preble County, Ohio.

Samuel Craig.—The Craig family, father and three sons, rendered splendid service in the war. Samuel was a lieutenant in Colonel John Proctor's battalion of militia. He was captured by the Indians. John Craig died in 1847, his remains being interred in Freeport, Pennsylvania. Alexander Craig died October 29, 1832, in his 77th year. He was buried at Congruity; Samuel Craig, Jr., died in 1808.

Samuel Carson was buried in the cemetery at Long Run Church, North Huntington Township. He enlisted at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, January 25, 1776, as a private in Captain James Taylor's company, Fourth Pennsylvania battalion, under Colonel Anthony Wayne, and served until the close of the war.

Zebulon Doty was born in New Jersey, in 1760. After the war he came to Derry Township, and settled near Salem Presbyterian Church. He died at Blairsville, Pennsylvania.

William Donald, of Franklin Township, died June 10, 1845, in

the 95th year of his age. He was a native of Northampton County. He participated in the battles of Long Island, White Plains, Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine and Germantown. His remains were interred in the graveyard on his own farm with military honors. The Franklin Blues, under command of Captain Hugh Irwin, performed the last sad honors.

Francis Davidson, of Salem Township, died October 8, 1845, at the age of 106 years.

George Dugon, of Westmoreland county, died August 16, 1834, leaving no family.

Nathanael Doty died at his residence in Derry Township, March 24, 1848, in the 86th year of his age. He was a native of New Jersey, and served in Captain Carter's company, Colonel Hathaway's regiment, New Jersey Line. His remains were interred in Salem Presbyterian churchyard, Derry Township.

David Dickey was buried at Congruity graveyard.

John Eggert (Eckert) of Unity Township, died February 15, 1845, in his 86th year. He was one of the Hessians captured by Washington's Army. Subsequently he joined the American Army and served during the remainder of the war with bravery and fidelity. He was always a respected and loyal citizen of his adopted country.

Robert Elder served five years in the war. In 1784 he emigrated from a section of Lancaster County that is now included in Dauphin, to Westmoreland, and settled near New Alexandria, where he died many years afterward at the age of 86 years. His remains are interred in the Salem Presbyterian churchyard, Derry Township.

John Finley was a lieutenant in Captain Moses Carson's company in 1776, to range the frontiers. He died on his farm in South Huntington Township, September 9, 1813.

Hon. William Findley, of Unity Township, died April 4, 1821, aged 80 years. His body was buried in the Unity cemetery, near Latrobe, where a modest monument marks his resting place. He rose to the rank of captain in the war, was a member of the Council of Censors, of the Supreme Executive Council, of the convention that ratified the Federal Constitution, a member of the convention that framed the State Constitution of 1790, a member of the General Assembly, and for twenty-two years a representative in the Congress of the United States. He was a prominent figure on the side of law and order in the latter part of the Whisky Insurrection, and was the author of a history of that notable and lamented trouble, which was published in 1796. A more extended account of his life will be found elsewhere in this work.

William Farrell died in Mt. Pleasant borough, June 20, 1828, aged

82 years. He enlisted in 1777, in the Seventh Regiment of Pennsylvania Line, under Colonel William Butler (the Flying Company) and participated in the battles of Brunswick, Trenton, Germantown, Monmouth, Brandywine and Paoli, being wounded in the head at the latter place. He also served under Colonel William Butler (the Flying Company). At his death his remains were interred with the honors of war by the Mount Pleasant Volunteers, under command of Lieutenant Miller.

Lieutenant Andrew Finley, of South Huntington Township, died July 5, 1820, aged about 80 years. Sixty years previously, when surrounded by difficulties and encountering danger at every step, he visited the State of Kentucky, at that time little more than a trackless wilderness. He enlisted in the Continental Army as first lieutenant in the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonel Aeneas Mackay, and after his death by Colonel Daniel Broadhead. On various occasions Mr. Finley distinguished himself by his daring intrepidity in opposing the Indians and in relieving the inhabitants of the frontier settlements.

Mathias Fisher, of Ligonier Township, died February 17, 1834.

Lieutenant Enos Grannis, of Hempfield Township, died March 18, 1824, aged 69 years. He enlisted in Connecticut, August 25th, 1777, in a company of artificers, commanded by Captain Pendleton. In November, 1779, he was appointed a lieutenant in that company, which was attached to the regiment commanded by Colonel Baldwin, Connecticut Line. The regiment joined the Southern Army and marched to South Carolina. Lieutenant Grannis was honorably discharged at Philadelphia, November 3rd, 1783. Not long thereafter he became a citizen of Westmoreland County.

William Guthrie, of Washington Township, died August 8, 1829, in the 95th year of his age. He was one of the pioneers. He enlisted in May, 1777, and continued in service for four years, in the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line. He participated in many engagements with the Indians on the Westmoreland frontier and was noted for his great bravery.

James Gaghby, of Fairfield Township, died May 23, 1834, in the 82nd year of his age. He immigrated to this country during the war, and joined the army. After the war he settled in Fairfield Township, where he resided until his death.

Mathias H. Holston, of Derry Township, died August 8, 1822.

William Hitchman, of Mount Pleasant Township, died February 10, 1834, aged about 75 years. He was a native of Cecil county, Maryland. At the age of sixteen he enlisted under Captain Maxwell in

a corps attached to the Maryland Line. He came to this county very early and suffered the hardships and privations to which the pioneers of the western country were exposed.

Robert Hamill was born in County Antrim, Ireland, and came with his parents, John Hamill and Elizabeth Gibson, to America in 1761. About 1785, they removed to Ligonier Valley, two miles south of Palmer's Fort. The father, John Hamill, being drafted, Robert went in his place and served three years. He died in 1841 in the 83rd year of his age.

Hugh Hamill served in Captain Finley's company from 1776 to 1779. He resided in Ligonier Valley in 1809, and was one of the original first session of the Associated Reformed Presbyterian Church of that section.

Jacob Heminger died in Mount Pleasant Borough, April 5, 1842, in the 86th year of his age and his remains were interred with military honors by Captain Clark's Volunteer Corps of Jackson Grays.

Jacob Holtzer came to America prior to the Revolution, coming from Germany. He settled near Lewistown, Pennsylvania, enlisted in the army and was promoted to sergeant. After the war he came to Westmoreland and settled in the southwestern section of Unity Township. His remains were buried in Hempfield Township in what is known as the Central Cemetery. Many of his descendants are now well known residents of this county, some of whom still bear his name.

Colonel John Irwin, of Brush Hill (North Huntington Township), died February 22nd, 1822, in the 83rd year of his age. He came to this country in 1762, and soon after was appointed commissary in the British Army. During the war he was quartermaster of the western department. He afterwards represented Westmoreland for several sessions in the General Assembly. In 1794 he was appointed Associate Judge of the courts of this county, the appointment being made by Governor Thomas Mifflin. He was active in the building of the Greensburg and Stoyestown turnpike, now the Lincoln Highway.

Captain Matthew Jack died November 26th, 1836, and his remains were buried at Congruity. He entered the service as a first lieutenant in the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line. He lost the use of his left hand by the bursting of his gun at Bound Brook, New Jersey. He was promoted to captain, April 13, 1777, and became a supernumerary, January 31, 1779. He also rendered services at times in defense of the frontiers. At the burning of Hannastown in 1782 he was among the first to go out from the stockade to learn the strength of the enemy and to alarm the settlers. His famous ride and rescue of Mrs. Love and her babe on that memorable day, are well known

facts in history. Captain Jack likewise participated in the war of 1812, and among his effects, still to be seen, is a valuable relic made from the wood of a British vessel and marked with a silver plate bearing this inscription: "Capt. Matthew Jack; Perry's Victory, Lake Erie, 1813."

John Johnston, of Allegheny township, died March 12, 1843, in the 103rd year of his age. He served faithfully from the beginning to the close of the Revolution and was with General Anthony Wayne's command, and participated in the battles of White Plains, Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, Stony Point, Guilford Court House and Yorktown. At the storming of Stony Point he was one of the gallant "Forlorn Hope." His body was escorted to the grave by the militia under the command of Major George W. Martin and Captain Kipp, and buried with the honors of war, in presence of the largest concourse of people ever assembled in the neighborhood at an interment.

General William Jack died at his residence near Greensburg, February 18, 1821, in the 68th year of his age. He was born near Strabane, County Tyrone, Ireland, in 1751, and came to Westmoreland county with his elder brother, Matthew Jack, in 1772. General Jack was distinguished for his zeal and activity in protecting the frontiers, and was one of the founders of Greensburg. With Christopher Truby and Ludwick Otterman he donated the ground upon which are erected our present public buildings. He was second lieutenant of the Pennsylvania independent company of which Samuel Moorhead was captain, his commission bearing date of January 1, 1777. He afterwards gained the title of general by virtue of an appointment as brigadier general of Westmoreland militia; his commission signed by Governor Thomas Mifflin, April 19, 1793. He was a justice of the Court of Common Pleas during the Revolution. He donated to the burgess and inhabitants of Greensburg, lots of ground for a school building, house of worship, and burial ground, now embraced within the old St. Clair cemetery. His remains are interred there near the grave of Major-General Arthur St. Clair.

James Jones served in the war about six years and six months. He was born November 11, 1761, and died August 18, 1811. He was buried at Congruity Church. He was the grandfather of H. M. Jones, ex-county superintendent of the Westmoreland schools.

Joseph Kaylor, Sr., of Hempfield township, died April 1, 1833, in the 77th year of his age. At the beginning of the war he was taken from his native county and widowed mother on the coast of Germany by a British press gang and forced into service against the American

colonies. On the first opportunity after his arrival in this country he escaped from the British and their cause and joined his fortunes with those of Washington's army. He distinguished himself as a brave soldier in three severe engagements. At the close of the war he settled in this county, and here spent the remainder of his life.

Captain David Kilgore, of Mt. Pleasant township, died July 11, 1814, in the 70th year of his age. His remains were interred in the church yard of the Middle Church in Mt. Pleasant township. He was captain of a company in a regiment enlisted in June, 1776, for defense of the Westmoreland frontier, and which subsequently became the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line.

Colonel Archibald Lochry was killed by the Indians on August 24, 1781, down the Ohio river where he had led his forces. See account of his expedition in another part of this work.

David Logan, of Franklin township, died November 28, 1815, aged 60 years.

Jacob Peter Long, of Mt. Pleasant township, died January 19, 1842, in the 83rd year of his age. He was a teamster in the war. He was buried in the churchyard of the Middle Church.

Captain Jeremiah Lochry died January 21, 1824, at the residence of Samuel Moorhead, in Salem township, in the 93rd year of his age, and was buried at Congruity. He was a captain in the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line.

John Leach, a private in Captain James Leach's company of militia of Westmoreland county during the war, was killed by the Indians.

James Montgomery, of Unity township, died March 14, 1824, aged 72 years. He participated in the war, and subsequently in several tours against the Indians. He settled in Westmoreland county in 1784, was elected a number of times to the State Legislature, and appointed register and recorder by Governor Snyder in 1813.

Alexander McLain died in Youngstown, Pennsylvania, February 2, 1826, aged 84 years. He served his county during the war and received four wounds, one each at the battles of Trenton, Brandywine, Germantown and Paoli.

Mathias Marker, of Donegal township, died April 17, 1840, aged 91 years. He came from Maryland, enlisting perhaps from Virginia.

Edward McDonnell died February 5, 1836, leaving no family.

Peter Martin, of North Huntingdon township, died May 20, 1822, aged about 72 years. He enlisted for three years in the company commanded by Captain William Bratton, in the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonel William Irvine, and for a time by Colonel Josiah Horner. He served his full term, and was honorably

discharged at Trenton, New Jersey, his discharge being signed by General Wayne.

Captain William Moore, of Salem township, died January 12, 1819, in the 79th year of his age. He was one of the earliest settlers of that locality, and was an active and useful citizen during the trying frontier days of his section, and was an officer in the Revolution.

Isaac McKissack was born in County Antrim, Ireland, in 1752, and immigrated to America in 1772. At the outbreak of the war he enlisted in the army for seven years, was with Washington at Valley Forge, and endured all the trials of a soldier until peace was declared. He came west and was one of the soldiers on the frontiers, protecting the settlers from the attacks of the Indians. When Hannastown was burned he was in a field harvesting near Latrobe. Hearing the report of the firearms he dropped his sickle, and with gun in hand, started for the scene of action. He was one of the men who guarded the fort that night at Hannastown. After the raids of the Indians ceased, he settled on a farm in Unity township. He married Mary Cochran, of Salem township, and two daughters were born to them; one died when young and the other, Eleanor, married William Barnes, of Unity township. They moved to a farm in North Huntingdon township, near Irwin. Isaac McKissack and his wife, in their declining years, made their home with William Barnes. Isaac died suddenly September 19, 1830, aged 78 years. His body was interred in the graveyard at Long Run Church, near Circleville. Descendants yet survive him, residents of this county.

James McBride died December 21, 1837, aged 79 years, 9 months and 6 days. He was buried in the family burial ground on the McBride farm in Loyalhanna township. He enlisted three times, first in August, 1777, and was granted a pension by the United States in 1833.

Peter Maharg died in 1803, and was buried in the Fairfield Presbyterian churchyard. He was a captain in Thomas Stokely's company with Lochry's expedition, was taken a prisoner by the Indians and returned from captivity in 1782. A more extended notice of his capture is found in another part of this work.

Alexander McCurdy died at the residence of his son, Samuel, near Tunnel Hill, Derry township, January 6, 1830, aged 86 years. He enlisted in 1776 in Captain William Peebles' company, Second Battalion, Regiment of Riflemen, Pennsylvania Line, commanded by Colonel Miles. He was a native of Ireland but removed when young to the Ligonier valley. He is buried in the Baptist churchyard, Loyalhanna township.

James Montgomery was appointed a captain in the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line, and died in service August 26, 1777.

Samuel Mehaffey resided on the line between Salem and Loyalhanna townships. He died in 1842, and was buried in Congruity churchyard but his grave is unmarked and probably unknown.

John McConnell, of Franklin township, died May 26, 1832, in the 78th year of his age. He enlisted in Captain Eli Myers' Company, Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, in June, 1776. The regiment first did duty at Kittanning, and in the winter was marched to New Jersey. He was in the battle of Bound Brook, and a number of skirmishes in that locality. About a year and a half later the regiment returned to the western country to operate against the Indians. It marched by way of Pittsburgh to Beaver Creek and assisted in building Fort McIntosh. It then joined in the campaign under General McIntosh against the Indians on the Tuscaroras and later in the campaign against the Muncy Indians under command of Colonel Broadhead. After three years of service he was discharged at Pittsburgh by Colonel Bayard, who then commanded the regiment.

William Marshall, of Unity township, died November 17, 1828, in the 76th year of his age. He resided in this section of the State before the war and encountered all the dangers to which the inhabitants of the frontier settlements were then exposed. He volunteered his services at an early period and while on an expedition against the Indians was taken by them and carried to Detroit, where he was detained for a considerable time during which his sufferings were very great. He at length succeeded in reaching home.

Samuel Miller, on August 9, 1776, was appointed captain of a company in a battalion enlisted for the protection of the frontier on the west side of the Allegheny mountains. It was, as the reader will recall, then ordered east as the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, to do service in New Jersey. While at home on a furlough, he with others, was hauling grain to Fort Hand, when on July 7, 1778, they were surprised by a party of Indians and Miller and seven of the party were killed. He was the original owner of Miller's Station, two miles north-east of Greensburg, which was attacked and destroyed by the Indians and renegades who burned Hannastown, July 13, 1782. More of his character is given in the sketch on the burning of Hannastown.

Thomas Newill, of Mt. Pleasant township, died November 8, 1828, in the 86th year of his age. He had participated in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown and was distinguished for his gallantry and devotion to the cause.

Joseph Pound enlisted January 13, 1776, at Philadelphia, as Joseph Pointo, and served as sergeant in Captain Stephen Bayard's Company of Arthur St. Clair's Second Pennsylvania Battalion. At the time of the outbreak of the war his parents resided at Bound Brook, New Jersey. Joseph Pound's father and three brothers also served in the war. He emigrated from Basking Ridge, New Jersey, to Westmoreland county in 1795, and finally located at Tunnel Hill, near Livermore. He died April 4, 1813, aged 63. His remains were interred in Salem Presbyterian churchyard.

Thomas Patterson, Sr., of Derry township, died August 11, 1834, in the 78th year of his age. He was a resident of Derry township for more than six years prior to his death.

Zebulon Park, of Donegal township, died July 4, 1846, in his 90th year. He enlisted in Captain Thomas Patterson's Company, Third New Jersey Regiment, Continental Line, in January, 1776, and was in the service four years and six months. He participated in the battles of Ticonderoga, Monmouth, Long Island, Elizabethtown, Brandywine, Trenton and others. He was wounded at Brandywine. He resided on the farm where he died in Donegal township, for over fifty years and was buried in Pleasant Grove churchyard in Cook township.

John Payne's remains are buried in Pleasant Grove churchyard, Cook township. His grave is not marked.

Major Andrew Ralston, of New Alexandria, died August 31, 1819, aged 66 years, and was buried in New Alexandria. He enlisted at the first call for troops, entered the service as a private in the Pennsylvania Militia, and served throughout the entire war in various military stations.

General William Reed, of New Alexandria, died June 17, 1813, and was buried in that place. He took an active part in the war, and subsequently filled various public offices. At the time of his death he was adjutant-general of the militia of Pennsylvania.

Brintnell Robbins served as an officer under Washington during the Revolution. He subsequently became a tradesman, farmer and ship builder, distinguished in the last named occupation for building the boats which conveyed Scott's troops across Niagara and into Canada. In 1830 he moved to a farm near Greensburg and finally died in a stone building afterwards known as the Stark Corner, opposite the present Rappe Hotel, that is on the corner of Pennsylvania avenue and West Otterman street, on July 25, 1836, and is buried in Harrolds graveyard, three miles south of Greensburg.

John Rose served two terms in the war, and his remains now rest

in the Olive graveyard in Franklin township, three miles north of Murrys ville.

Charles Richart, Sr., of Mt. Pleasant township, died August 17, 1852, aged 96 years, 10 months, 20 days. His body was interred in St. Paul's (or Ridge Church) burial ground, near Trauger. He was a fifer in the war.

George Frederick Schiebeler, of Hempfield township, enlisted at Fredericktown, Maryland, in the company commanded by Captain John Steth, in the dragoons commanded by Colonel William Washington. After nearly two years service he was taken prisoner at Santee River, and kept one year on board of a prison ship at Charleston, from whence he was taken to the West Indies. He made his escape, but was unable to return to America until the close of the war. He then resided in Westmoreland county for fifty years. At the time of his death he was survived by two children, sixteen grandchildren and forty-six great-grandchildren.

Major Isaac Sadler, of Washington township, died June 20, 1843, in the 84th year of his age. He was born May 14, 1760, and enlisted in the army when quite young. He was born when the country was yet wild and desolate, and when savages frequented the borders.

Captain John Shields died near New Alexandria, November 3, 1821, in the 82nd year of his age. He was an early settler in the western country, having come here in 1771, and remained until his death. In 1776 he commanded a company that marched to Pittsburgh, to guard a number of commissioners deputed to treat with certain Indian nations. For several years he was actively engaged in guarding the frontier against the savages. When the war broke out he entered it as a captain. He had been a member of the General Assembly, was a magistrate for many years, and was one of the trustees for the erection of the first courthouse in Greensburg.

Daniel St. Clair died February 18, 1833, in Mifflin county, Pennsylvania, at an advanced age. He was an ensign in Captain John Reese's Company, Second Pennsylvania Battalion, and subsequently a second lieutenant in the Third Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line. He was a son of Major-General Arthur St. Clair.

Ezekiel Sample, of South Huntingdon township, died March 31, 1829, in the 80th year of his age. He lived in the township for forty-two years and was a justice of the peace for twenty-seven years.

Lieutenant Daniel Sloan, of Captain Joseph Erwin's Company, Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment, was killed in the battle of Long Island, August 27, 1776.

Andrew Simpson, of Salem township, was an ensign in a company

of foot commanded by Captain Samuel Moorhead, of the First Battalion, of Westmoreland Militia. The command had been in Kittanning Fort. Returning home on March 16, 1777, and still in the service, he was shot, killed and scalped by the Indians.

John Stewart, of Hannastown, a private in Captain Robert Orr's Company, Colonel Archibald Lochry's Battalion of Westmoreland Militia; he was killed and scalped with others of the company, August 24, 1781. (See Lochry's Expedition).

Nehemiah Stokely was a captain in the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line. He died in Westmoreland county in 1811.

John Topper, of Unity township, died February 16, 1839, in the 90th year of his age.

Balsar Trout, of Allegheny township, died July 5, 1837, in the 80th year of his age. He served throughout the entire war, and in 1777 marched from Winchester, Virginia, to Fort Pitt, and subsequently participated in the battle of Yorktown, witnessing the surrender of Lord Cornwallis to General Washington.

Hugh Torrence, of Franklin township, died June 23, 1830, in the 85th year of his age. He was a member of the regiment commanded by Colonel Cadwalader, and was in the battles of Monmouth, Brandywine, Germantown and others. He resided in this county thirty-three years prior to his death.

Simon Taylor died at his home near New Alexandria, April 21, 1831.

John Woods, of Salem township, died April 28, 1827.

Matt Wilkinson, of Bairdstown, Derry township, died December 4, 1856, aged 96 years. He was born in Hartford, Connecticut, and served in the war with his uncle, Captain Daniel Lawrence. After the war he removed to Scranton, Pennsylvania, and in 1820 to Blacklick township, Indiana county, and thence to Bairdstown. His remains are interred in the Blairsville cemetery.

Adam Weaver died at Pleasant Unity about the year 1831, aged about 78 years. His remains were interred in a country burial ground on the old William T. Nicolls farm in Mt. Pleasant township, one-half mile from Lycippus. He was a member of Captain David Kilgore's Company, Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, in 1776, and was honorably discharged by Colonel Broadhead in 1779, at Pittsburgh. He participated in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, Paoli and Bound Brook. He was buried with the honors of war.

Nathan Williams, of Greensburg, died November 2, 1830, aged 72 years. He was a private in the Second Pennsylvania Regiment,

Continental Line. His remains were interred in the Old St. Clair cemetery.

George Wagner died in 1820 and was buried in the graveyard at Seanor's Church, Hempfield township.

Captain John Young died at his home in Salem township, August 13, 1841, in the 87th year of his age. He enlisted in the army under Captain Abraham Smith, of Cumberland county, in 1775, and marched to lower Canada, where he served under Generals Schuyler and Sullivan. He was in several battles, one of them being the battle of Three Rivers. He moved to Salem township in 1775, where he resided for fifty-six years. For several years after he settled there the Indians were troublesome in that locality, and Captain Young on a number of occasions, raised companies of soldiers and rendered important services in guarding the frontier.

Captain Jeremiah Lochry died January 21, 1824, aged 94 years, and is buried at Congruity. He was in Braddock's army, and at the defeat. He was adjutant of the Eighth Regiment, and went with it from Westmoreland to New Jersey, under his brother, Colonel Archibald Lochry. He served during the remainder of the Revolution as a captain.

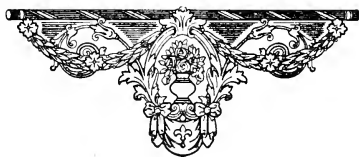
The State of Pennsylvania, by special acts of Assembly, often granted pensions to the worthy and needy who had rendered services in the Revolution, and also to their widows. The following is a list of the names of those to whom pensions were granted by special acts of the Legislature. They are not published among the regular lists of Pennsylvanians who were pensioned by the Government. All of these were pensioned as Westmoreland citizens. The date opposite the name denotes the year the pension was granted. The list was made from the pamphlet laws of Pennsylvania by Mr. J. W. Taylor, of Greensburg, and it is believed, none have been omitted:

John Brannon	1820	John Campbell	1838
William Brown	1825	Henry Croushour	1838
William Briney	1836	Margaret Callahan	1841
Eleanor Blair	1836	William Campbell	1838
Killian Briney	1838	Mary Cowen	1849
Margaret Barnett	1844	William Donnel	1825
Nancy Blair	1844	Francis Davidson	1829
William Beatty	1845	Sarah Davis	1836
Robert Crawford	1822	James Denning	1838
Thomas Campbell	1824	James Duncan	1844
Eanor Conner	1837	Jane Duncan (widow of Jas. Duncan)	1848
George Chambers	1837	Elizabeth Davidson	1846
Robert Cooper	1837	Rosanna Eager	1842
James Cowen	1837		

Robert Ewing	1835	Nancy McConnell	1834
Jacob Freeman	1838	James McKensey	1838
James Freeman	1845	John Mertz	1834
Mary Frantz	1856	George McWilliams	1838
James Flood	1857	William Moreland	1839
James Gageby	1824	Robert McGuire	1843
Robert Gibb	1825	Mary A. Mowry	1845
Jacob Grist	1838	James McElroy	1845
Martin Gray	1844	Sam. Marshall, Sr.	1845
Eleanor Gilgore	1846	Henry Mosher	1849
Peter Gordon	1844	Hannah Mosher	1855
Robert Gilchrist	1846	Catherine McIntyre	1854
Rachel George (widow of David George)	1859	Rebecca Moreland	1857
Mary Geary	1847	Jane Nixon	1846
Mary Gray	1847	James Payton	1830
Robert Hunter	1808	Robert Pain	1838
Andrew Hazlet	1826	James Patrick	1844
Robert Hunter	1827	William Patrick	1845
J. W. Hollingsworth	1835	Sarah Patterson	1857
Eleanor Hagerman	1838	Robert Piper	1845
Michael Hoffman	1835	Adam F. Roesser	1824
Catherine Huffnagle	1838	George Reem	1836
David Hossack	1836	Samuel Robb	1838
John Harbison	1838	Ann Reger	1849
Robert Hannah	1841	Simon Ruffner	1838
Christena Huffman	1840	Barbara Ruffner	1851
Samuel Henderson	1844	Susanna Stokely	1834
Jacob Houseman	1854	Fred Septer	1835
Hugh Irvin	1849	Andrew Shaw	1835
John Johnston	1825	David Shaw	1835
Elizabeth Jamison	1839	Mary Snyder	1839
Margaret Johnston	1838	Alexander Scott	1842
Joseph Johnston	1845	Ann Smith	1839
Ephraim Jellison	1846	Catharine Shaw	1844
James Kean	1826	George Singerly	1843
George Koehler	1826	Barbara Snyder	1844
Hanna M. Kimmel (widow of Jacob Kimmel)	1827	Reynold Stevens	1845
David Louther	1838	John A. Smith	1844
Alexander Lyons	1845	Catharine Septer	1848
Margaret Libengood	1860	Elizabeth Shields (widow of John Shields)	1857
Sarah Louther	1854	John Taylor	1838
Captain Jerry Lochry	1807	Daniel Yarr	1843
Jane McGuire	1824	Adam Weaver	1833
Jane Martin	1827	Robert Williams	1838
James McSorley	1834	John G. Wilkins	1838
Margaret McClain	1827	James Wilson	1849
		Ananias Wisener	1838

Eve Oury was granted a special pension of forty dollars per year by act of April 1, 1846. The act itself recites that it was granted for

heroic bravery and risking her life in defence of the garrison of Hannastown Fort, in 1778, when it was attacked by a large number of Indians, and that by her fortitude, she performed efficient service in driving away the Indians, and thus saved the inmates from a horrid butchery by the merciless and savage foe. (See P. L. 1846, page 210). She was a daughter of Francis Oury, and died at Shieldsburg in 1848 and is buried at Congruity.



CHAPTER XXIII

BURNING OF HANNASTOWN

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Burning of Hannastown.—The Darkest Time in Pioneer History.—The Reapers Flee to the Fort.—Matthew Jack, David Shaw and James Brison Arouse the Neighborhood.—The County Seat in Ashes.—Miller's Blockhouse Captured.—The Wedding Attracts the Settlers.—Remarkable Escapes.—Property Destroyed; Brownlee Killed; the Plunder Divided.—The Prisoners Captured.—The Leader Unknown.—The Wife of Brownlee.—The Original Purpose of the Raiders.—The Effect on Western Pennsylvania.

The gloomiest year in our pioneer history, so far as Indian troubles were concerned, was 1782. To understand this the reader has but to recall the ill-fated Lochry expedition and the murder of the Moravian Indians. Emboldened by the failure of the former and embittered by the barbarity of the latter, the hostility of the red men knew no bounds. Our people did not pretend to work in the fields in the summer of 1782 without a guard of their neighbors who skirted the fields to prevent the approach of the enemy.

Those who were regarded as special defenders of the Hannastown settlement were Matthew Jack, Colonel Campbell, Captain Love, Lieutenant Guthrie, the Brownlees, the Brisons, the Wilsons and the Shaws. As the Indian incursions became more frequent the pioneers united more closely, until by midsummer the entire populace lived in forts and blockhouses or kept in close touch with them. The owner of a field of grain did not think of reaping his harvest alone; the work was done by the assembled community, so that they might present a more formidable opposition in the event of an Indian attack. In addition to the fort and strong houses at Hannastown, there were Fort Walthour, Miller's Blockhouse and George's Cabin and Rugh's Blockhouse, all near enough to Hannastown to be called on in times of danger. These were places of comparative safety and thither went a large majority of the settlers and their families of the Hannastown region. The land surrounding these localities had generally been taken up by pioneer settlers. Hannastown had been practically a county seat for nearly a decade, and the county for several miles in each direction was cleared in part, and, for that day, thickly populated. Almost every farmer had some fields fenced with stake and rider fences to protect their crops against live stock. The farmers had cattle, horses, sheep, and the community around the county seat bid fair to surpass all others in Southwestern Pennsylvania, if indeed it had not already done so. The only rival it knew was the Pittsburgh settlement.

The garrison at Hannastown had been guarded by militia soldiers, but all of them had deserted their post for the reason that they were not paid. They are said to have been actually in rags when they left, and the reader must not fault them for leaving it. The settlers were therefore left unprotected and were compelled to take care of themselves in times of danger. In many parts of the county, particularly to the north from Hannastown, homes were deserted, the owners and their families having gone, many of them to their original places east of the mountains. The people in the Hannastown community, because of its prominence as a county seat, were confident that if a raid was made it would be the objective point. They were, to be sure, unusually vigilant all summer, but they had no particular warning to put them on their guard.

The men of Hannastown were on Saturday, July 13, 1782, mostly engaged in harvesting a field of grain which belonged to Captain Michael Huffnagle. His name will be readily recalled as the prothonotary who succeeded Arthur St. Clair, and also as a captain in the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment. He had also been a justice, sitting on the bench and had acquired many acres and much property in this section. He was, moreover, a man of great strength of character. While in the Revolutionary service he had been wounded in the leg, which incapacitated him from further duty at the front, but it did not, by any means, prevent him from taking a leading part in the almost constant wars with the Indians. The harvesters of his grain had cut one field, for fields were small then; had eaten their cold dinners in the shade, and were about ready to begin on another field. These fields lay about one and a half miles north of Hannastown, the land being more recently a part of the farm of Jacob Longsdorf. The grain that day, whether wheat, rye or oats, was cut entirely by sickles, and the reapers, with their heads and bodies bent down, could be easily approached by the Indians. It must be remembered that the fields were almost invariably skirted by woodland and underbrush.

One of the reapers while on watch duty crossed over to the side of the field next to the woodland, whereupon he detected Indians hiding behind the trees and stealthily awaiting the time when the reapers should again resume their work. The reaper or watchman ran back, gave the alarm, and at once the entire party started on a run for Hannastown. Some of them in their haste failed to secure their firearms, while others bent their course somewhat to notify their neighbors, but the general course was south to Hannastown. In a few minutes they reached the stockade and almost instantly the whole town was in excitement.

The minutes of the court show that the session began Tuesday, July 9, with Judge Edward Cook and his associates on the bench. Court was held in the log house built by Robert Hanna, and it had been held there since the formation of the county nearly ten years previous. The excited inhabitants acted quickly, but wisely, too, for they first took the court records from the court room to the stockade; took these same old brown papers that are now in our court house to a place of safety. They are now the heirlooms of the pioneer days from which we have so frequently quoted in these pages. Though browned with age, they are yet in a good state of preservation. The second thing they did was to release all prisoners by breaking open the door of the log jail. The young and strong assisted the aged and infirm and the children from their homes to the fort. The haste with which this was done may be imagined from the well-known fact that they took with them none of their clothes, no furniture, not even provisions for a single meal. In a few minutes all were in the fort who wanted to go in and the gates of the palisades were ready to be closed.

Some of the stronger and more athletic young men did not care to enter the fort then, but preferred to stay out to further spread the alarm and to fight the Indians in the open. These were rangers whose strength and skill in border warfare have been treated of before in this work. They would have regarded it as almost cowardly or effeminate to accept the protection of the fort before they had warned the entire settlement of the presence of the enemy. Among them are names long since familiar to the reader—Matthew Jack, James Brison, David Shaw. Brison, as a clerk to Arthur St. Clair, had kept the court records and it was doubtless his forethought which secured them in that hour of danger. These young men volunteered to go north toward the approaching enemy and learn more of their strength and intention. There was no way for them to go save on foot, yet they at once went unflinching. But before they started, Matthew Jack, who fortunately had a horse with him, had set out in a circular direction, intending to pass around and reconnoitre the enemy and also notify the surrounding settlements of their presence.

When the reapers ran from the field the Indians remained in concealment, or at all events, did not at once pursue them. Their object had undoubtedly been to capture and murder them in the field and then attack the defenseless town without warning. But for the vigilance of the watchman this might have happened. The Indians waited nearly an hour after the reapers left, hoping doubtless that they being ignorant of the Indian strength would return to chase them from the country. Captain Jack was not a citizen of Hannastown, but hap-

pened to be in the village that day, perhaps in attendance at court. By rapid riding he very soon reached the vicinity of the grain field and discovered the immense strength of the invading band. He learned that they were deliberating upon the place of attack. His perceptive qualities had been sharpened by extensive experience and he saw the enemy before they discovered him. They at once chased him toward the fort. He urged his horse to his highest speed. On the way he met Shaw and Brison and others whose names are not known and urged them to run for their lives. His purpose was to circle somewhat and after notifying the Love family be able to enter the fort with the men on foot. Jack was naturally daring and courageous and probably had no more fear of the Indians than though they had been wild animals. He therefore rode to the southeast and went to the cabin of the Love family, lately the John L. Bierer place. He warned them to run for their lives. He took Mrs. Love and at least one child on the horse behind him and galloped toward the fort.

The scouting party led by Shaw and Brison started at once on receiving Jack's warning, and ran as rapidly as they could towards Hannastown. The Indians, following on Jack's trail, caught sight of the scouting party and gave them a hard run for their lives. They undoubtedly mistook them for the reapers who had not, as they thought, yet warned the citizens of the town. If they could catch them they could therefore still surprise the citizens of Hannastown. This theory is supported by the fact that they did not shoot at Jack nor at the scouts. To shoot would have aroused the people of the town and fort. To have shot Jack or the scouts would have been comparatively easy to men trained from youth to shoot unerringly while running. It was, indeed, a very exciting race for life. The distance ran was about a mile. The scouts had one advantage only; they knew the ground thoroughly, knew every short-cut path to take or hill to avoid, and this advantage probably won the race for them. The scouts knew also that if they could reach a stream which flowed into Crab Tree run from a spring within the fort, they would be comparatively safe, for they would be practically under the protection of the rifles of the fort. The foremost Indians, they concluded, would not venture nearer than the run until they were joined by the main forces. Before the scouts reached the creek they could hear the footbeats of their pursuers and a backward glance revealed the naked breasts and glistening forelocks of the savages. All of the scouts ran directly to the fort except Shaw. He first ran to his father's house to see if they were all safe, and then ran to the stockade gate. Before the gates could be closed the savages were swarming on the banks of the Crab

Tree below. One of the scouts leveled his long-barreled gun and by deliberate aim sent a ball which ended the career of a warrior. This was Shaw, who then ran quickly into the fort, immediately upon which the gates were closed. Thus all of the Hannastown people had passed within the stockade gates before the Indians reached the town.

In Michael Huffnagle's report he says that at about two o'clock in the afternoon the town, consisting of about thirty houses and cabins, was attacked by about one hundred and fifty Indians and Tories. When they saw to their sorrow that they had failed to surprise the town and that the scalps which they would take must be fought for, if gained at all, they gave forth a prolonged indescribable Indian yell, resembling the cry of an infuriated wild beast in torture, the recollection of which alone caused those who heard it to shudder with horror long years afterward. The Indians at once came up the hill and took possession of the deserted houses and cabins, all in full view of the inmates of the fort. Clothes and household goods were thrown into the street and burned. Some of the boldest Indians arrayed themselves in the garments found in the houses, and brandishing knives and tomahawks danced in full view of the fortress, but, of course, at a safe distance from it. They then assembled to determine what should be done. The gestures and talk were vehement indeed, but they seemed in the end to be controlled by white men who were dressed as Indians. The inmates of the fort were slow to begin battle, else they could have fired on the assembly, for they were clearly within the range of the guns. The fortress knew its weakness and they realized that the Indians, though at a considerable loss of life, could take the fort. They knew, too, that their only safety lay in receiving additional strength. After the consultation about one-third of the Indians started off in the direction of Miller's Blockhouse. The reports generally agree that there remained about one hundred and they, in a short time, set fire to the town in many places, likely in every house. Built of logs some years previous, with clapboard roofs, the entire town was soon wrapped in flames. There were two houses that were not burned. One was the house of Robert Hanna, which had served as a court house. It is likely it stood too near the fort for the Indians to fire it. While the town was burning the Indians danced around the flames in great glee, for they found quantities of rum and whiskey in the houses. They paraded in the garments of the settlers at a safe distance, but in full view of those in the fort. One Indian had decked himself out in a bright colored military coat. In this he paraded back and forth to annoy those in the fort. Gradually he grew bolder and finally some

good marksman within, it is not known who, with steady aim, took a shot at him. The Indian leaped into the air and fell dead, his vanity thus costing him his life.

All communication with the outside world was cut off when the stockade gates were closed. There were several scouts out, but they remained outside, moving from one neighborhood to another as rapidly as possible, alarming each settlement and trying to devise some means of rescuing the inhabitants of the fort. Hannastown was naturally, for its day, a strong stockade, but on this occasion its facilities for defense were very meager. Some of the reports credit them with only nine firearms, others claim they had thirteen, but all agree that they were of a very poor quality, being in reality the cast off arms of the militia. Brison and a few others like him had good arms, but they were but few. Furthermore, the Hannastown people in the fort were largely elderly men and women and children. The young people of the community were at Miller's Blockhouse that afternoon, as will be seen later on. This weak condition was known to the scouts outside and hence their anxiety to devise some means to rescue their friends rather than to try to save themselves. The whole number of those in the fort is not known, nor are their names given by any who wrote accounts of the affair at the time, with the exception of a few who performed services worthy, as they thought, of special note.

At Miller's Blockhouse, two and a half miles east of Hannastown, were collected about forty people. Samuel Miller had been a captain in the Eighth Regiment of Pennsylvania Line, but had been killed July 7, 1778, while engaged in the recruiting service in Westmoreland. His widow had married Andrew Cruickshanks. At all times the house of the pioneer was open to those who came for social entertainment or for safety, and this seems to have been particularly true at Miller's Blockhouse. Around this house were several log cabins and all of them were used in times of special danger from the Indians. They were so constructed that they could be quickly barricaded. To this strong hold often went the young men and maidens for an evening's dance, probably because of the sociable people who resided there. But the forty or more people who went there that afternoon did not go there for safety, for it is well known that there were several people there from Hannastown and among them were the wife and two daughters of Judge Robert Hanna. Had they been in quest of a place of safety they would not have left Hannastown, for the stockade was stronger, a great deal stronger, than Miller's Blockhouse. Indeed, Hannastown was the strongest point between Fort Pitt and Fort Lionier

It has been asserted that there was a wedding there that day and that this was the chief attraction, but this has been hard to substantiate. Justice Richard Coulter, who wrote an account of the burning of Hannastown in 1836, and who gathered much of his material directly from those who were at Miller's and from those who were in the stockade, says this about the wedding: "At Miller's there had been a wedding the day before. Love is a delicate plant, but will take root in the midst of perils in gentle bosoms. A young couple, fugitives from the frontier, fell in love and were married."

The writer has examined the literature of that day very thoroughly, trying to prove or disprove the justice's statement about the wedding. By a writer of more modern days the justice's words are reasonably well corroborated, though not beyond doubt. Two families named Dunlap and Courla had some time previous to this moved farther west and were driven back by the Indians in the summer of 1782. James Dunlap, who has, of course, been described as a young man of superior looks and bearing, belonged to one of the returning families, and Mary Courla, a young Scotch girl who was long afterwards written of as a very lovely and beautiful woman, belonged to the other. Love in this case, like wild violets, blossomed in the wilderness, and they, on their hurried flight from their frontier homes, were married near Hannastown, July 12, 1782.

In the olden time, the wedding day was the bride's day and the next day was the groom's day, and its chief gathering was called the "Infair." This day was often a gayer and more festive occasion than the wedding day itself. It was celebrated at Miller's Blockhouse, and this is given as the reason why so many young people were there that fatal afternoon. Perhaps from the fact that neither the bride, nor the groom were then residents in that community, has sprung much of the doubt surrounding it. On the other hand, it is moreover a fact that there were but few weddings among the pioneer families during the Revolution and Indian War troubles. But the very fact that such ceremonies were so few and far between, may have been the reason that so many guests were bidden and present. This is as much as we can say concerning the wedding.

All accounts agree that there were many women there, chief among whom were Mrs. Hanna and her daughters. The company had perhaps all assembled. There had been dancing to the tune of a fiddle, and playing and great glee among the guests, as was the custom in that day. Everything went off merrily until about the middle of the afternoon, when suddenly, like a peal of thunder from

a cloudless sky, a terrible warwhoop burst upon their ears and a band of savages rushed into their midst.

Among the men who were there was the brave Captain Brownlee, whose deeds as a ranger have been mentioned. He was one of Captain Erwin's bravest soldiers in the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment. When his enlistment expired he left the service and devoted his energies to Indian fighting on the frontier. In this he was very successful. He did not discriminate between a good and a bad Indian, thinking perhaps, as did many of the pioneers, that there were none of the former class. He thought it his duty to kill an Indian as he would a rattlesnake or a dangerous wild beast, yet he was an excellent neighbor and a good husband and father. Indeed, it was to protect those he loved that he remained at home rather than do service in the army. Few names are better or more honorably known in border warfare than that of Brownlee. He lived on a farm a short distance northwest of Miller's Blockhouse, lately the Frederick Cope farm, now owned by the Jamison Coal Company.

On the afternoon of the burning of Hannastown some men were mowing in a field not far from Miller's Blockhouse. Their quick ears caught the rumbling of the guns at Hannastown, and it was the first intimation they had of any difficulty. They at once became apprehensive of danger and hastened to the blockhouse. They left the field none too soon, for as they were leaving it, the fifty or more Indians from the Hannastown band of marauders entered it at the other side. Again they were foiled, for they undoubtedly meant to capture the men in the meadow and thus have an easy victory over the women at Miller's. By the time the mowers reached the blockhouse, the Indians were but a short distance behind, and the sound of the warwhoop had already terrified the company of women and children. Some shots were fired, but the Indians very soon closed in on the frightened party, and all were in the wildest confusion. A few women ran away over the hills and some of them escaped. A little girl, who lived to be an old and highly respected woman, hid herself among the blackberry bushes until night came. Most of those left behind were women and children. The cries of the helpless people, mingled with the Indian yells, added to the consternation of the few fighters who were left. But the mowers did not desert them. One or two at least lost their lives in trying to save those who were comparative strangers to them. But though strangers, they were defenseless women, and that has always called forth the best efforts of Anglo-Saxon manhood.

Those who ran at the first note of danger, made their escape by going to the George Cabin, while others made good their way to

Rugh's Blockhouse. Some few, like the little girl, hid in the fields till night fall. The majority and perhaps the more timid ones, remained in the houses and all were captured.

When the Indians arrived, Brownlee was in the blockhouse, most likely as a guard, and Mrs. Brownlee and her children were with him. He seized his rifle and ran out to intercept two Indians who were just entering the yard. He could easily have escaped, and it was probably his intention to do so, with the hope of forming a strong party to overtake the Indians and rescue the prisoners, should they carry the women and children into captivity. But his wife cried out, "Captain, you are not going to leave me, are you?" The brave man turned around and gave himself up as a prisoner to those whom he despised and to whom he had never before bent his knee. He had faced unflinchingly the hostile enemy time and again, but he could not resist the plea of his wife. No one who knew him could imagine him making a selfish escape. Very soon the blockhouse and cabins were surrounded and all were prisoners. Part of the Indian forces was then sent out to bring back the frightened women and children who had escaped. Most of them were easily hunted down and brought back to Miller's as prisoners. Among those who escaped by flight was one of the daughters of Judge Hanna. Samuel Finley, a pack horse driver, had taken her on his horse behind him and had fled to the woods, and thus she made her escape. A young man who had hastened to Miller's to give the alarm, in making his escape, took a child with him which it was said was one of Brownlee's. He was pursued by three or four Indians, who were gaining on him for the reason that he was burdened by the weight of the child. When the race had been kept up for about a mile and when the young man's strength was rapidly waning, he came to a thick growth of underbrush beyond which was a high rail fence enclosing a field of uncut rye. He passed through the brush, reached the top of the fence and jumped as far as he could into the tall rye. The underbrush concealed him from the Indians while he was crossing the fence. Then he lay down on the ground in the rye with the child, which fortunately kept quiet. The Indians came up and passed him without discovering him. They returned and looked more closely but their time being necessarily limited, they left with much grumbling and disgust.

Another young man was escaping with his child and also assisting his mother, an elderly woman, while a number of Indians were in hot pursuit of them. The young man found that all would be captured unless he abandoned the child or his mother. So he put the child down and he and his mother both escaped. The strange part of the

story which is moreover well authenticated is this. The Indians passed the child perhaps, unnoticed; at all events they did not kill it. The following morning the child was found in its former house, safe and sound. After the storm was over, perhaps when eventide came, it innocently wandered back to its old home.

Mrs. Cruickshank also tried to escape with a child, being assisted by her brother, and pursued by one Indian only. He was gaining on them and finally the brother turned and fired at him. The Indian dodged behind trees and brush and the shot may have hit him. At all events he did not pursue them further. In the excitement of shooting at the Indian they became separated from the child and ran on without it. The next morning it, too, was found in its cabin home at Miller's, sleeping the sleep of innocent childhood in its own little cot. This child lived to a great age. She was married to a man named Campbell, and often related the story of her escape as it was given to her from lips that had long been silent.

All these and many more, were the happenings of less than a half hour after the Indians chased the mowers from the meadow. Soon after the Indian party captured Brownlee, Captain Jack came galloping up toward the house to give the alarm. As he neared the house he saw he was too late, for he could easily see that the yard was full of Indians. He turned his horse and galloped wildly away. The Indians had remained quiet as he approached, but as he turned they sent a shower of bullets after him, which whistled around his head, one of them cutting his bridle rein, but none of them touched him. From there he rode over the country to George's, where the fugitives from Miller's were being collected, and where a relief party was even then being rapidly organized among the pioneers.

The Hannastown community was not the only one that was alarmed. It was a still, calm afternoon, preceding a rain, and consequently sound traveled a long distance. The noise of excessive firing, the roar of thirty burning buildings and the warwhoops of the barbarians aroused the neighborhood and all were on the alert. The immense clouds of smoke could be seen for miles and were readily understood by pioneers too far away to hear the firing. At Unity Church, perhaps six miles east of Miller's, the congregation had met for preparatory communion service when the rumor of the danger came. The pioneers and their families hastened to their homes and the pastor, the revered Rev. James Power, living long afterward to tell the story, rode at the utmost speed of his horse to his home at Middle Church near the present town of Mt. Pleasant. Men at labor in the fields and woods heard the distant rumblings of musketry and

went to their families, to make bullets, to call in their children and to barricade the openings in their cabins. The people near Allen's Fort were gathered there. One and a half miles north of Greensburg on the Salem road, lived a farmer named Kepple. Working in his field, he noticed his dog frisking angrily about as though he scented danger. Hearing also a far-off rumbling, perhaps from Hannastown, he unhitched his team and hurried to his log house, which had been built for a residence and fortress both. One or two families of the neighborhood also gathered there. They closed up all openings and prepared for a siege.

At Miller's the Indians proceeded hurriedly to secure the prisoners. They tied the hands of the men behind their backs. They then took from the blockhouse all they cared for in the way of provisions and clothes, after which they fired it and it was rapidly consumed. In their haste they failed to fire the smaller cabins and they were not destroyed. Those who went there some time before had taken with them their live stock, consisting of cattle, horses and sheep. These were all shot by the Indians. Both Duncan and Huffnagle, in their reports to the State authorities, estimated that one hundred cattle were killed.

The captive prisoners were made to carry the goods stolen from the houses, while the women and children were driven in a flock. It was a sad march, yet hearts were stout in those days, and they kept up, perhaps in hopes that a relief party would soon be organized and rescue them. Of the captive prisoners, the most conspicuous man was Captain Brownlee. Two of Robert Hanna's daughters were at Miller's, participating in the function of the afternoon, and one of them was taken. Their names were Marian and Jeannette. In hope of a rescue party, which was not unusual in border warfare, Brownlee kept up his courage and did all he could to console the disconsolate prisoners. At length a woman, an unthinking woman said to have been Mrs. Robert Hanna, through her tears said, "Captain Brownlee, it is well you are here to cheer us up." This unfortunate remark was undoubtedly the first intimation the Indians had that their docile prisoner was their fearless enemy, Captain Brownlee.

All of the Indians knew him by name and by reputation, but few of those who met him face to face, ever disturbed settlements afterwards. After it was all over, it was plain to Captain Brownlee's friends that he was, all the while, attempting to conceal his identity, perhaps for a day or two, when all might be rescued. No one knew better than he that his days were numbered as soon as the Indians discovered his identity. It was then plain to his friends that, thus to

conceal his name, he gave himself up when resistance would have availed him nothing. Thus he was apparently extremely meek when they tied his hands and placed heavy burdens on his back. This feigned meekness was entirely foreign to the character of the bold and fearless Brownlee whom the Indians knew of only. His acts indicative of perfect submission, were only to deceive the enemy. All his friends, both among the prisoners and those who were free, believed implicitly that his cunning would enable him to escape, perhaps that night, and return with a full knowledge of their strength and how best to attack them. He could, better than any other man in the community, raise and lead a company which would completely avenge the outrage at Hannastown and at Miller's blockhouse.

When his name was mentioned by the unfortunate woman his doom was decided on. Immediately there were hasty glances from one Indian to another, and two of them in guttural tones, consulted together. In addition to his burden, Brownlee was carrying one of his children on his back. As he bent down to enable the child to cling more closely with its arms around his neck, a savage sneaked up behind him and buried a tomahawk in his brain. The brave captain fell dead and the child rolled over him. As it was scrambling to its feet the Indian killed it in the same way. A woman near by screamed and fell swooning to the ground. She was at once tomahawked, the Indians doubtless mistaking her for the wife of Brownlee. Mrs. Brownlee, on account of her children and the other captives, was compelled to witness these barbarous deeds in the silent agony of despair.

The Brownlee bodies and that of the woman were found about one mile from Miller's, and were buried as the custom was then, on the spot where they were murdered. Over the graves stood a wild cherry tree which grew to an immense size and marked the spot for nearly a century. A second grew from its roots or stump as a sprout. It is now half grown and may be seen on the hillside to the right about twenty rods, as one passes over the State road from Greensburg to Hannastown. The tree is preserved by the owner of the fields, Mr. J. J. Blank, and is but a short distance east of his residence.

The prisoners were marched towards Hannastown, and near there they were joined by the band which had remained to burn the town, which they had done completely. About dark the entire band changed their location, moving to the northeast, and encamping for the night in a ravine or hollow made by Crab Tree Creek. There they ate what provisions they had, after which some of them were

selected to guard the prisoners, while others attended a council of the marauders, apparently deliberating what should be the next move.

While the band of Indians which had left Hannastown to destroy Miller's blockhouse was absent, those remaining kept a close watch on the fort, and also kept up an irregular fire on it all afternoon. They were evidently afraid to attack it; they certainly did not know of its real weakness. Those within had alternate feelings of hope and fear. If their neighbors could not unite and rescue them, or if aid could not be secured elsewhere, they knew that nothing but captivity and death awaited them in the morning.

A somewhat romantic event of the afternoon of the burning was the shooting of Margaret Shaw, though the story of her death has been exaggerated by romanticists. The simple story of her death makes her character and actions so beautiful and attractive that no false coloring is necessary. She was the daughter of Moses Shaw, and sister of Alexander and David Shaw. Her brothers were hunters, scouts, rangers and well known Indian fighters. David had entered the Revolution as a substitute for his father and come home to assist in border defense. Margaret, or Peggy, as she was called, was about fourteen years old. During the afternoon the older people in the fort were devising means of defense and it is probable that the children were somewhat neglected. Finally a small child wandered toward the picketing of the fort, and was in a section of the enclosure which was within the range of the enemies' bullets. Seeing this, Margaret ran to bring it back to safety. As she bent down to pick up the child a bullet struck her in the breast and penetrated one of her lungs. With the skill in surgery of our present day she might have recovered. As it was, she lingered two weeks and had wasted away until she was a mere skeleton, when death relieved her. She was buried two miles north of Mt. Pleasant, now known as the Presbyterian cemetery, at the Middle Churches.

The excessive firing of the afternoon aroused the entire community. The men assembled at George's are said to have all fired their guns at once to arouse the neighborhood. About forty rescuers were assembled there by dark, all bent on retaking the prisoners in the fort and those held by the Indians near by. The rescuing party was favored by the dark clouds and rain which the night brought. Only about thirty of the forty assembled, were able to go to the relief of their neighbors. Suspicions of cowardice were in the air for long years afterward, concerning those who failed to accompany them. Of these thirty, most of them were on horses and all were armed. The location of the Indian band and the prisoners, the burning of the

town, etc., was reported by the scouts, who by much practice, were as cunning as the Indians themselves. The rescuing party advanced with great caution. They could see by the gleam of the burning logs, the outline of the fort with its whitewashed palisades. As they crept up to it, the scouts made known their arrival, the gates were opened and all entered in safety.

As soon as the evening meal and council was over, the Indians proceeded to divide their plunder. Many of them attired themselves in the new garments which fell to them. One unusually large Indian tried to array himself in a silk dress, but could not get his feet through the sleeves. His attempts, even to the despondent prisoners, was amusing, and he seemed pleased that he could create such laughter. They also prepared to celebrate their victory. A captive was selected, his body was painted with black stripes and he was tied to a tree. All knew that he was to be tortured by being burned alive. They made other prisoners run the gauntlet, the men first and then a number of women, and some of them were badly beaten. The daughter of Robert Hanna was put through, but she had gained favor with an Indian by laughing at his grotesqueness when he arrayed himself in the silk dress, and she therefore got through with but little injury. A young woman named Freeman, who had red hair, which was always held in contempt by the Indians, was not so fortunate. She was beaten so severely that more than a generation afterwards, she was treated in Greensburg by Dr. Postlethwaite, for injuries to her skull received that night. She and others, often told the story of the fearful horrors of Hannastown.

About midnight the Indians discovered that forces were arriving at the fort. They did not have time to torture the prisoner, so they tomahawked him while tied to the tree, and soon afterwards began the march towards the Indian country. It was believed by those in the fort and their friends who came as rescuers, that an attack on the fort would be made early in the morning. They therefore tried to deceive the Indians by making them think that reinforcements in considerable numbers had arrived. A number of old drums belonging to the fort were brought out and beaten, as though new forces had arrived. There was a wooden bridge across the moat, or ditch, dug outside of the palisades, and the horses were galloped across this bridge to the music of the drums. They were then taken quietly around the bridge and galloped over again and again several times. All the inmates of the fort were now hilarious, that is, acting so, and as it was intended, these acclamations of joy, apparently over the arrival of forces, were plainly heard by the Indians. It was moreover not impossible nor

unlikely that, by twelve or one o'clock, forces could and would arrive from Fort Ligonier, or even from Fort Pitt, and the strategem had its desired effect on the Indian mind. They accordingly stole away quietly with their prisoners and plunder, going so stealthily that no one in the fort detected it. They traveled north, passing between Congruity and Harvey's Five Points, and on northward, crossing the Kiskiminetas near where Apollo now stands. When morning came, those in the fort were delighted beyond measure of expression, that the enemy had gone. The forces followed them as far as the place where they crossed the river, but could not pursue them into the Indian country, which was then a wilderness. They have been more or less censured we think unjustly, for not pursuing them further. There were at least 150 well armed Indians and Tories, while the forces in the fort, including the relief party from George's, did not amount to more than fifty, if both old and young should join in the pursuit, which would not only have been unwise but practically impossible.

The prisoners taken at Miller's, after at least four were killed, numbered about twenty. They took them rapidly toward Canada. Though a trying ordeal on the castdown and overburdened, the long journey was practically without special events of interest. When they reached Canada they sold both prisoners and scalps to the English for beads, trinkets, firearms and whiskey. They were kept there as prisoners until a final peace was brought about between Great Britain and the Colonies, after which most of them found their way back to Westmoreland County. It has been said that a daughter of Robert Hanna, while there, was married to a British officer, but this has been almost conclusively disproved by recent researches.

Of those who are known to have helped to rescue the fort and follow the Indians to the river, not yet mentioned here, were the Craigs, the Sloans, Captain David Kilgore and two of his sons. Captain Wendel Ourry was also with them. James Moore, of Salem township, who died in 1846, aged 73, was in the fort. He was a child, living with his widowed mother in Hannastown when the calamity overtook it. From Miller's was taken Dorcas Miller, a daughter of Captain Samuel, and her younger brother, whom they killed because he could not travel rapidly enough. Dorcas was imprisoned at Niagara for about three years, when she was ransomed and sent home by a British officer named Butler, who knew her father. She was afterward married to Joseph Russell, and resided most of her life on the farm where she was captured. She died in Greensburg, March 15,

1851. From these dates the reader will see that when Justice Coulter prepared his account of the catastrophe in 1836, he had abundant opportunity to interview those who participated in the event.

It will probably never be certainly known who commanded the Indian forces at Hannastown. Formerly it was written that Simon Girty was in command, but this is now known to be wrong, for it is pretty thoroughly proven that Girty was in Kentucky at that time. Then the leadership of nearly all incursions of that character was, by common consent, attributed to him. It was more likely Guyasutta on the part of the Indians, and Connolly, of Dunmore's war fame, on the part of the Tories, though his presence has never been proved. The Indians came largely from a small tribe called Munsies, then in Northern Pennsylvania.

Jack and Shaw were for many years known as the Heroes of Hannastown. Jack was sheriff of the county, which perhaps accounts for his having a strong, swift horse, and for his presence in Hannastown that afternoon. He was also a county justice and was easily one of the most noted Indian fighters of his day. He was a man of great strength and agility, and without personal fear. Often in after years at public gatherings when feats of daring were in order, he illustrated his manner of riding that day. He could place his hat on the ground and pick it up as he galloped past it. Later he was known as General Jack, from his prominence in the Whiskey Insurrection. He was born in 1751, and died November 26, 1836. Both he and his wife Nancy Wilson Jack (born 1760, died September 20, 1840), are buried at Congruity, about eight miles northeast of Greensburg.

Hannastown was never rebuilt, though the courts were held there (the courthouse not being burnt) for more than four years afterwards. Cities of great wealth and power have risen but few of them have achieved as undying a record in history as this little collection of mud plastered log huts built in the heart of the primeval forest in Western Pennsylvania. It was perhaps at its best, in 1782 when it was destroyed.

In February, 1829, a petition was presented to the Legislature of Pennsylvania by the wife of Captain Brownlee, asking for a pension, and from it we gather the following: She was born in Londonderry in 1755, her maiden name being Elizabeth Guthrie, and was a daughter of John Guthrie. With her father she came to this country in 1771, and settled in Westmoreland County, near the present town of Greensburg, in 1772. During Dunmore's War they were repeatedly compelled to fly to Hannastown for safety. In 1775 she was married to Captain Brownlee, who was with Erwin as a rifleman in the Revo-

lution and was taken a prisoner at the battle of Long Island. After serving his time in the Revolution he engaged in Indian warfare until the burning of Hannastown. He and his wife and children were captured at Miller's Blockhouse. It is also stated in the petition that it was Mrs. Hanna who mentioned Brownlee's name in presence of the Indians, thus bringing about his death. From Hannastown the prisoners were taken to Cattaraugus, a thirteen-day journey, during which many of them being unable to subsist on the scanty fare of the savages, almost perished from hunger. They were then taken to Buffalo, where the Indians concluded, because of Mrs. Brownlee's weakness, she being greatly reduced by fever and ague, to burn her at the stake. But a white man, Captain Latttridge, persuaded them that she was too far reduced to afford them any amusement, and prevailed on them to sell her for whiskey, which would give them much more pleasure. So she and her child, which she carried on her back, were accordingly marched to Niagara, where they were sold for twenty dollars and two gallons of rum. There she was better treated and finally was sent to Montreal. When peace was declared, after many hardships, she returned to Hannastown. Two years later she was married to Captain William Guthrie, captain of the rangers in protecting the frontier. Guthrie was a bold Indian fighter, but not a thrifty farmer and afforded her a scanty living. He lived until 1829 when he was killed by falling from a wagon which went over the side of a bridge. John Beatty, Robert Orr, Sr., and Jane Beatty testified to these statements. By act of March 23, 1829, she was paid \$60.00, and \$60.00 per year thereafter as long as she lived.

Mrs. Robert Hanna's maiden name was Elizabeth Kelly, a daughter of John Kelly, and she was a sister of Colonel John Kelly, a member of the first Continental Convention, also a soldier in the Revolution. Both she and her daughter were taken to Montreal, where they were kindly treated, through the efforts of Rev. William Hanna, an Episcopal minister. They were released in December, 1782, and returned home by way of Lake George, Albany, New York and Philadelphia. Jeannette Hanna, the captured daughter, afterward married David Hammond, an officer of the Revolution. They were the parents of General Robert Hanna Hammond, who fought in the Mexican War. They were buried near Milton, Pennsylvania. These statements seem to be well authenticated.

In a letter from General William Irvine to General Washington, dated January 27, 1783, it is stated that the Indians who destroyed Hannastown assembled near the headwaters of the Allegheny. The letter further says: "In the year 1782, a detachment composed of 300

British and 500 Indians was formed and actually embarked in canoes on Lake Jadaque (Chautauqua) with twelve pieces of artillery, with an avowed intention of attacking Fort Pitt. This expedition was set aside in consequence of the reported repairs and strength of Fort Pitt, carried by a spy from the neighborhood of the fort. They then contented themselves with the usual mode of warfare by sending small raiding parties on the frontier, one of which burned Hannastown."

The destruction of Hannastown and the injuries inflicted on the community in connection with it, were much more serious and far-reaching than the reader may at first blush imagine. Its evil effects cannot be estimated in dollars and cents, though when viewed even from that standpoint alone, it was a fearful loss. For almost a quarter of a century Western Pennsylvania had been gradually increasing and for a decade Hannastown was its chief center and seat of justice. Rude though its log cabins may have been, they were the best in the community, and with their contents, represented many years of toil and sacrifice. Here the hardy pioneer had expended his best energies in taming the land, and building up a civilization. Upon the perpetuity and growth of law and order, depended the values of their properties, not only in Hannastown but all over Southwestern Pennsylvania. But now, in an afternoon, all for which they labored had been swept away as though by a single blow, and the word went east to prospective settlers and land purchasers, that in Westmoreland County, even under the shadow of the temple of justice, savage warfare prevailed, property was ruthlessly destroyed and life itself was in constant danger.

With the exception of a country store and a few old houses at Hannastown, built long after the original town was destroyed, there is nothing there to point the inquiring stranger to one of the most historic spots in Western Pennsylvania. When it was burned, the War for Independence was practically over, for Lord Cornwallis had surrendered to Washington in October of the previous year. Its destruction was in reality the last instance in America during the Revolution, in which the English united with their savage allies to destroy the innocent pioneer by what can be called but little else than common butchery. The site of Hannastown is now farming land, owned by Judge John B. Steel.

CHAPTER XXIV

REMOVAL OF COUNTY SEAT TO GREENSBURG

CHAPTER XXIV.

Removal of County Seat to Greensburg.—The State Road a Factor.—The Legislature Appoints Trustees and Discharges Them.—The Contest Between Hannastown, Pittsburgh and Newtown; the Final Selection Made November 10, 1785.—Report of Justices; Robert Hanna Still Objects.—Quotations From Newspapers.—The Court House and Jail Built.—The Commissioners Sell Part of Court House Lot.—The New County Seat Named Greensburg.

The reader cannot but remember that in the formation of Westmoreland County, it was provided that the courts should be held at the house of Robert Hanna, until a courthouse should be built. The erecting act also authorized Robert Hanna, George Wilson, Samuel Sloan, Joseph Erwin and John Cavett or any three of them, to select a place for a county seat, to make necessary purchases and to put up a courthouse. A letter has been quoted in which Arthur St. Clair lamented that the wording of the act was such that the commissioners, by deliberately failing to build a courthouse, could indefinitely hold the courts at Hannastown. Strange to say, St. Clair's fears were realized. Robert Hanna was a shrewd Irishman of strong will power. Though before the county seat was removed, a large majority of the people were opposed to its remaining longer in Hannastown, yet Hanna held it there against the will of the people and against the best efforts of St. Clair, who, more than any other, had secured the erection of the county. He held it there for thirteen years or more. Indeed, it is doubtful whether it would ever have been removed had the town not been destroyed by the Indians.

The great factor in moving the county seat was the location of the State road, which passed westward about three and a half miles south of Hannastown. It bid fair to soon become a better and more direct route between the East and the West than the Forbes road on which Hannastown was situated. On the new road sprung up a village called Newtown, about three miles southwest of Hannastown. This town, as well as Pittsburgh, became an aspirant for the location of the county seat. The courts were regularly held at Hannastown after it was burned and it certainly must have been with great inconvenience to all concerned, for but few houses were rebuilt and the place was practically without accommodations of any kind. Still, Hanna was strong enough to prevent the commission from acting and therefore the courts were, from year to year, held at his house. Hanna is not to be blamed for this, unless we are to exact more from him than

we do from our representative men of to-day, when placed under like circumstances. It would be difficult to find a man of to-day who would not try to hold the county seat in his own town, even though a more suitable place were to be found.

On November 22, 1784, the Legislature took the matter up and passed an act which set forth that whereas the trustees appointed by the law erecting the county had not complied with the terms of the law nor exercised the powers given them to erect county buildings, they were dismissed and a new commission was named. The new commissioners were John Irwin, Benjamin Davis, Charles Campbell, James Pollock and Joseph Wilkins. They or any three of them were empowered to perform the duties required of the commissioners in the erecting act of February 26, 1773. The second board of commissioners could not agree on the location, though they met and heard the statements of the various claimants. Three places demanded the county seat. First, Robert Hanna and his friends insisted that it should remain at Hannastown. Second, there were many who were trying to have it located in Pittsburgh, which was then, by far, the most important town in Western Pennsylvania, and was rapidly increasing. Third, came the village of Newtown, well located, growing rapidly, full of promise, and its friends were urging it with all their power. It, moreover, was on the new State road.

When the commission refused or were unable to make a selection, the Legislature, on September 13, 1785, removed them and appointed a third board. Since this act is the one under which the county seat was actually located, we give that part in full:

Whereas, The seat of justice of Westmoreland hath not heretofore been established by law, for want of which the inhabitants labor under great inconvenience, it shall and may be lawful for Benjamin Davis, Michael Rugh, John Shields, John Pomeroy and Hugh Martin, of the County of Westmoreland or any three of them, to purchase and take assurance in the name of this Commonwealth, of a piece of land in trust for the use of the inhabitants of Westmoreland County; Provided, said piece of land be not situated further east than the Nine Mile Run, nor further west than Bushy Run, further north than the Loyalhanna, nor further south than five miles south of the old Pennsylvania road leading to Pittsburgh. On which piece of ground said commissioners shall erect a courthouse and prison, sufficient to accommodate the public service of said county.

By the terms of this act the reader will see that Pittsburgh had lost all hope of securing the county seat since it could not go further west than Bushy Run, which is at least twenty miles east of that

place. The act further limited the amount to be expended in purchasing land and erecting a courthouse and jail, to *one hundred pounds*.

The contest now lay between Hannastown on the old and somewhat abandoned Forbes Road, called the Old Pennsylvania road in the above act, and Newtown, even at that time beginning to be called Greensburg, on the new State road. Of the new commissioners named, Benjamin Davis lived in Rostraver Township, Michael Rugh in Hempfield Township, Hugh Martin in Mt. Pleasant Township, John Shields in Salem Township, and John Pomeroy in Derry Township. Three of them therefore lived south of the Forbes Road and two north of it, while Pittsburgh had no representative on the commission at all, even if the act itself had not proscribed it as a county seat.

Shortly after the passage of the act, the new commissioners viewed the territory and met at Hannastown to deliberate, but after a two-days session, November 1st and 2nd, they adjourned without coming to any agreement. They met again in December, this time in Newtown, and the three of them residing south of the Forbes road voted in favor of Newtown as the new county seat. They were Benjamin Davis, Michael Rugh and Hugh Martin. John Shields and John Pomeroy, living north of the Forbes Road, favored Hannastown, and so cast their votes. They dissented from the decision and refused to act further with the commissioners. But by the terms of the act, three of them had the necessary power, and on December 10, 1785, they entered into an agreement with Christopher Truby and William Jack, to which Ludwig Otterman afterwards subscribed, to sell to them, in trust for the county, two acres of land on which to erect public buildings. This day, therefore, December 10, 1785, is the day on which Greensburg was legally selected as the county seat of Westmoreland County.

Public buildings were put up at once by the three trustees. Anthony Altman was the contractor who was selected to erect a courthouse. He agreed to perform the work under the supervision of Michael Rugh, a trustee. The courthouse and jail were but one building, built of logs and heavy plank. The jail compartment had a thick stone wall which extended some distance above the ground, perhaps to keep prisoners from sawing or cutting their way out. The building was pushed rapidly for those days and by the first of July, 1786, both jail and courthouse were ready for occupancy. The trustees made a report of its being ready for occupancy to the July sessions of the court at Hannastown. Upon this the justices of the peace, who it will be remembered were also justices of the court, visited the new

county seat and inspected its buildings, after which they made the following report:

We, the subscribers, Justices of the Peace in and for the County of Westmoreland, upon receiving a written report from the trustees of said county informing us that a new courthouse and prison was erected at Newtown, and that a number of other convenient buildings were also erected and open for entertainment, found that we were warranted by law in adjourning our courts to the said town; now being desirous as soon as possible to take leave of the many inconveniences and difficulties which attend our situation at Hannastown as well as to avoid the cost for rent for a very uncomfortable house, in which we held our courts, we did, therefore, accordingly adjourn to the said town. And we do certify that we found a very comfortable, convenient Court House and prison included in one commodious building, together with a number of large commodious houses, open for public entertainment in which we enjoyed great satisfaction during our residence at court. We do further give it as our opinion that the situation is good, and possessed of every natural advantage that can contribute to the comfort and convenience of an inland town; that it is as nearly central to the body of people as any spot that can be found possessed of the same advantages; that it lies in direct course between Ligonier and Pittsburgh, and will admit of the straightest and best road between these two places; that its situation is in the center of the finest and wealthiest settlement in this western country, and cannot fail of being supplied with the greatest abundance, upon the most reasonable terms; in short, we think the said Trustees have done themselves honor in their choice and proceeding through the whole of this business.

Given under our hand the 10th of August, 1786.

HUGH MARTIN,	CHRISTOPHER TRUBY
RICHARD WILLIAMS,	GEORGE WALLACE,
JOHN MILLER,	WILLIAM JACK,
ALEXANDER MITCHELL,	GEORGE BAIRD.

There was, notwithstanding the above glowing report, a great deal of hostility against Newtown as a county seat. The objection came from north of the Forbes Road and from Pittsburgh. These sections tried to undo what had already been done in the way of permanently locating the seat of justice at Newtown. As a result of this agitation the Legislature, on December 27, 1786, passed an act suspending the authority granted to the trustees to establish a county seat, etc., until further directed. This act also provided that the trustees were to exhibit their accounts with proper vouchers for the expenditures made by them in their work so far as they had gone.

It was provided that James Bryson, Charles Campbell and William Moore should inspect the accounts and lay them before the justices of the court and the grand jury. Bryson was then a resident

of Pittsburgh, while Campbell lived in Wheatfield Township, now in Indiana County. There was no newspaper in this section of the State then except the "Pittsburgh Gazette," and the people took up the question through its columns. A Brush Creek correspondent signing himself "A Friend of His Country," in the "Gazette" of October 26, 1786, among others said:

It is well known that the establishment of our present seat of justice was not a hasty, rash or inconsiderate piece of business. Almost sixteen years elapsed since it first claimed the attention of the Government; it has been considered and cautiously conducted; the sense of the people have generally been repeatedly known by petition, remonstrance, etc., and in consequence thereof, no less than four different acts of the Legislature have been passed to effect and complete its establishment. When we reflect upon the many evils which have resulted from the want of such establishment, I think we ought rather to congratulate ourselves on the event, and rest perfectly satisfied that it is at last fixed anywhere nearly central to the body of the people.

Hugh Henry Brackenridge was then a member of the Legislature from Westmoreland County, and a resident of Pittsburgh, and on December 16, 1786, he wrote the following letter, which was published in the "Gazette" of January 6, 1787:

A bill is published superceding the powers of the Trustees for building a courthouse and jail in Greensburg. The object is to prevent any further expenditure of public money in public buildings at this place, in as much as the courthouse and jail already erected are sufficient, at least for a number of years. This appeared to us, the Representatives from Westmoreland, to be sufficient for the present. It must remain with future time to determine whether the seat of justice shall be removed or a new county erected on the Kiskiminetas. The last, I believe, will be deemed most eligible.

In the same paper of February 10, 1787, the following letter appeared, written by one who signed himself "A Friend of Westmoreland:"

We find by Mr. Brackenridge's late publication, that the seat of justice in this county yet remains an object of envy in our Legislature, as a bill is published superceding the powers of the Trustees for building a courthouse and jail in Greensburg. I wonder when we shall see an end of the cavilings on this subject and the cessation of ridiculous laws occasioned thereby. By the first law we find a number of Trustees appointed for erecting a courthouse and prison, etc. By the second law we find their proceedings rejected, though perfectly legal, and the former repealed, and another set of Trustees appointed with more extensive and conclusive powers. A third law approves

and confirms their proceedings, and a fourth law supercedes their powers in the midst of the duty assigned them; and to carry the farce a little farther, I think the fifth law ought to amount to a total annihilation of the county.

In the certificate given by the justices concerning the new buildings, etc., on August 10, 1786, they say they have adjourned the courts to the new courthouse at Newtown. But troubles were brewing even then, engendered largely by Robert Hanna and his friends, who were determined to hold the courts at Hannastown. The justices, therefore, perhaps to appease the wrath of these adherents of Hanna, agreed to hold the October term of court at Hannastown, and this was accordingly done.

The first court held in Newtown or Greensburg was held on January 7, 1787, it being the January term. Judge John Moore was on the bench as presiding judge. The following is a list of jurors who served at this first court in the new county seat: Grand Jurors—David Duncan, James Carnahan, John Carnahan, John Sloan, Abram Fulton, Charles Baird, William Best, Nathaniel McBrier, Joseph Mann, James Fulton, William Mann, Charles Johnston, Jacob Huffman, Samuel Sinclair and John Craig. Traverse Jurors—Alexander Craig, John McCreedy, Peter Cherry, John Giffen, John Buch, Philip Carns, Patrick Campbell, George Swan, Isaac McKendry, Robert McKee, John Anderson, James Watterson and Lawrence Irwin.

The terms were brief then, this one lasting only about three days and the minutes do not show any proceedings of great interest. The Grand Jury, however, reported that the new jail was insufficient and not strong enough to hold the prisoners. As required by the last superceding act, the Trustees submitted their accounts. The total expenditure so far had been less than a thousand dollars. The accounts were laid before the Grand Jury on July 17, 1787. By way of explanation it may be added here, that the opposition of Brackenridge and of Pittsburgh to the county seat proceedings arose from a desire to form a new county. This is intimated in his letter given above, though there he, for obvious reasons, located his proposed new county on the Kiskiminetas. His real object was to unite the north with him in opposition to the Greensburg project and in the end to take them into a new county surrounding the Fork of the Ohio. For this purpose, it is admitted on all hands, he was sent to the Legislature. To his project the present Westmoreland was naturally hostile. They were proud of their large dimensions as the county was originally formed, but in 1781 Washington County, and in 1783 Fayette County were entirely carved from Westmoreland territory. Naturally

they tried to prevent any further encroachments on the territory of the old county. Nevertheless, by the act of September 24, 1788, Allegheny County was organized almost entirely from the territory of Westmoreland.

An act was passed on February 14, 1789, repealing the superceding act relative to the Westmoreland Trustees, and authorizing them to continue the work of constructing county buildings. The words of the act completely exonerated the Trustees from the instigma put on them by superceding them. It recites that whereas they found it expedient to erect at once a small wooden structure to accommodate the business as a temporary convenience, until a more substantial one could be built, and whereas, the temporary structure was too small and inconvenient, that Westmoreland County should have "a decent, sufficient and permanent building" constructed by the expenditure of the balance of the money levied and collected for that purpose, agreeable to the intention of the law. Therefore, it was enacted, that the said Trustees be required to apply the remaining part of the money as indicated above. This remaining part was about \$4,000.00, and in the following years they proceeded to build the second courthouse in Greensburg, though in reality it was the first permanent one in the county. But during the Whisky Insurrection the building of it was temporarily abandoned. It was not finally completed till 1801, although the courts were held in it a year or so before that, and the State Supreme Court met in Greensburg and were housed in it in 1799.

This structure was the third building used as a courthouse in Westmoreland, Robert Hanna's being the first, the temporary structure built at Newtown (Greensburg) being the second. It was a two-story brick building, for by this time a law was passed compelling all counties which had not already done so, to build courthouses of brick or stone. It fronted toward the east and stood on the corner of Main and West Pittsburgh streets, the same position now occupied by the present courthouse. It had a large arched door entrance on Main street and in the rear was a smaller door which led to the jail yard. It had a gable front on Main street. The entire first story was used as a court room and this room was divided by a balustrade running north and south. The part west of the division, that is, the rear part of the room, was reserved for the judges and the lawyers, for jurymen, litigants, etc., while the front or eastern division was used as an audience room by those who attended court. The judges sat against the west wall, facing the east. There were large, round columns in the center, along the line of the balustrade, which supported the ceiling. In the upper story was a large Grand Jury room, where theatrical

performances and other public meetings were frequently held when the room was not in use by the courts. Above the second story was the belfry, where the old courthouse bell was hung. North of this structure, but built against it, was a two-story brick building in which were the offices of the sheriff, recorder, prothonotary, clerk of courts, etc. South of it was a one-story brick building which was used as a county commissioners office only.

The temporary courthouse in Greensburg served its purpose from 1787 until 1794. It was then used for public offices until 1797, when it was removed. From 1794 until 1795, the courts were held in a tavern kept by Robert Taylor, and after that for about three years, they were held in a tavern kept by Bartel Laffer. The new brick structure when completed in 1801, was considered a very handsome structure, and was so commented on by many travelers who chanced to pass through Greensburg, yet it cost in all, only about \$5,000.

The trustees about this time, committed a great mistake from which the county can probably never recover. The reader will recall that they had purchased two acres of land in Newtown for the use of the county. It can scarcely be said that this land was purchased, for the purchase money was only five shillings or about one dollar, common even yet in such transactions for the purpose of making a legal transfer. Two acres were more ground than they needed in that day. There were many complaints about them spending so much money on a temporary courthouse. In order to reduce the grounds of complaint the trustees arranged to sell over three-fourths of the two acres which they had purchased for five shillings. The two acres were divided into ten lots by Benjamin Davis, who was one of the trustees and a surveyor as well. In October, 1786, after publicly advertising them, nine of these lots were sold, the other being reserved for county purposes. The original two acres were bounded by Main street, West Otterman street, Pennsylvania avenue and West Pittsburgh street, being one full square. The lot reserved is the corner now occupied by the present Westmoreland County Courthouse. For these nine lots the trustees received \$258.88. In 1795 a law was passed by the Legislature legalizing the sale. It was believed at that time that, but for the criticism of the action of the trustees in their expenditure of public money, all of which was later learned to be unjust, they would not have sold this ground.

The new county-town was, as we have seen, first named Newtown. It will be remembered that Christopher Truby was one of the original land owners. He had come to Westmoreland from Bucks County in 1771. In Bucks County he had lived in or near a small

village named Newtown, which had become somewhat historic during the Revolution, for in it Washington had his headquarters for a time in 1776, when he was battling with almost a forlorn hope, against the British army. Truby therefore named the cluster of houses which sprang up on his land when the old Pennsylvania road was laid out through it, after his historic home in Bucks County. In 1786 it was named Greensburg in memory of the Rhode Island Quaker, Major-General Nathanael Greene, to whom most writers have given first place among the generals of the Revolution after Washington.



CHAPTER XXV

INDIAN STORIES

CHAPTER XXV.

Indian Stories.—Their Depredations in Ligonier Valley.—The Harman Family.—Prisoners Taken; Return After Years; Robert Campbell Captured; the Mother Murdered; the Return of Son.—The Ulery Family; Daughters Escaped; Murdered the Day Following.—The Capture of Charles Clifford.—James Clifford Shoots an Indian.

In Ligonier valley there was almost a constant warfare between the pioneers and the Indians from the earliest settlement till 1794. It was the first stopping place west of the Allegheny mountains in Westmoreland county for those who were traveling towards the setting sun, in quest of new homes. The first log cabins were erected very near the fort, mostly east of it, in the region now traversed by East Main street, in Ligonier. Gradually these cabins increased, generally being built as near the Forbes Road as possible. These settlers made frequent journeys to the fort, even in times of safety, for there were kept the supplies which could not be raised by the farmer, such as powder, lead, flints for their gun-locks, as well as firearms. These were sent out from the East and kept in the garrison. In return they furnished potatoes, grain and such other products as the garrison stood in need of. In this way the garrison was kept up at a reduced expense to England.

It was the topography of the valley that was inviting to the Indians in their depredations. They could readily approach it unheralded, for it was almost surrounded by uninhabited mountains. When they had captured families, taken scalps or stolen horses, they could readily pass out northward, crossing the Conemaugh or Kiskiminetas and almost at once enter the unbroken forest which practically extended to New York State. For this reason the northern end of the valley was more harrassed by the Indians than the southern end.

It is extremely difficult in dealing with Indian depredations to sift the really authentic from the improbable. Of many of them, all that can be found is a reference in a letter from some prominent man to the supreme executive council, giving the number killed or carried away, but giving very little of the surrounding circumstances. There were no newspapers then to publish and preserve such matters and the pioneer had more thought of guarding against a future incursion than of describing the last. There are many traditions, which, if only the romantic was sought, would interest the reader but most of them are

not sufficiently substantiated by surrounding well known facts to be included here. The years of their greatest trouble with the Indians were those of the Revolutionary War. The danger was so great that families very rarely remained in their houses all year. With the first warning of the presence of Indians, even in the remotest section of the community, the pioneers flocked to the fort or to cabins near it, and remained there under its protection till the storm had passed. From there the husband and sons went daily to their labor on the farms, with their scanty lunches tied in a home-made cloth, but they rarely ever went alone. They united, and, from five to twenty, sometimes more, went to one field one day and to another the next, and so on till the crops were planted or harvested at each place. In this way, their force was more formidable than though they had gone, each to his own work. This custom held sway long after the Indians were forever banished from this section and was not uncommon even in the middle of last century. In the early days, it is needless to say, they always took their guns with them and they generally appointed one or more to keep a lookout for an approaching enemy.

Their farms were called "deadening" or "clearings." The first name indicated that the trees of the forest had been deadened by cutting a ring around their trunks near the ground, cutting to a sufficient depth to prevent the sap from supplying the trees. Trees thus treated made but little shade, and the crop planted grew comparatively well the first year. When the trees were largely cut down and destroyed, the field was called a "clearing," a term but rarely heard now in our county. The first clearings were made near a fort or blockhouse.

Even in times of peace when the settlers remained in their houses, the bolts, bars, window shutters, etc., with which to barricade the cabin against the Indians, should they appear suddenly, were always kept at hand and in order. So, too, the housewife kept a store of provisions against a siege, and, with that in view, many of the old houses were built not near, but actually on or over springs, so that water could be procured from the spring in the cellar in times when all outside communication was cut off. A family thus barricaded could often withstand an attack of several Indians, till aid would come to drive them away. Many an Indian career has been ended from the shot of a pioneer or his wife through a loophole made for that purpose.

The following incidents of Indian warfare do not depend on tradition alone, and can be taken as actual happenings:

The progenitor of the Harman family came from Germany, and

brought with his family, it is said, a very scanty supply of this world's goods. The tradition is that the family had little else than a rifle, an ax and a mattock, and that the first summer they lived in a hut built against a rock and covered with bark. Around the hut he began to clear away the trees so that small crops might be raised. No one can now appreciate the hardships of these pioneers. They could not transport grain from the East for bread, for they were right glad, indeed, if they could get enough for seed. Necessarily they had to live on the scanty product of a new garden, wild berries and on game, with which the woods abounded. Most of them saw no one save the members of their own families for months, or even for a year after their arrival. This and much more fell to the sad lot of the elder Harman.

When more neighbors came, dangers increased, for, while one man or a family could live in a lonely valley unmolested by the Indians, he could not expect to do this when his flocks had so increased and his neighbors had become so numerous as to tempt the greed of the savages. It was at best a continuous warfare for life, not only as against the Indians but as against the wild and stingy soil as well.

Harman lived about midway between Stahlstown and Donegal, though not on the present main road, but near Williams' blockhouse. In 1777 he, with three of his neighbors, were returning from a gathering north of their place. As they rode along the path they were fired on by concealed Indians and killed. One of them lived long enough to throw his arms around his horse's neck and be carried away. The Indians did not get his horse nor his scalp, for he was found the day following with the faithful animal standing by his side. The others fell where they were shot and were buried there the day following. To this day the neighbors point out the place of their graves. Harman's widow was left with his land on Four-mile Run, which included the mouth of Laurel Run. She had three sons, Andrew, John and Philip, of whom Andrew was the oldest, a lad of fourteen years. They removed to the blockhouse for the winter, and when spring opened up they resumed their work on the farm. One morning the widow saw some neighbor's horses in a field of growing grain near the curve of a stream, and she sent the two elder boys to drive them off. Three hostile Indians were hidden behind the roots and ground of a large tree which had been uprooted by a storm, lying in wait for the boys to come near. They readily captured John, but Andrew ran towards their cabin. He was soon overtaken by an Indian with a tomahawk raised over his head, and was taken back to where his brother was held captive by the other two savages. Both were made to understand in the broken English of the Indians, that if they made

any outcry they would be killed at once. All of them first went up a steep hill beyond Four-mile Run, from which they could see the log cabin and hear their widowed mother calling for them, but they dare not answer her.

The Indians asked them if there were men at the cabin, and Andrew told them there were. Had not the precocious youth thus deceived them, they would doubtless have killed and scalped their mother, and taken their other brother and such property as was useful to them. Then they started on their journey down the Four-mile Run, and soon came across two horses belonging to a neighbor of Harman's named Johnson. One horse was unable to travel, and they cut its throat so that it might not annoy them when the other was taken away. They took the young horse and burdened him with some skins, a kettle, etc., which they had with them. That day they killed a deer and cooked some of the meat over the coals of a fire, giving the prisoner boys all they wanted. The first night they spent not far from Fort Ligonier, near enough to hear some noise there, to which the Indians listened very cautiously. They gave the boys deer skins to sleep on, and made them each a pair of moccasins from deer hide, for they were barefooted when they were captured.

On the journey one of the Indians showed the boys a pocket wallet which they recognized at once. When asked where they had procured it, they said they had taken it from a little old Dutchman they had killed the year before. It was the wallet of their father and at least one of the Indians had been among the awaiting party which killed him and his three neighbors while returning from the gathering. When they came to the Susquehanna River they had great difficulty in crossing. They had a canoe but could not propel it and lead the horse. At one time in the passage the boys and the guns were on one side of the river and the Indians and the horse on the other. The boys were probably afraid to shoot and try to make their escape. They finally reached the Seneca tribe, know generally as Cornplanters and Cornplanter was the name of their chief. They had a reservation in northern Pennsylvania and New York, were partly civilized and many of them could speak English. The boys were adopted as members of the tribe and were treated kindly.

The year following their capture was one of much sickness among the Indians. Many of the tribe died and among them John Harman. Andrew was attached to a prominent chieftain of the tribe, who had a son about his age, and the two boys became great friends. By the Indians he was called "Andus" and was liked very much because he readily fell into their habits. He was treated by them as one of their

own tribe, nor would they allow him to be ill-treated. He was among them when General Broadhead took the Eighth Regiment up the Allegheny to lay waste their habitations and the boy suffered with the tribe from the work of this expedition.

The following winter was severe and they were almost entirely without provisions; moreover, the snow was deep, and all kinds of game were scarce. They contemplated killing Andrew so that they would no longer have to feed him. One day his master sent his son and Andrew down the river on the ice to another Indian town to procure some provisions. The master told his son to put Andrew under the ice when a good opportunity was presented, but the boy overhearing it, was told that it was the dog that was to be put under the ice. The young warrior did not make the attempt. At another time he accompanied his master on a hunting expedition. Three deer had been killed and carried to one place, the master leaving Andrew to watch two of them, while he carried the third to his wigwam, telling the boy that he would soon return. So the boy hung the deer so they would be out of the reach of wolves, wrapped himself up in skins and was soon sound asleep. The master came the next morning and found him covered with snow, and, supposing him to be frozen to death, the master kicked him to ascertain his condition and found the boy in perfect health. After that they never attempted his life.

One Indian, who was a very successful gardner, raised a great many early squashes. The boy had grown tired of dieting on smoked venison and corn all winter and helped himself to some squashes. For this the Indian who had planted them fell on him and beat him severely, in fact, would probably have killed him had not Andrew's friends interfered.

Gradually the boy became very like an Indian, adopting their habits and learning their language. Gradually, too, the memory of his home almost faded away and he had almost abandoned the hope of seeing his people again. After two years he was sold to a British officer for a bottle of rum. The officer took him to England and kept him as a servant in London for two years. When the Revolutionary War closed, he was exchanged and sent to New York, and from there came to his home in Ligonier Valley. In the meantime, his mother, through many privations, had remained in the old cabin and her third son was well grown to manhood. She had almost ceased to look for the return of her long lost sons, when without a moment's warning, he walked into her home. A neighbor woman who chanced to be in the house at the time, related the circumstances. The boy had grown to manhood; the mother was prematurely aged with hardship and

sorrow. When she recognized him she was overcome with joy, and fainted in his arms. The news of his return was rapidly spread through the valley. The following Sunday the cabin was crowded all day with those who had come from near and far to see the returned captive. Men, women and children came, many of them not believing the story until they saw and recognized him. For many years he and his mother lived together on the old homestead, the scene of so much sorrow to her. Andrew never ceased to be a woodsman. He loved to hunt, and with the gait of an Indian, which he acquired in captivity, and which he kept even till old age came upon him, he was never so happy as when traveling through the wilderness. He, moreover, always spoke kindly of the Indians, remembering the good and not the evil they had done him and his family.

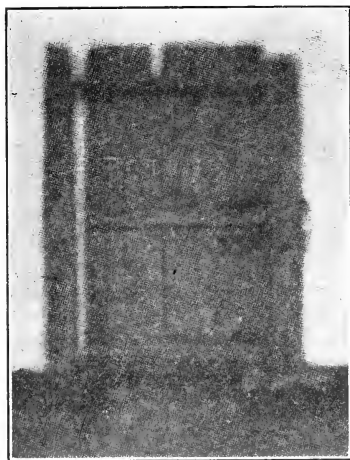
Robert Campbell lived with his parents in Fairfield, now Cook township, living near the present Pleasant Grove Church. In July, 1775 he and his brothers, William and Thomas, were working in a harvest field and were unguarded, for there had been no rumor of the presence of Indians for some time. Suddenly a party of savages swooped down on them. The lads started to run home and this disclosed the direction of their cabin, if the enemy did not know it before. The boys being but half grown were soon overtaken by the Indians, who then divided, one set of them guarding the prisoner boys, while the others went to the Campbell cabin. The mother, with an infant in her arms, started to run away, but was soon overtaken and struck down with a blow from a tomahawk which crushed her skull, and in falling she is supposed to have killed her child. Both were found the day following and were buried in one grave. Both had been scalped. There were left in the cabin, three girls named Polly, Isabel and Sarah, all of whom, with Robert, William and Thomas, taken in the field, were carried away as prisoners. The Indians also stole their horses and rode them while the boys were compelled to walk, but the girls, to facilitate their traveling, were allowed to ride, each one riding on the horse behind an Indian. The youngest of the girls could not stay on the horse, so they killed her with a blow from a tomahawk and threw her body by the wayside, where it was found a few days afterwards, about a mile north of the Campbell house.

They traveled northward and crossed the Kiskiminetas below its junction with the Loyalhanna and then went up through Pennsylvania to New York. There the children were separated. Thomas was sold to an English officer and was afterwards taken to England. The two girls were kept four years and then released and returned to the valley. William came back at the close of the Revolution.

While Robert was a prisoner he was in charge of a band of Indians who had a good many other prisoners with them. One night a prisoner, a half grown boy, escaped but was retaken the day following. Shortly after that he again escaped and was again recaptured. The second attempt was not forgiven by the Indians. As soon as he was returned to camp all of the prisoners were brought out and the boy was tied to a tree. Dry pieces of wood were then built around him, after which a fire was lighted and he was gradually roasted to death and to ashes. This horrible spectacle all prisoners were compelled to witness, to deter them, perhaps, from attempting to make an escape. After being six years in captivity, Robert escaped and in 1782 reached his old home, where he lived the remainder of his days, living to be quite old. He was known far and near as "Elder" Robert Campbell, to distinguish him from others of the same name who were, perhaps, less pious than he, for he was a leader in the Presbyterian church at Pleasant Grove. He was a most placid tempered man, and the progenitor of a large and well known family which has since inhabited Cook and Donegal townships and other parts of the county, one of his descendants being F. Murray Campbell, of Greensburg. His father is buried in the cemetery at Pleasant Grove. The inscription on the mossy headstone which marks his grave is as follows: "In memory of Robert Campbell, who died at an advanced age. The deceased was one of the early settlers of this valley and with them suffered much from Indian cruelties. In the year 1775 his wife and infant daughter were barbarously murdered, his house burned and the rest of his children, five in number, taken captives, one of whom never returned. A kind Providence restored the rest to their friends after some years, who lived to be useful citizens and followers of the Redeemer."

During the Revolution, the Uler family owned and lived on a farm about two miles south of Fort Ligonier, now known as the Slater farm. Like all other settlers in pioneer days, they stayed in fort in the dangerous times, but even then went out on every possible occasion to plant and harvest their crops. One day in July, likely in 1778, Julian, Elizabeth and Abigail, went out to a meadow near their log house to rake some new mown hay. There had been no word of Indians in the community and the family was doubtless somewhat off their guard. Their house stood near where the present Slater farm house now stands. In the midst of their work in the fields the girls were suddenly surprised by Indians who had stealthily approached them under cover of the woods beyond, and were nearly upon them before they were discovered. The three girls ran at once towards the house. Abigail, the youngest, was about sixteen years of age, while

Elizabeth was about eighteen and Julian about twenty. The two older sisters easily outran Abigail but she followed as rapidly as possible. The older sisters thought she had been captured and they mistook the sounds of her footfalls behind them for those of an Indian pursuer, and accordingly they put forth every effort to keep ahead of her. The older girls reached the house, ran in and barred the door, so that when Abigail reached the door, she was unable to gain admittance, those on the inside mistaking her for an Indian pursuer. Unable to make herself known because of her frightened condition, she ran around the house and up on the higher ground west of the house. The Indians were almost within reach of her when she ran from the barred door. They at once tried to break in the door by pushing against it with their united strength. As they were doing this the father of the girls fired through the door and shot one of the Indians, most likely in the bowels, as he always thought. Being unable to break down the door and, perhaps, fearing another shot, the Indians left the house and followed in the direction the young girl, Abigail, had taken when she ran away. The door through which the Indian was shot is a heavy oaken one, and is yet preserved. The hole through which the Indian was shot is about in its center.



Door of Ulery Log House, showing hole through which Indian was shot. This door has been preserved by the Slater Family.

The young girl, Abigail, ran but a short distance until she found a hiding place in a hole in the ground made by a large tree having been uprooted by a storm. In this depression were many leaves dropped there by the wind, and with these and a rank growth of weeds and grass she thoroughly concealed herself. She lay there but a few minutes until the Indians came by and stopped to search for her, for they doubtless thought she would hide among the branches of the fallen tree. They undoubtedly searched more thoroughly there than elsewhere. She heard one of them say to another to examine carefully, for she was certainly there for he could smell her and that they wanted her scalp. Long years afterwards she told her grandchildren and many others, that the greatest trial of her life had been to keep from jumping up and attempting to run away at that instant, which would, of course, have been fatal to her. She said also that she was in agonizing fear lest her hiding place should be discovered by the movement of the leaves covering her, occasioned by the violent beating of her heart.

But her rescue came from an unlooked for source. Fortunately for her, the wounded Indian was moaning bitterly, as though in great agony, and demanded a great deal of attention from his fellows. This undoubtedly saved her life, for her hiding place must necessarily have been discovered with but little further search. So they took the groaning Indian away, one on either side supporting him and left the hidden girl to herself. She very soon ran rapidly to the house, this time being received with open arms, for the family thought she was lost in captivity or death. The Indians with their wounded companion, went but a short distance till they passed over the brow of the hill and were lost to sight from the house. There it has always been supposed the wounded Indian died and was buried, for a grave was afterwards found there and what was supposed to be Indian bones were dug up on the spot many years afterwards by Isaac Slater.

Now comes the saddest part of the story. When the Indians once raided a community, they did not generally visit the same section again for some time, for the result of an attack was to arouse the neighborhood thoroughly. For their own safety therefore the Indians usually skulked away to a new locality where their presence was unlooked for, and unheralded. Relying on this expected immunity from further attacks, the family very soon resumed their usual work. Most likely the day following, the two girls, Elizabeth and Julian, went out to work in the same fields again. Fields were then small, and were generally skirted with trees and underbrush. Concealed in this way, two Indians approached the cabin and managed to get

between it and the girls in the field, thus effectually cutting off their escape homeward and precluding the possibility of an escape such as they had made the day previous. Only two of the girls were in the field the second day, their sister, Abigail, not having yet recovered from her experience and fright the first day. Elizabeth and Julian thus cut off from a place of safety to which they could escape, were easily captured by the Indians. They took them with them at once, going to the southeast or towards the present location of Brant's school house.

The young women were overcome with grief and were literally dragged along for about a half mile. The Indians tried to have the girls accompany them willingly and held out every inducement in the way of promises of kind treatment and safety if they would do so. They then threatened them with instant death if they did not accompany them more cheerfully. The Indians probably thought it necessary for them to get out of the community with their prisoners as soon as possible, lest they be followed by a rescuing party. But the threat of death had less horror for the average pioneer woman than captivity among the savages, and their flight from the community was still retarded by the struggling women. It is probable that both the girls were bare-footed when captured, for shoes, in pioneer days, were rarely ever worn by either men or women when about their work in summer-time. At all events, the girls soon complained that the thorns and briars were hurting their feet. The Indians then, to make peace with them, and to facilitate their flight, gave them each a pair of moccasins. When they were near a rivulet which flows past Brant's school house and thence to the Two-mile Run, the Indians became truly savage at the way their progress was delayed by the women and asked them to choose between captivity and death. This had probably no effect upon the heartbroken girls except to add to their shrieks of horror and to add to the delay. The Indians then tomahawked and scalped both of them and left them lying on the hillside in the woods. It is probable that they were impelled to do this because of their fear of pursuit by the father or other rescuing parties of greater strength. The Indians hurried on, but were gone but a short time when they returned, having forgotten to take their moccasins from the feet of the girls.

Neither of the girls had been killed by the blows given them nor by being scalped. When the Indians returned, Julian was lying on the ground as they left her, though she was conscious of her surroundings. Elizabeth had unfortunately so far recovered that she was sitting up and leaning against a tree. She was killed at once by an

Indian sinking the blade of his tomahawk through the top of her head. Julian lay quiet, and heard one of the Indians advise the other to make sure of her death by sinking his tomahawk into her brain, too, but with the reply that she was as dead as she would ever be, they procured their moccasins and hastened away.

Not long after their capture their people missed the girls and turned out to search for them, but did not find them until the day following. The dead girl was most likely buried near where she was murdered. Julian was tenderly cared for at her home and at Fort Ligonier and finally recovered. Her scalp wound never healed over entirely, though after a year or so it gave her no pain. The late John Hargnett of Ligonier, whose boyhood home was near hers, told the writer that he often saw her when a youth and also saw the unhealed wound on her head. She was never strong nor healthy after her capture, but lived most of her life with her sister, Abigail, who had escaped the Indians the day previous, and who, after the close of the Revolution, was married to Isaac Slater. Abigail was the grandmother and namesake of the mother of the writer, as well as the grandmother of the late Isaac Slater, of Ligonier borough. From them the writer secured this story. They had heard their grandmother, Abigail, tell it many times. She lived more than three-quarters of a century after she escaped from the Indians and until her oldest great-grandchildren were nearly full grown, and died October 29, 1855.

Charles Clifford resided on Mill Creek, a tributary of Loyalhanna, two and a half miles northward from Fort Ligonier. Of his capture by the Indians we have a very good account, both by tradition and by various writings which confirm it. In the winter time he and his family stayed in or near the fort, and in the early spring they resumed their work on their farm. On April 27, 1779, he and his two sons went to their land to do some work preparatory to planting their spring crops. When they reached the place of their work they could not find their horses which they had left the day before to graze over night. The boys began their work and the father went to look for the horses. He first went to some newly deadened timber tracts near the present town of Waterford, for there he had found them once before when they had strayed away. Not finding them there he continued the search, and finally reached the Forbes Road leading to the Fort between Waterford and the present town of Laughlintown. Still he could not find his horses and so concluded to abandon the search in that direction and to return to the fort. He had gone down the road but a short distance until he was fired on by five Indians who were concealed behind a log lying by the wayside. None of the shots

injured him severely, though one of them splintered his gun stock and cut his face which bled profusely, though it was only a flesh wound.

The Indians ran to him, wiped the blood from his face and seemed glad that he was not injured. They told him he would make a good man for them, and that they would take him to Niagara. They took from him his hat, coat and shirt, allowing him to retain his trousers and shoes. One of the Indians cut away the brim of his hat and amused his fellows very much by wearing the crown. Another wore his shirt and another his vest. They gave him his coat to put on, but to this he objected unless they would give him his shirt also, saying he could not wear a coat without a shirt. But they did not take to his suggestion kindly, and he was forced to submit and made to hasten on their way. On the long march they treated him much more kindly than one might expect. The Indian race was superstitious, and when five of them shot at him at once and failed to kill him, they concluded that he had some power to ward off dangers and might be very useful to them. They did not tie his arms as was their custom even among half grown boys. At night he slept between two Indians with a leather strap across his breast, the ends being held firmly by the Indians lying on them. As soon as they lay down they slept, but Clifford had too many things to think of to sleep so readily. Gently he drew the one end of the strap from under the Indian by his side and sat up. The moon was shining brightly but there sat an Indian on a log whose turn it was to watch the camp and keep up the fire. The watchman sat silent and motionless as a statue, but the prisoner knew he was awake and would probably make short work of him if he attempted to escape.

They had journeyed nearly north from where they captured him. At a point where now the village of Fairfield is located, they were joined by fifty-two other Indians, whose general trend was northward. The chief, Clifford said, had his head and arms covered with silver trinkets. They tore down fences to roast meat, but warily marched a mile or so away from the smoke to eat and to prepare a place to rest over night. Clifford had a great desire to see what other prisoners the band had and to learn if his sons were among them. They had only one other prisoner, whose name was Peter Maharg. When Clifford found him he was sitting on a log, much dejected, too much so to reply to his salutation, and sat with his head down in perfect silence. As it was learned afterwards, he had been taken the same day while hunting horses. Maharg had a small dog with him and saw the Indians before they saw him. He turned at once and could probably have escaped but the dog ahead of him, came running back to his

master as soon as he saw the Indians. To them this was all that was necessary and Maharg was taken at once. The Indians scoured the northern part of the valley for prisoners or booty, but finding nothing that was not guarded, they left on the third day for their home, which was near the boundary between New York and Pennsylvania, near the headwaters of the Allegheny river. They had thus journeyed about two hundred miles and had killed but two people and secured but two prisoners. On their long march homeward they marched by daylight but always camped an hour or so before sunset. Eight or ten of the Indians guarded the prisoners while the others hunted through the woods. At the camp they generally all met about the same time, and the hunters usually brought in venison, turkey or smaller birds. After the evening meal they lay after the manner of the first night.

After they crossed the Allegheny river the game became scarce, perhaps because of the severe winter previous. Some days they could not procure even a squirrel and the entire party suffered greatly from hunger. At one time for three days they had nothing whatever to eat except the under bark of young chestnut trees. This they cut with their tomahawks and offered it to the prisoners, who refused it. In reply they received the consolation, "you fool; you die." They then sent out two strong active Indians who went ahead and in three days returned with some other Indians, among them some squaws, and who had beans, dried corn and dried venison. They gave the two prisoners a fair share of these provisions, scanty though they were. The Indians then divided into two parties, one party taking the dejected Maharg and the other taking Clifford. Maharg was treated most cruelly, most likely because he remained so morose and dejected, for this from the first, disgusted them with him. They made him run the gauntlet and beat him so severely that he fell before he passed through. The beating he received did not stop when he fell. He never recovered from it but bore the marks of it on his body when he was laid down many years afterwards in his last sleep.

Running the gauntlet consisted in passing between two lines of Indians, the Indians stationed about six feet apart and the lines about the same distance apart. The Indians were provided with clubs and each had a right to hit the prisoner as he passed. If the prisoner were strong and active, he could sometimes escape pretty well, but it was at best a most painful and dangerous ordeal.

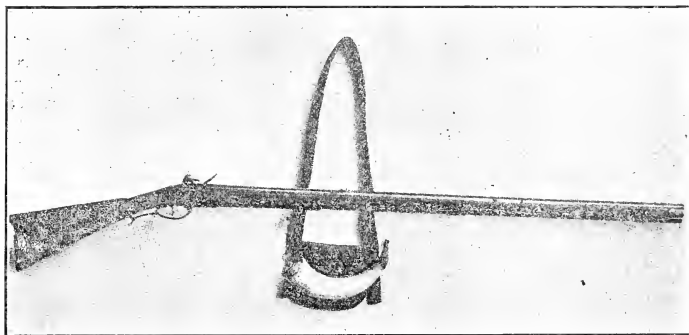
Clifford had been, from the first, under an Indian who had claimed him as his servant. After he had become somewhat accustomed to traveling without a shirt, his Indian master gave him a shirt and a hat. The shirt was covered with blood and had two bullet holes

in it; it was probably taken from one of the men whom they had killed. Before he was taken prisoner, while working among the underbrush, he had badly snagged his foot, and this in a few days without care, became very painful and the long marches had brought on inflammation and swelling. On showing it to his particular Indian guardian he examined it very carefully and then took the inner bark from a wild cherry tree. From this, by boiling, he made a syrup with which he bathed the foot, after which he bound the boiled bark on the wound with pieces of a shirt. It very rapidly reduced the swelling and allayed the pain. They kept Clifford six weeks, after which they delivered him to the British at Montreal.

He learned much about their customs and curious manners and never failed to interest his hearers by a narration of his experiences and observations among them. He saw four prisoners running the gauntlet, one of whom was killed. At another time, when a horse had kicked a boy, the animal was at once shot by the father of the lad and the Indians ate the raw meat of the animal, which they thought very delicious. At Montreal he grew in favor with the officers of the garrison and fared much better than most prisoners. He procured from one officer, a pocket compass which he gave to a prisoner named James Flock, who escaped, and by the aid of the compass, made his way back to Westmoreland county through an almost trackless wilderness, finally arriving at his home long after his friends had given him up for dead. Clifford was in Montreal two years and a half when he was exchanged. He then returned to Ligonier valley having been gone three years. He lived to be an old man and was respected by all who knew him. He is buried in the Old Fort Palmer Cemetery, having died in 1816. He was a soldier in the Revolution.

The year before Charles Clifford was captured, his son James left Fort Ligonier to hunt game, having with him a very sagacious and well trained dog. Shortly after leaving the fort the dog showed signs of scenting an enemy and came to his master whining and snarling. He advanced very cautiously and his watchful eye soon detected an Indian crouching behind a large tree which had thick bushes growing about its trunk. The Indian waited patiently for him to come nearer. He saw at once that to turn back or to stop would be to draw the Indian's fire, most likely with a fatal result. So he walked on, whistling in an unconcerned way, but slowly bringing his rifle to his side and cocking it. When this was done he raised the gun quickly and fired at the Indian, though almost entirely concealed by the bushes, and then turned and ran to the fort. There he found his father and Captain Shannon already on the alert, for they had heard

the report of his gun. They immediately started out with a party of fifteen or twenty men to get the Indian either dead or wounded. They found he had not been killed but they tracked him by the blood on the ground and found that he was twisting leaves and forcing them into the wound to stop the flow of blood. It was evident from the loss of blood that he could not long survive. From his not being found it was believed that he had not been alone but had been helped or perhaps carried away by others who were with him. Not long after this, Robert Knox, Sr., one of the first settlers of the valley, had a conversation with a renegade, who asked Knox who it was who killed the Indian, mentioning the circumstances. Knox told him it was one of his neighbor's boys. This shooting happened near Bunker's Spring at Ligonier. The Cliffords were the ancestors of the well known Clifford family of Ligonier valley and of Dr. Edward M. Clifford, of Greensburg.



Gun with which James Clifford shot Indian. At his death, Clifford bequeathed it to his nephew, James Clifford, late of Lockport, Pennsylvania, and it is now owned by his heirs.

CHAPTER XXVI

INDIAN STORIES—Continued

CHAPTER XXVI.

Indian Stories Continued.—Fort Walthour.—Captain Willard Killed; Daughter Captured.—The Story of David, the Lame Indian; His Escape.—Adventure of Captain Sloan, Wallace, etc.—They Defend Fort Hamilton; Return Home.—The Mitchell Family Captured; the Mother Killed.—The Story of Maidenfoot and Mary Means.—The Race Between Miss Reed and the Indians.—The Capture of Jacob Nicely.—The Martin Family Captured.

Fort Walthour was one and a half miles west of Adamsburg, and was properly a blockhouse, built by the surrounding neighbors for temporary safety. It was in the midst of a Pennsylvania Dutch settlement and clustering around it were the cabins and homes of the settlers. For some weeks most of the settlers near by had been spending the nights in this stronghold and going to their fields to labor in the day time. The account of the killing of the Willards is well authenticated and is as follows:

Captain Willard, his daughter, a young woman well grown, and two sons, were working in the fields near the fort which stood on Walthour's land. One morning in 1786, there suddenly appeared a small band of Indians who began firing on them. The Willards seized their guns and ran towards the blockhouse or fort. The daughter was overtaken and captured but the father and sons fired as they retreated, and, when very near the fort the father was killed by a shot from an Indian at close range. The Indian ran up, placed his foot on the prostrate man, and was just about to scalp him when a shot from the fort hit the Indian in the leg or hip. With a frightful yell he fled to his companions, but it was noticed that he limped at every step. He was pursued but succeeded in hiding himself among the bushes, and thus he evaded his pursuers. There he lay for three days until the people had given up finding him. Then he crawled out and secured a long stick which he used for a cane or crutch. Living on berries, roots and bark, and traveling mostly at night, he approached Turtle Creek, where there was a garrison. It is probable that he would have given himself up had the soldiers at the garrison been regulars, but they were militia, as he noticed, and they were much more severe on Indians than the regulars were. They had no sympathy whatever for an Indian. For thirty-seven days after the killing of Willard, this wounded Indian wandered over the hills, creeping most of the time and having nothing to eat except what he could find in the woods. At length he reached Pittsburgh and practically gave himself up by

appearing before a private house and asking in broken English for a drink of milk. He was a mere skeleton. When he was partially recovered, after telling some impossible stories about his condition, he practically admitted that it was his party which had attacked the Willards and haltingly related most of the circumstances given above.

After the Indians were driven away from Walthours, a party pursued them to the Allegheny river, where they entered the Indian country and could not be followed. Some hunters two months afterward found the body of the daughter who had been captured. She had been killed with a tomahawk and scalped. This still further aggravated the feelings of the people against the Indians and when at length it was learned that the limping Indian was a prisoner, in Pittsburgh, a new party was organized to bring him to justice. This was headed by Mrs. Walthour, widow and mother of the victims of the recent incursion. They now knew that the lame Indian was Davy, a sub-chief of the Delaware tribe. General Irvine had charge of Fort Pitt. At first it was not known what had become of the captured daughter. The friends hoped by securing the Indian that he might be exchanged for the daughter. But when the mutilated body of the girl was found, nothing short of the life of the Indian would satisfy the people at Walthours. Those who accompanied Mrs. Willard, whose names are known, were Joseph Studebaker, Jacob Byerly, Francis Byerly, Jacob Rudorf and Henry and Frank Willard. The Willards were likely close relatives of the man who was killed, if not his sons or brothers.

General Irvine gave the following written instructions to the committee, hoping, of course, that it would save the Indian from abuse and torture:

You are hereby enjoined and required to take the Indian delivered into your charge by my order, and carry him safe into the settlement of Brush Creek. You will afterward warn two justices of the peace and request their attendance at such place as they shall think proper to appoint, with several other reputable inhabitants. Until this is done and their advice and direction had in the matter, you are, at your peril, not to hurt him or suffer any person to do it.

Given under my hand at Fort Pitt, July 21, 1782.

WILLIAM IRVINE.

At the same time he talked to Mrs Willard, instructing her to do nothing in retaliation and not to permit him to be put to death without some form of trial. The Indian was thus given into the custody of the committee to be brought to Fort Walthour. The Indians did not carry on war according to recognized methods of warfare and were

not supposed to be entitled to the protection of the law when captured. There was a bitter feeling at the fort against the Fort Pitt authorities whom they thought, should have put the Indian to death at once. When he was delivered to them he was put on a horse but in some way on the road out, he fell from the horse and greatly injured his lame leg. The Willards were deservedly popular. The father, who was killed, was held in that high esteem which usually surrounds those who are advanced in years. The young girl, his daughter, was just blooming into womanhood and had as many friends and as bright prospects as any maiden in the neighborhood. Here there was an opportunity to avenge their cruel murder. The entire community was aroused when the Indian and his guard arrived late in the afternoon of July 22. It was determined that he should have a fair trial by a jury as indicated by the order of General Irvine and that the Indian should suffer the penalty imposed on him by the verdict of the jury. It is probable that the jury would not have been entirely unprejudiced, for to be an Indian alone was sufficient to condemn him to death.

The prevalent opinion was that he would be burned at the stake, which had been the Indian method adopted a short time before in disposing of Colonel Crawford and of others. But a night must elapse before an impartial jury could be summoned and the justices required by General Irvine's order must be secured. A deputy was sent out to secure the justices and to summon a jury. Others busied themselves by cutting and carrying dry wood to the spot where the old man Willard had been murdered. This proceeding in the highly censorious age in which we live, might be considered by the extremely critical as unduly presumptive of the verdict, but fire wood of a good dry quality could be used for other purposes if not required in carrying out the mandates of the law, so it was collected.

The Indian was put in the blockhouse to keep him over night and a guard of young men was appointed to keep watch till morning. But having fallen from the horse and rebroken or reinjured his leg, those appointed did not apparently watch as closely as they should have, thinking, no doubt, that escape was impossible. At all events, in the night when the guard was asleep, the prisoner climbed up the logs of the building to the place where the second story projected, and was left open to shoot down on Indians who might try to break in below. From that opening he went down the outside and escaped. In the morning the justices and jury were present. The pioneers, men, women and children, had come from long distances; the fire-wood was ready and, in fact, everything for a first-class trial and immolation except the Indian. After the outbreak of the feeling against the

guards had passed, a most exhaustive search was instituted. This extended in every direction and lasted for two days, yet failed to reveal the whereabouts of the prisoner and his hiding place is to this day a mystery. It was supposed that a man named Sulsberger assisted the lame Indian to escape so that the people might be spared from the disgrace of burning alive a human being who was already at death's door.

On the fourth day after the escape of the Indian, a lad in the community nearby was looking for his horses when he saw an Indian mounting one of them from a fallen tree. He was aided by a long stick which proved almost conclusively that he was the lame prisoner. He had made a bridle of bark and at once set off towards the frontier at a rapid gait. The boy was afraid to claim the horse, but hurried home to give the alarm. A searching party was collected and set out in pursuit. They followed his tracks till darkness compelled them to lay by till morning, when the search was again resumed. The lame Indian frequently rode in the middle of the streams, or turned the wrong way to mislead his pursuers. They traced him to the Allegheny River, at a point near the mouth of the Kiskiminetas, where they found the horse with the bark bridle. The horse was yet warm, the sweat not having dried on him and it was evident that the Indian had left him but a short time before. Across the river the country was entirely unsettled and belonged to the Indians; so it was useless to try to follow him further. With the hope that he had drowned in the river, or famished in the wilderness or that his wound had wrought his death, they returned disconsolate and empty handed indeed. They even searched the river below but could discover no trace of him. Years later when peace had been restored in this section, inquiries were made by Brackenridge and others, among members of the Delaware tribe, concerning the fate of Davy the sub-chief. They were assured that he had never returned to his tribe.

The murder of the Francis family was one of the most inhuman and barbarous incidents in border history. They resided two miles or more, east of Brush Creek. The Indians had not disturbed that community for months, and their usual vigilance was somewhat relaxed. On the day of the murder they did not have their cabin barricaded, and a band of Indians therefore easily gained access to it. Two of the family were killed at once, and the remaining members were taken prisoners. One was a young girl who lived to return to the settlement, where she was married and has left descendants in Hempfield township. Her brothers and sisters were divided among several tribes represented among the captors. Those who were killed were

scalped and their bodies were found near the ruins of the cabin the day following. They were buried in the garden, a custom then prevalent among the pioneers and which lasted until regular cemeteries or graveyards as they were called, were established.

In the fall of 1795 Captain Sloan, John Wallace, his nephew, and two others named Hunt and Knott, all citizens of Derry township, and neighbors living on the banks of the Loyalhanna, concluded to make a trip to the West. All were expert woodsmen and were probably somewhat tired of their monotonous home life. Their objective point was the Miami Valley in Ohio. They did not go to fight Indians, but went thoroughly armed for self-protection. They took with them two horses which carried provisions and which they rode time about, particularly after the store of provisions was somewhat lightened. Their first point of destination was Cincinnati and they reached that place without noteworthy adventure. After leaving there they camped at night on the banks of the Big Maumee river. The next morning Knott and Sloan were on the horses when they were suddenly fired on by a large band of Indians concealed nearby. Knott was killed by the first shot and Sloan was shot through his left side. Hunt was captured after a very short run, but Wallace continued to run, and gained on his pursuers until his foot caught in a root and threw him violently to the ground. In his fall he also lost his gun. Sloan, though wounded, managed to capture the frightened horses and rapidly galloped after Wallace. When the latter fell, Sloan stopped both horses but Wallace was so weakened he could not mount. Sloan dismounted to assist him, and this delay gave their pursuers time to almost overtake them. They were again fired at but not wounded, and being on strong horses, they soon galloped away from the Indians.

They knew that Fort Washington was the nearest place they could secure a surgeon, yet they went to Fort Hamilton first to warn them of the Indians presence. There they remained till morning but as they were about to ride out by break of day, they found Fort Hamilton entirely surrounded by Indians. There were several hundred of them and only a small garrison of about fifteen men under the command of a young officer of little or no military experience. The enemy knew this and demanded a surrender. The young officer favored a surrender but told Sloan he should take the forces and make a defence if he thought proper. Sloan held a conference with the leader of the enemy from the top of the fort and told them of their provisions and that they expected reinforcements. After considerable conversation through an interpreter, he refused to surrender the fort. It was not

supposed that a surrender of the fort meant anything short of death to the inmates.

The Indians then fired on the fort and set up a warwhoop which meant that no quarter was to be shown to those in the fort, should they be overcome. The fort had been built by Major-General Arthur St. Clair four years previous and was yet strong enough to resist their firing. The attack continued all day but the Indians were at a safe distance from the fort and it is likely that but one was killed. At night they tried to burn the fort, but this attempt was also unsuccessful. Near the fort was a stable where the horses were kept, and where the cattle used as beeves were fed. Projecting past the corner of the stable was a corn crib. An Indian concealed himself behind this corn crib and watched the openings of the fort, firing now and then at the port-holes. It was discovered that he was anxious to leave his place behind the corn crib, but feared to do so while the upper port-hole, which commanded his retreat, was occupied. It was Captain Sloan who was watching him. His wounded side bothered him a great deal so that he had others load his gun for him. Intending to deceive the Indian, he fired at the point of a gun which the Indian was exposing for the purpose of drawing Sloan's fire. When Sloan fired, the Indian came out in full view and started to run to his associates, supposing, of course, that Sloan could not fire again till he reloaded his gun. But Sloan had two guns, the second to surprise the Indian with, should he appear after the first fire. The Indian ran but a few steps in full view until a shot from Sloan's second gun laid him cold in death.

Another Indian took Sloan's horse from the stable and putting on Sloan's hat which he had lost in the race the day before, rode 'round and 'round the fort but at a safe distance from it. Finally the entire band of Indians went away, after killing all the cattle and taking all the horses belonging to the garrison and Sloan's horses as well. The dead Indian at the corn crib was left behind for no one would venture near enough to recover his body. The Indians left, it was presumed, because they feared the arrival of reinforcements.

At Fort Washington a surgeon treated Captain Sloan's wounded side. Though it was temporarily healed up, he suffered with it till the day of his death. Hunt, who was captured, was never heard of again. Both Sloan and Wallace returned to their more peaceful homes on the Loyalhanna and spent their lives in this county. Sloan was elected sheriff of the county, serving from 1804 to 1807. Before leaving Fort Hamilton he scalped the Indian he killed at the corn crib, and for a generation afterwards the scalp was on exhibition at public gatherings in that section of the county.

After the close of the Revolutionary War and after the burning of Hannastown in 1782, there were fewer Indian depredations in Westmoreland county as it now exists. Often, however, a stray Indian or even a band of three or four came here to steal horses, capture settlers and to procure scalps, but even these were so few in comparison to those of former years, that the general fear of Indians had greatly subsided. This was due largely to the return of soldiers from the Revolution who were unitedly strong enough to defend the frontier and thus deter Indians from overrunning the country.

But in 1790 the Indians in Ohio succeeded in boldly defeating the army under General Harmar, and the year following achieved a still greater victory over the army of General St. Clair. These victories emboldened them and inspired them with confidence. They accordingly set on foot a series of incursions which lasted until General Anthony Wayne won a signal victory over them at the battle of Fallen Timber, in 1794.

Our people, resultant from the victories over Harmar and St. Clair, suffered severely and the Indians came so near Greensburg that a blockhouse was built there in 1792, though other similar structures were rapidly falling into decay. Several white settlers were captured, some horses were stolen and one or two citizens were murdered. One instance of a heartrending character, that has come down to us well authenticated, was the murder of the Mitchell family in Derry township. This family had come here in 1773 and purchased lands on the banks of the Loyalhanna east of the present town of Latrobe. Their house, it is said, was two miles east of Latrobe on the line of the present Ligonier Valley Railroad. The family in 1791, consisted of a mother and two children, Charles and Susan, aged respectively seventeen and fifteen years. The husband and father had been dead some years, and the defenseless family was living alone. A band of four Indians approached the house while Charles and Susan were in the stable. They noticed the Indians approaching and Charles tried to escape by running toward the Loyalhanna. The Indians soon captured him. While this was being done, Susan hid herself under a trough used in feeding horses, where she remained quietly, and though the Indians looked for her, they failed to discover her hiding place. They then captured the lonely old mother and started hurriedly away to the north, for they knew their depredations would soon be known and that a party of rescuers much larger than their band, could readily be raised to follow them.

They had not gone far until they learned that Mrs. Mitchell was too old to keep up with their rapid pace. To turn her back would be

but to give assistance to the pursuers who would follow them, yet it appears that they did not like to kill her in the presence of her son. So two of them pushed on with the son and about dark they kindled a fire. The other two loitered behind with Mrs. Mitchell. While the advance party was standing around the fire, the two who remained behind came up. One of them was carrying the bloody scalp of the prisoner's mother. He proceeded to stretch it over and dry it at the fire in the presence of the boy with as little compunction as though it had been the scalp of a wild animal. In Armstrong county they came upon the tracks of two white men. Both Charles and the Indian who was guarding him, saw them at a distance, and Charles recognized them as Captain Sloan and Harry Hill. They were neighbors of the Mitchells on the Loyalhanna. The ground was covered with snow and Sloan was a large man with very large feet, and his tracks in the snow were so unusually large that the Indian measured them with a ramrod. His exclamations of surprise led Charles to tell him that they were the tracks of the big Captain Sloan, the great Indian fighter. The Indians concluded from this not to try to capture them but pushed on in another direction. Later in the day, Sloan and Hill discovered the tracks of the Indians and also that they had with them a white prisoner, judging from his tracks. They concluded that to run them down would insure the death of the prisoner, and therefore, with no fear for themselves, they wisely determined not to try to overtake them. The boy was taken to the Cornplanter Tribe and there adopted by a squaw who had lost her son, a youth, in a recent battle. They made him hoe corn and do all kinds of work which was usually performed by the squaws. After being a captive for three years he escaped from them and returned to his old home, where he was afterwards married and there remained till he died at a good old age. He often told how the band of Indians crossed a large swollen stream when they had no canoes. They cut a long, slender sapling and placed it on the shoulders of two of their tallest and strongest men, one at each end. The smaller men and the squaws held to the pole, their places being between the two men at the ends. If any one should slip he could draw himself up by holding fast to the pole, for it was not likely that all would be carried down at once.

Lieutenant Blane has left on record that while he was commander of Fort Ligonier in 1763, several parties of Indians, claiming to be friendly, visited him. They were always treated kindly by the lieutenant and his forces. On one of these visits at least they were accompanied by a young warrior named Maidenfoot. While there a pioneer named Means, with his wife and daughter, the latter a young

girl of eleven years, also entered the fort. The Indian was greatly pleased with the young girl. He learned that she lived about a mile south of the fort, and on leaving, he gave her a string of beads, which, as an Indian, he must have valued very highly. It was noticed, too, that in talking to the girl, he seemed very sad and heartbroken, as though her bright young face touched a tender place in his memory. The beads were preserved by the girl as an Indian present and often worn as ornaments, which were somewhat rare in the new settlement.

One day in May or June Mrs. Means and her daughter started again to the fort, but this time to remain, for there was a rumor of Indians in the neighborhood. The girl, as may be supposed, wore her beads around her neck. When they were nearing the fort they were captured by two large Indians who took them into the woods a short distance and bound them to saplings with deer thongs. They were warned to keep quiet or they would be tomahawked at once. Very soon after their capture they heard the report of many rifles in the direction of the fort, as though an attack had been made on it by a band of Indians. It was even so, for Pontiacs' forces had arrived and were making the first of their many assaults on Captain Blane and his limited forces. The battle raged for several hours but the fortress was not injured. Late in the afternoon Maidenfoot appeared before the prisoners, sent perhaps to scalp them. He recognized them at once, perhaps because of the string of beads, and unbound the captives. Then he conducted them in a roundabout way to their home, where they were met by the husband and father, Mr. Means.

Maidenfoot told them that their only safety depended on their flight to the mountains, and pointed out to them, towards the south, a safe place for them to hide. He told them further that the band would soon be gone after which they could return home. The Means family lost no time in going to the ravine pointed out by Maidenfoot, and there they remained till the Indians had gone from the valley. Before he left them the warrior took the handkerchief of the girl, and on it was worked in black silk, her name, Mary Means.

Years passed by and when the country was more thickly settled, the Means family removed to Ohio, where a larger tract of land was purchased, not far from the place where the city of Cincinnati is now built. There the parents of the girl died, the girl grew to womanhood and was married to an officer of the Revolutionary period, named Kearney. They owned and cultivated the land left by the parents. Kearney commanded a company under General Anthony Wayne at Fallen Timber. After the battle was over, as he and others were looking over the field, they came to an elderly Indian who, while sit-

ting on a log, waved a white handkerchief over his head. Some of Kearney's companions would have shot him at once, but the Captain interfered and approached him. The Indian told them that he had been a warrior all his life, that he had fought at Ligonier, Bushy Run at the Wabash against St. Clair and at Fallen Timber. Now that he was old he asked only peace; he said he had buried the hatchet and would fight no more; that he had done his share of fighting in defense of his race, and thereafter meant to live at peace with all mankind. Search was made of his possessions and it was found that he had in his pouch a handkerchief with the maiden name of Captain Kearney's wife, Mary Means, worked on it in black silk letters. The story of the beads and how they had saved the life of his wife when a child, had often been told to the husband. Upon learning that the Indian had once been known by the name of Maidenfoot, he took him to his home. His wife and the Indian recognized each other, though thirty-one years had passed since they had parted on that gloomy morning in Ligonier valley. All these years the woman had preserved the string of beads because they had once saved her and her mother's life, while the Indian had preserved and treasured the handkerchief from another reason, which he disclosed on further acquaintance. He said that a short time before he met the young girl in the fort he had lost his sister, a girl about her age and size; that when he gave her the beads he adopted her as his sister, though he had no desire to take her away from her parents. The young Mary Means touched a tender chord in his memory. Maidenfoot was taken into the family of Captain Kearney. He was always cheerful and readily adapted himself to the customs of his new friends. In about four years he died of pulmonary troubles and was buried with military honors in a little churchyard near Cincinnati. Over his grave was erected a marble slab with the following inscription: "In memory of Maidenfoot, an Indian Chief of the Eighteenth Century, who died a civilian and a Christian."

Near Fort Ligonier in the early part of the Revolution, lived a farmer named Reed, whose family consisted of his wife and four children. His oldest daughter, named Rebecca, was a young woman in 1778 and a son George was a year or two younger. Very often it became the duty of the daughter to assist her father in outdoor labors, such as planting corn and harvesting crops. This gave her physical system a strength and litheness unusual to her sex and it undoubtedly saved her life. In her old age, she had a most attractive face, and those who remembered her loved to tell of the beauty and of the charm of her youth. She was the pride of her parents, and her interesting character made her a favorite among the pioneers of the valley. The

Reeds had a comfortable log house, and while at first they were almost alone in the wilderness, other families soon gathered around them so that the community was for that day, comparatively well settled. Here were perhaps sixty families of fearless and happy people. During the winter they were not molested much by the Indians, but each summer they were compelled to seek refuge in the fort. Winter was always a poor season for the red men to make long journeys on foot, for the reason that they invariably subsisted on the country through which they traveled. Furthermore, the snows of winter made it easier for the settlers and soldiers to track them.

In the summer of 1778, nearly all outdoor work was done by companies of men and they usually kept a number of men to stand guard at the edge of the fields. The men went out from the fort almost daily, for they were compelled to look after their crops or face danger of famine the following winter. The women were cooped up in the fort very closely during the dangerous period of the year. A favorite rural sport for exercise for the young people was foot racing between the two extremes of the stockade. Among all the young women who entered the contest, Miss Reed was the fleetest of foot. Indeed, she could outrun most of the men in the fort. A young man named Shannon, of noted athletic build, often contested in races with her, and it was thought, felt a special thrill of joy when, either through his gallantry or her fleetness, she came out the victor.

The summer of 1778 was a gloomy one in all parts of Westmoreland, for the Indians were lurking in almost every defile, and rumors of depredations came almost daily to the garrison. One afternoon Rebecca Reed and her brother, George, in company with a young man named Means and his sister, Sarah, left the fort to gather berries on a clearing about two miles away, where they were reported to be most plentiful. Their way as they neared the clearing led them through a thick growth of underbrush which almost arched over the narrow path or road on which they were walking. While passing through this narrow way, they met Major McDowell returning on horseback from some lands and unconcernedly carrying his rifle on his shoulder. Suddenly the little party was fired on by Indians who were lying in ambush nearby. George Reed and young Means were in front. Reed was mortally wounded, but ran a short distance into the bushes. Another ball struck McDowell's rifle, shattered the stock and forced splinters into his face and neck. The young man Means ran back toward the girls, perhaps to protect them, but was soon overtaken and captured.

The girls started to run towards the fort and the Indians pursued

them. They soon caught Miss Means, who was holding to Miss Reed's arm. The Indian who caught her grasped at Miss Reed's clothes but failed to stop her. Now that she was freed from the other girl, Miss Reed bounded off like a deer. The savage who grasped for her was determined to catch her and a most novel race ensued. The Indian doubtless expected an easy victory, but very soon found himself losing ground. When this continued, he began a series of terrific yells so well known in Indian warfare and intended to confuse or unnerve the girl. But instead of being intimidated or overcome, as he hoped, the fiendish yells had the opposite effect on the brave girl, as she often afterwards said. She then put forth additional energy, and by straining every nerve, accelerated her speed. She was clearly in the lead and by every step was increasing the distance between her and her pursuer. The Indian kept up the pursuit, doubtless with the hope that his great power of endurance would yet enable him to capture the rich prize flying before him, and thus preserve his good name among the tribe.

In the fort the noise of the shooting and the yells of the Indian were distinctly heard. Knowing that a party of four had gone out in that direction, a relief party sprang for their rifles and hurried to the rescue. Shannon headed the party and the fact that Miss Reed was among those in danger, was sufficient to call forth his best energies, if, indeed, a loyal frontiersman needed any stimulant in pursuing Indians. At all events, he soon left the rescue party in the rear by the fleetness of his movements. When he had gone a short distance from the fort he saw Miss Reed flying along the path towards him at a greater speed than she ever ran before, and the Indian several rods behind her. The quick eye of the Indian caught sight of Shannon, likely before Miss Reed saw him. Noticing also the rifle in his hands, the Indian stopped at once and turned into the bushes. A few steps brought Miss Reed to Shannon, who assisted her to the fort, while the rest of the rescuing party ran to the locality hurriedly pointed out by Miss Reed. She was, of course, very nearly exhausted, and it was doubtful whether, without the interposition of Shannon, and his trusty rifle, she could have held out in her terrific speed long enough to gain the fort.

The rescuing party found the lifeless body of Reed but he was not scalped. Perhaps that was left for the Indian who pursued Miss Reed to attend to on his return, but he did not return that way. They found the body of Miss Means, who had been tomahawked and scalped. The Indians made good their retreat with Means as a prisoner. Shannon and Miss Reed were married shortly after the Indian

troubles ceased, and lived happily on a farm in Ligonier valley until both were bowed with the weight of more than four-score years. But a vastly different fate awaited the Indian who was defeated in the race with Miss Reed. Three years later the captive, Means, returned home, and it was then learned from him that the Indian was disgraced forever among his people because he had been fairly distanced in a race with a "white squaw." Means said that he was a splendid specimen of the race and had been the accepted suitor of the chieftain's daughter, the belle of the forest. But ever after this, to him, unfortunate episode, she treated him only with feelings of scorn and contempt. For three years at least, that is, while the prisoner Means remained with the tribe, he was but little more than a slave to the other Indians, performing only the meanest drudgery encumbent on these natives of the forest.

There is a version of this story which says that Miss Reed was carried to the fort on the horse behind McDowell, and that, with his assistance, she sprung to the horse's back while at full gallop. This is unlikely and moreover, it is incorrect. The circumstances exactly as above given, were given by one who had them directly from Mr. and Mrs. Shannon in their old age.

Jacob Nicely was one of the last children captured by the Indians in Westmoreland county. He was captured about 1790 or perhaps a year later, and the story of his capture is well authenticated. He was a son and likely the youngest son of Adam Nicely, who lived on the Four-mile Run, about two miles from its junction with the Loyalhanna.

On a bright morning the children were in the fields picking berries when the boy Jacob started to the house. The mother was baking and gave the child a warm cake and told him to rejoin the other children. The child came back, saying the cake was too hot, whereupon the mother cooled it and again sent the child away. These little journeys were closely watched by a party of Seneca Indians concealed nearby who captured the boy on his way to the field. His capture, his struggles to free himself and his cries, were seen and heard by the other children, who ran home and reported it to their parents. The father very soon raised a company of willing neighbors who pursued the Indians with all possible speed. They traced them to the Kiskiminetas river, but in the wilderness beyond their tracks were soon lost. The father and his neighbors returned to the heartbroken mother.

The boy when captured, was about five years old, and was at

once adopted into the Seneca tribe. He rapidly forgot almost all he knew about his home and people in the lonely valley of the Loyalhanna. He readily acquired the habits and customs of the Indians, and was, to all intents and purposes, a member of the Seneca tribe. He learned to speak a new language, and forgot the few words taught him in childhood by his mother. He even forgot his own name and could neither pronounce it nor recognize it when he heard it. He spoke the Seneca language as though he had been born in the wilderness, and spoke his own tongue as haltingly as did his Indian associates.

Many years after he was captured a trader, perhaps a fur dealer, who lived near the Nicely family on the Four-mile Run, chanced to be among the Senecas and saw this captive, now grown to manhood. The traveler was so impressed with the resemblance of the man to the Nicely family whom he knew well in Ligonier valley, that he made inquiry, and learned that the man had been captured when a child in Westmoreland county. The traveler came home and reported this to the Nicelys in 1828, nearly forty years after the capture. The father of the boy had long since died and the mother had passed her three-score years and ten. A brother of the captured boy decided at once to visit the Indian tribe and see the long lost captive. Neighbors spoke dissuadingly of the project, but he was determined, and after a short preparation, started on horseback to visit the northern tribe. He made the journey in safety and found his brother. There was no doubt of his identity in the minds of either of them. The captured brother had been married to a squaw and had around him a family of Indian children. He was a prosperous man in his community; he had about him plenty of land, horses and cattle and was well supplied with hunting and fishing implements.

When the brother was at his house he sent out to procure a white woman as a cook, for the Indian manner of preparing meals was not supposed to be palatable to the white people. There is a tradition in the family that the captured brother had visited Westmoreland prior to this, trying to locate his people and his home, and that, mispronouncing his name, he could not find them. At all events, Jacob promised and arranged with his brother to visit his mother and relatives the following year. He also accompanied his brother part of the way home, made him a present of a rifle and other small implements which he could carry on horseback. But the captive son and brother did not come as he promised. Perhaps he died before the time set for his visit. At all events, he was never heard from again. When the

aged mother spoke of him, which was very often as the years advanced, she always called him "Jakey," and every reference to him brought tears to her eyes. After a while, the family ceased to look for him, but his mother never gave up the idea that he would one day return to her. Her hair grew gray in fruitless longing for a sight of her long lost child, and this yearning only ceased when her whitened head was pillowed in its last and sweetest sleep.

At the outbreak of the French and Indian War a Scotch-Irish settlement had been effected in what is now Fulton county, Pennsylvania, at a place known as the Big Cove. The Quaker government of Pennsylvania had refused to give these people land except within the area open to settlement, and they had therefore gone farther west and taken up land on their own account. The State authorities fearing that this movement would exasperate the Indians of the West, tried to prevent this settlement, but failed to do so, for the settlers promptly returned to the forbidden lands as soon as the officers sent to eject them were gone. Among these determined pioneers was John Martin, the ancestor of the Martin family of Western Pennsylvania.

Following the disastrous defeat of General Braddock on the Monongahela in the summer of 1755, the Indians, as has been seen, carried the war eastward across the Alleghenies, and on the first of November of that year a band of them suddenly fell upon the settlers at Big Cove. Among the homes destroyed was that of John Martin, who, at the time of the raid, was absent on a trip to Philadelphia, having taken his horses with him. His oldest son, Hugh Martin, afterwards one of the most prominent men in the formative period of Westmoreland history, was then seventeen years of age, and hearing of the impending attack, started to warn his neighbors and arrange for the escape of the families to a blockhouse somewhere in the settlement. He found his neighbor's cabin in flames, and, returning, saw the Indians sacking his own home, saw his mother, two brothers and three sisters being carried off as prisoners. As he was unable to render assistance to the family, he kept hidden from view until the Indians left with their prisoners. Then he started for help, traveling under cover as best he could. On the second day he met a body of armed men and returned with them to the Cove, but the Indians had gone towards the Allegheny river, where they had a tribal village and had taken all prisoners with them. The Indian village, their destination, was near the present town of Kittanning. The settlers were too few in numbers to follow them. John Martin returned from Philadelphia and with his son Hugh, rebuilt the home.

The Martin family who were taken prisoners consisted of Mrs. Martin; Mary, aged nineteen; Martha, aged twelve; James, aged ten; William, aged eight; and Janet, aged two years. Mary, upon her refusal to adopt the Indian life, was beaten to death by the squaws and within a short time the mother was torn away from her children and carried to Quebec, where she was sold to the French. She worked as a domestic and in time was able to secure her freedom. A French merchant of Quebec, who was trading with the Indians along the Allegheny river, secured the child Janet and took her to his home. The mother had the good fortune to meet her child there, and proving her claim, was allowed to redeem her. After a considerable period of time, Mrs. Martin was able to take passage on a ship to Liverpool, and from there finally sailed to Philadelphia, reaching her home at Big Cove with her young daughter after several years of hardships and suffering. Martha, James and William Martin were held in captivity by the Indians for about nine years. They were carried along by a roving band of Delawares and Tuscaroras over Western Pennsylvania and as far west as the Scioto valley in Ohio. They spent some time in Westmoreland county, the encampment being on the Big Sewickley Creek near the present site of Bells Mills in Sewickley township. The Martin boys were attached to this locality and after their release they returned in 1769 and took patent to two tracts of land there, where they continued to live during most of their lives.

While there was no communication between the prisoners and their family at Big Cove, the latter had learned in some way that their lives had been spared, for John Martin had journeyed west as far as Fort Ligonier at one time to treat with the Indians for their ransom. He was not successful, however, and it is known that he almost lost his life in the attempt. After the notable defeat of the Indians by Colonel Bouquet at Bushy Run in 1763, the Indians agreed to give up their prisoners in accordance with the Bouquet Treaty of 1764. By this arrangement, the Martins, with many others, were brought to Fort Pitt and surrendered to their friends.

The habits of life acquired by the Martin boys during their long years of captivity among the Indians, never forsook them. Though they made permanent homes on lands of their own, they had no inclination to labor or to improve their property, but spent most of their time in hunting, fishing and idleness. Their elder brother, Hugh Martin, while a young man, also came to this county, and as indicated above, became prominent in the county's early history. Later, the youngest sister, Janet, captured as a child when two years old, came

here as the wife of John Jamison and settled on a tract of land on Dry Ridge, three miles southeast of Greensburg. There she resided until her death in 1839. She was the mother of a large family. She was the grandmother of the late Robert S. Jamison, of Greensburg, Pennsylvania, and of the late Margaret J. Jamison, to the latter of whom the author is indebted for this sketch.



CHAPTER XXVII

THE WHISKEY INSURRECTION



CHAPTER XXVII.

The Whiskey Insurrection.—The General Use of Whiskey; the Culture of Rye; Still House Memories.—The State Excise Law; Apparent Injustice Done.—The Western People Rebel.—Harsh Treatment of Collectors.—Tom the Tinker.—Congress Passes Excise Law.—They Modify It.—Major McFarlane Shot.—Nevill's House Burned.—Mail Carrier Waylaid and Robbed Near Greensburg.—Pittsburgh in Danger.

Southwestern Pennsylvania was naturally a grain producing section in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Pennsylvania was the only State in the newly formed Union which was producing more grain than its inhabitants needed. The limited market for this surplus can only be appreciated when we remember that the packhorse was then the best means of transportation. Even though the East was greatly in need of flour, it could scarcely be transported to them on horseback. This led every section to try to live on its own products. The surplus of grain induced our people to engage in the manufacture of whiskey. Furthermore the country dealer had to purchase skins and furs from the Indians or from those who traded with them, but the Indians desired to trade for liquor more than any other commodity. There are many letters preserved to us from western merchants to houses in the East, showing how they are handicapped in the purchase of furs by not having whiskey to offer in return for them, and stating also that the dealer who has whiskey can purchase all the peltry. *In fact, after salt, the general cry was for whiskey.

In 1784 a Philadelphia firm known as Turnbull, Marmie & Co., then producing iron, sent a few stills into Westmoreland county. They were set up and the business of making whiskey grew very rapidly. In a very short time the same company opened up an iron business in Pittsburgh with the avowed purpose of making stills, though they engaged slightly in other branches of the iron trade. They were among the first if not the first iron producers in the city which has since controlled the iron market of the world. The Westmoreland farmer could thus find a market for his grain, that is for rye and corn, and all farmers were, to a great extent, compelled to distill their products. By 1792, the industry had grown so rapidly that "still houses" were scattered all over Southwestern Pennsylvania. Judge Veech, who wrote very accurately of this section and of its early industries, says there were nearly six hundred stills in the western counties. In some sections there was a still in every fifth or sixth house

on an average. They were very small affairs compared with any modern distillery, but they made whiskey and that was all that was required. Lands were traded for stills. If a farmer had rye or corn and did not own a still, he took his grain to a neighbor who had one and who took a part of the product for distilling it. This induced the farmer to raise more rye, for even those who had nothing but rye could convert it into whiskey, which sold readily. The stills were so small that they could be put in one room of a log cabin, and the log cabin was ever afterwards known by the pretentious name of "still house." They were generally located near a grist mill where the grain was ground and then the farmer hauled it to the still-house.

The testimony seems to be that very few of our ancestors drank to excess, yet the use of liquor became very general. Storekeepers took it in exchange for goods and sold it to their customers. It was quite common for the country merchant to have a barrel in his store and to give each customer a dram, the women and children as well as the men. Most farmers had a barrel or more in their cellars and all members of the family had free access to it. This custom was kept up and was still prevalent here in 1840 and indeed after that. Most people drank it "straight" as it was called, but frequently they put tanzy or mint into it and sometimes sweetened it with maple sugar. It was then supposed, that when taken in moderation, it was a preventative of fever, ague, and colds and of many other diseases in their incipency. Davy Crockett said it made a man warm in winter and cool in summer, and many of that day apparently acted on that theory. It was a regular drink at weddings and at all other public gatherings.

The clergy did not preach against it as they do now. Often at funerals in cold weather, whiskey was heated and given in cups to those who had a long trip to make to the cemetery. This appears astounding to us but it must be remembered that they drank it as a tonic or medicine, as we drink coffee, and not particularly as a beverage. Clergymen drank it openly, but they rarely ever drank much of it. Rev. Dr. McMillen was certainly a man of high character and of many virtues, yet his biographers relate of him that when on his way to Presbytery, in company with Rev. James Patterson, they stopped at a tavern to get a drink. When the liquor was poured into glasses, Patterson, being a very devout man, proposed to ask a blessing before drinking it. But the blessing being a somewhat protracted affair, while it was in progress and while Patterson's eyes were closed, the old doctor drank both glasses, and then admonished the young preacher that he must ever thereafter, "watch as well as pray." But no doubt the young preacher was not allowed to go away thirsty. On

one occasion, Bishop Onderdonk came to Greensburg to attend and officiate at a somewhat extensive and important confirmation. On his way to church, clad in the usual robes of his order, he stopped at Rohrer's Hotel and drank a tumbler of brandy, and no one thought he had done anything particularly out of the way. It is not to be understood by these incidents that the clergymen generally drank, using the term as we use it now, but many of them, like their parishioners, used liquor in moderation. No incident is recorded so far as we know, in which a man of the cloth became intoxicated.

In 1756, Rev. Charles Beatty, who afterwards officiated as chaplain of General Forbes' army, and who preached the first sermon at Fort Duquesne after its capture, accompanied Benjamin Franklin and his forces to Fort Allen. Franklin says, in his autobiography, that the preacher complained to him that the soldiers did not attend prayers with any degree of regularity. Franklin told him that each soldier was entitled to a gill of rum each day and advised the Reverend to act as steward in dispensing the rum, and to distribute it each morning after prayers or after the sermon. The clergyman took the advice kindly, and told Franklin afterward that it worked to a charm, saying that prayers were never more generally nor more punctually attended. Yet, he was a man of high character, and, as the reader will see, figured largely in planting Presbyterianism in Southwestern Pennsylvania.

In 1811, Washington Furnace, near Laughlinstown, had been completed, and, on July 4 the citizens had a great celebration, not only of the Nation's birth, but of the great strides they were making in the iron industry as well. The Register of that date reports the proceedings and says that "after partaking of a handsome and wholesome repast, they drank some whiskey mixed with pure water." These people were leaders in the religious and social world, and we must not be considered as endeavoring to cast a reflection on their memories. We are merely endeavoring to give the reader a few illustrations of the almost universal custom of using liquor among our better people.

The Government, though economical by necessity, purchased a great deal of whiskey for the Revolutionary soldiers, and issued it to them in regular rations. It was not uncommon for a young man to engage work with a farmer all year for his bed and board and a certain amount each month, "and three drams per day." Whiskey was used in those days somewhat like coffee is now. A favorite proverb of our ancestor was, "Give enough drink unto him that is ready to perish and

wine unto those that be heavy of heart." "Let him drink and forget his poverty and remember his misery no more."

When General William Irvine announced the "Glorious News" of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, he added the following: The commissaries will issue a gill of whiskey extraordinary, to the non-commissioned officers and privates upon this joyful occasion. Commissioned officers were not limited to a "gill extraordinary," and no doubt the surrender was properly celebrated as the people looked at it in that day. Whiskey was then almost a measure of value, a medium of exchange in place of gold which was not in circulation, or of Continental or State money which had no fixed value. Corn, wheat, rye, etc., were valued by the quantity of whiskey a bushel would bring. John Barleycorn always found a ready sale, and with it the pioneer could purchase all groceries, household goods or anything in the market. Land was often bought with whiskey. Our best men bartered farms for stills or their product. Our records show that farms in the coal belt, worth more than a thousand dollars per acre, were once sold for a few gallons of whiskey. Even subscriptions to the clergyman's salary were sometimes paid in whiskey and it was not infrequently used in paying off church debts.

With this explanation concerning the habits of our people in that age and the general use of liquor and the early products of Southwestern Pennsylvania, the reader can better understand and appreciate the story of the Whiskey Insurrection. It was a matter of great national importance which originated and ran its course here in Southwestern Pennsylvania. It was confined mainly to four counties, viz: Westmoreland, Allegheny, Fayette and Washington, and it so happened that the last three were counties taken entirely from Westmoreland a few years before. All four counties are known now as Old Westmoreland.

It was a very serious matter in its day, but in the end it benefited our section of the State very much and it further added strength to, and faith in, the Government which interfered to suppress it. The entire trouble grew out of the method adopted, mainly by the Government, in raising money by taxation. This tax was known in the parlance of that day as an excise tax, a term that was extremely opprobrious to the English speaking people of that age. In Scotland the inherent hatred of excise duties had become proverbial even before the days of Robert Burns, for, as indicated by his songs, the peasantry regarded the killing of an excise tax collector as almost, if not quite, a virtue. The predominating nationality among the early settlers of these four counties was Scotch-Irish. If they brought noth-

ing else with them to America, they came with a hatred of the excise system of taxation in England. They were not opposed particularly to paying a tax if it was levied for example, on real or personal property and collected in the usual way, for then it was at least supposed to be based on an equitable valuation of the land. Nor did they seriously object to a tariff, which is primarily a duty collected by the Government on articles brought in from foreign countries.

But an excise tax is one levied on home products and collected, either when the material is produced, or when it is first exposed to sale in the open market. If fairly and honestly collected, its very nature demands that the Government imposing and collecting the tax shall take charge, to a very great extent, of the labor and raw material which produces the commodity to be taxed. This system of espionage, of close inquiry into the private affairs of the people, was extremely distasteful to our ancestors and perhaps was rendered more so because of their natural hatred of everything which savored of Great Britain, from whom they had just been freed by eight long years of war.

The four counties with whose history we are dealing, were, as we have said, well suited for raising grain and could in that day of limited markets, produce but little else that was salable. It is true we have frequently referred to the peltry trade as a product but that was necessarily a business of but few of the pioneers. It could not be depended on by the people in general and was growing less and less each year as the country was prepared for agriculture and as the white race increased in numbers. To the mind of the western farmer, who could produce but little else than grain, there seemed to be an injustice in the excise tax on whiskey for the reason that it was based on the quantity and not on the value of the liquor. Owners of lands of less value to-day could, with reason, object to a system of taxation that would levy the same amount of tax on every acre of land in the State. Land in the mountains may be valued at one dollar per acre and lands near the cities at a thousand dollars per acre, and the tax based on these valuations may be entirely equitable.

The leaders in the Insurrection imagined that the very opposite of this equitable adjustment was brought about by the excise tax on distilled spirits. To illustrate their view further, whiskey in any one of these four counties could be purchased in large or small quantities at from twenty to twenty-five cents per gallon, and an excise duty of seven cents per gallon was a little more than one-fourth of its value. But the same whiskey, if produced near Philadelphia, would readily sell for fifty cents or sixty cents per gallon, and the excise duty

of seven cents levied and collected in the East was therefore less than one-eighth of its value. So they theorized and reasoned that if a farmer on the banks of the Monongahela raised one hundred dollars worth of rye and converted it into whiskey he paid the Government twenty-five dollars tax on it but if near Philadelphia by the same labor he produced the same amount of rye in value, he paid but twelve dollars tax on it. There was, as we have observed, no public market at the time for rye, except by transporting it east of the mountains on packhorses. A good strong packhorse could carry about five bushels of rye, but if it were made into whiskey he could carry the product of from twenty to thirty bushels of rye. Those who framed the law had in view, of course, the greater value of the land in the East than in the West, but this did not appeal readily to our ancestry. Accordingly the apparent injustice was very potent to those who, while they could not understand the finely spun theories of political economy, could see the difference between giving the Government one-fourth in value for their grain product if raised in Westmoreland county and the one-eighth of its value if raised east of the mountains.

An excise law had been passed by the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1772 but had never been executed, particularly in the Western section, largely because there were, at that time, but few products here to be taxed. But the State still owed a large sum for that day, of the Revolutionary debt which had been provided for by an appropriation, but had never been paid. The excise law of 1772 was greatly opposed by the counties west of the Allegheny mountains. It was complied with in a measure by the eastern counties though they rightfully complained bitterly at the glaring injustice of forcing them to pay the tax and permitting the western counties to evade its payment. It was therefore concluded in 1785 to raise the money with which to pay the Revolutionary debt, by a rigid enforcement of the act of 1772 in all parts of the State. This, they reasoned, was such a debt, that the patriotic men of the West who had done so much and fought so nobly for the cause of freedom, would gladly help to pay, regardless of the mode of taxation.

Accordingly, in June, 1785, an excise collector named Graham was sent out to enforce the obnoxious law. He met with much opposition in all of the counties but succeeded in collecting some tax in Westmoreland and Fayette counties. While in a hotel in Greensburg he was awakened by a man in disguise, who told him that he was Beelzebub, the Prince of Devils, and that he had called for him to hand him over to a legion of smaller Devils who were outside awaiting, it being his pleasant duty to conduct him to them. Assisted by

the landlord of the tavern, Graham managed to escape from the mob that night. He tried to prosecute a citizen of Greensburg, in whom he thought he recognized the "Prince," but the defendant easily proved an alibi and was discharged. Graham accordingly left Greensburg and went over to Washington county, where he received still rougher treatment. They took his pistols from him and broke them into pieces before his eyes. They then took from him his commission and papers, threw them in the mud in the street and compelled him to walk back and forth over them and trample them still deeper. They then shaved the hair from the one side of his head, fixed his hat so that it looked ridiculous, and compelled him to wear it wrong end foremost, for the hats called cocked hats, of that day were made with a well defined front and back. They shaved his horse's tail, put him astride of the animal and started him eastward toward the county line. Many citizens of the county followed him and as they progressed the crowd increased. They stopped at each still-house on the way and compelled the collector to drink some of the liquor he was sent to collect the tax on. When the county line was reached, he was allowed to go free with a fair warning that the treatment he had just received was mild in comparison with what would be meted out to him, should he ever return to their county again. This demonstrated beyond doubt that the West would not pay the tax willingly, and, rather than engage in an open war with the people, the Legislature repealed the law. The citizens of these four counties felt confident that they had won the battle and they gloried greatly over the event. This the reader will remember was purely the work of the State of Pennsylvania.

For six years or more after the above result very little was said about a special tax on whiskey. The Congress of the United States took the matter up in 1791 and passed a law which levied four pence per gallon on all distilled spirits. There were then three members of Congress from these four counties, namely: General William Irvine of Pittsburgh, John Smilie of Fayette county, and William Findley of Westmoreland county. They all knew of the bitter feeling of their constituents in the matter and did all they could to prevent the passage of the bill. They were heartily endorsed by the people whom they represented for this action. Albert Gallatin, who was undoubtedly one of the greatest men of his day, was then a citizen of Fayette county and opposed the law with all his power. He had just been elected to the United States Senate and his power in the four counties was very great. When the Government came to appoint a collector, no one would take the position, for they knew what would follow.

Then Congress, hoping to amend matters, changed the law by reducing the tax and modifying its terms. The amended law was to take effect with the fiscal year of 1794.

The first public meeting held in the western section to oppose the measure was held at Redstone near Brownsville, on July 27, 1791. It was there arranged that the committees of the opponents of the law should meet at the county seats of Allegheny, Westmoreland, Fayette and Washington counties on August 23. The committee representing Washington county passed stirring resolutions and published them in the "Pittsburgh Gazette." Among other things, these resolutions provided that, "Any person who had accepted or who might accept an office under Congress in order to carry the law into effect should be considered inimical to the interests of the country." Delegates from the four counties met at Pittsburg on September 7, 1791, and passed equally severe resolutions against the law and its execution. The State had been divided into districts for the purpose of collecting this tax, and an inspector was appointed for each district, or "Survey," as the districts were denominated in the act. By the terms of the law each distiller was to furnish the inspector nearest to his works with a full description of his establishment. The inspector had a right to go and inspect the works at any time. This provision alone seemed to be very obnoxious to the pioneer distiller. It raised his wrath to the highest point, though it seems reasonable enough to us.

For the purpose of overthrowing the law, the four counties were thoroughly united and worked together as one force. A resolution adopted by the Pittsburgh meeting advised the people to treat any one accepting the office of collector with contempt, to refuse all kinds of communication with him and to withhold from him all aid, support or comfort. Nevertheless, Benjamin Wells, of Fayette county, accepted the collectorship for the counties of Fayette and Washington and Albert Johnson, of Allegheny, accepted it for the counties of Allegheny and Westmoreland. Wells, according to the character given him by Judge Addison, was a most contemptible and unworthy man in every way, one whom his neighbors would not want to see in any office of trust. On the other hand, Johnson was said to be an honest man of inoffensive manners and kindly bearing. He established an office about nine miles southwest of Pittsburg. Wells' office was at his residence on the southern bank of the Youghiogheny river, near the present location of Connellsville. These were the only offices in the four counties. On September 6, 1791, an armed and disguised party assaulted Johnson near Pigeon Creek in Washington county.

They stripped him naked, tarred and feathered him, shaved his hair from his head, took his horse from him and then started him on his way on foot in that condition. The marshal sent an officer at once to arrest the offenders, but he was seized, whipped, tarred and feathered, his money and horse taken from him, after which he was blindfolded and tied to a tree in the woods, where he remained helpless for five hours.

In May, 1792, a few additional alterations were made in the law; the rates per gallon were slightly lowered and the distillers were permitted to pay for monthly instead of yearly licenses. On the other hand the penalty for not reporting a still, its size, etc., to the surveyor was raised from one hundred to two hundred and fifty dollars. Efforts were in the meantime put forth to secure offices for the collectors in Westmoreland and Washington counties, but none could be obtained. Wells tried to open an office in Greensburg and one in Uniontown in June, 1792. The one in Greensburg was soon abandoned, after doing but little business. He did not appear in Uniontown on the day announced and this only emboldened the distillers in the contest. Some, a very few, of the distillers in Western Pennsylvania made proper returns of their places, while others quit business. There being no offices in the two largest counties, fully two-thirds of the distillers were exempt from taxation. Many distillers shipped their product down the Ohio river, but the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers, being smaller, were closely watched by the officers of the law.

On August 21, 1792, a meeting was held in Pittsburgh which was composed of the most prominent men in the four counties. John Cannon, of Washington county, was made president of the meeting, and Albert Gallatin was appointed clerk. Others of prominence were: William Wallace, Shebazar Bentley, Bazel Bowel, Benjamin Parkinson, John Huey, John Badollet, John Hamilton, John McClelland, Neel Gillespie, David Bradford, Thomas Gaddes, Rev. David Phillips, Matthew Jamison, James Marshall, Robert McClure, Peter Leslie, Alexander Long, Samuel Wilson, Edward Cook and many others whose names are lost to us. They passed resolutions, one important clause being as follows:

Resolved, That David Bradford, James Marshall, Albert Gallatin, Peter Leslie and David Phillips be appointed for the purpose of drawing a remonstrance to Congress, stating our objections against the law that imposes a duty upon spirituous liquors, distilled within the United States, and praying for repeal of the same, etc.

And Whereas, Some men may be found among us so far lost to every sense of virtue and feeling for the distress of this country as to accept offices for the collection of the duty:

Resolved, Therefore, that in the future we will consider such persons as unworthy of our friendship, have no intercourse or dealings with them, withdraw from them every assistance and withhold all comforts of life which depend upon those duties that, as men and fellow citizens, we owe to each other, and upon all occasions treat them with that contempt they deserve; and that it be and is hereby most earnestly recommended to the people at large, to follow the same line of conduct towards them.

A committee was appointed to confer and correspond with the committees and with those interested throughout the four counties. On September 15, President Washington issued a dignified and commanding proclamation admonishing all citizens of the district of the trouble they were making for themselves and demanding, in very firm terms, that the people cease all unlawful combinations and stop all proceedings which tended to obstruct the operations of the law. The act passed had fixed the month of June of each year as the time for "entering a still," that is, for filing a statement concerning it with the collector. When the following month of June approached the great question of those interested in the execution of the law was to get officers and offices for them. On June 1 the inspector of excise for the district, General John Neville, who had recently been appointed, gave notice in the "Gazette" that an office would be opened at the house of Johnson, the collector of Allegheny county; at the house of Benjamin Wells in Fayette county, and at Philip Reagan's house in Westmoreland county.

Alexander Hamilton made a report concerning the Insurrection. He prepared the report in his matchless style and it has been the basis of nearly all articles since written on the subject. He says, that up to 1794 he was unable to establish any regular office in Washington or Westmoreland counties. Wells was the most persistent in holding his office. He was insulted and personally abused wherever he appeared, and his family were likewise ostracised and looked down upon. Even as early as 1792, a disguised band attacked his home in the night and terrorized his family, he being away from home. On November 22 they again attacked his house, this time finding him at home. They compelled him to surrender his commission and books. They also forced him to promise to resign his office within two weeks and to publish his resignation in the papers, telling him that, on his failure to do so, they would burn his house. In 1794 John Wells, a son of Benjamin, was made deputy under his father and opened an

office in the house of Philip Reagan near Big Sewickley Creek. The office was under the joint care of the deputy and Reagan. Both were men of courage and seemed to understand what was to be expected from the public. They accordingly transformed their house into an old time blockhouse, with portholes, and a door and a window that could be closed and barred from the inside. They employed a number of men to defend and protect them in it and all were supplied abundantly with arms. Of course, it was very promptly tested and withstood several attacks in June, one of them being from a large and well armed body of men. The mob which had collected, fired repeatedly on the house from the outside and the fire was promptly returned from the fortress within, though no one was wounded on either side. Seeing that they could not take the stronghold, they set fire to his barn and then returned to their homes.

Not to be defeated in their scheme to capture the officers of the law, they returned two or three nights after with a crowd of one hundred and fifty men and renewed the attack. After considerable parley, Reagan, who knew it was useless to try to defend his castle against such a mob, proposed to surrender if they assured him that they would not molest his person nor destroy his property. Should they grant him these honorable terms he promised to surrender his commission and never again act as an excise collector. These terms were put in writing, whereupon Reagan came out and brought with him a keg of whiskey, which was promptly put to use by the besiegers. As may be surmised, many of them drank immoderately and became intoxicated. When in this condition, these men thought that Reagan was escaping too easily and proposed that he should be set up as a target to shoot at. They had also come prepared, for they had with them a large quantity of tar and several pillows filled with feathers, and it was proposed that Reagan should be supplied with a new coat of tar and feathers. Others held that he should go unpunished and be allowed to go home unmolested as they had agreed. These conciliatory suggestions gave umbrage to several of the party and a fight ensued. After this was settled it was proposed, voted on and carried, that Reagan should be court martialed and that they should go at once to Wells' house, take him prisoner and try both him and Wells together. When they arrived at Wells' house, he was not at home and they forthwith set fire to it and burned it to the ground with all its contents. They then detailed a number of their party to lie in ambush until Wells should return to the smoldering embers of his home, when he should be captured by them. During all these outrages

and deliberations, Reagan escaped, and when the effects of the liquor died on those who were to capture Wells, he was also allowed to go unmolested.

The mob did not always vent their wrath on those who were really upholding the law, as will be seen from the following extracts from a letter written by Alexander Hamilton under date of August 5, 1794:

Nor were the outrages perpetrated confined to officers; they extended to private citizens who had attempted to show their respect for the laws of their country. Some time in October, 1791, an unhappy man of the name of Wilson, a stranger in the country and manifestly disordered in his intellect, imagining himself to be a collector of the revenue or invested with some trust in relation to it, was so unlucky as to make inquiries concerning who had entered their stills, giving out that he was to travel through the United States to ascertain and report to Congress the number of stills, etc. This man was pursued by a party in disguise, taken out of his bed, carried about five miles to a blacksmith shop, stripped of his clothes, which were afterwards burned, and having been himself inhumanly burned in several places with a heated iron, was tarred and feathered and about daylight dismissed, naked, wounded, and otherwise in a very suffering condition. The unhappy sufferer displayed the heroic fortitude of a man who conceived himself to be a martyr to the discharge of some important duty.

The mob which attacked Reagan, presumably the same, then sent a detachment to capture Captain Webster, who had been appointed excise collector for Somerset county. Over one hundred men surrounded his house, took his commission from him and made him promise never to act as a collector of excise tax again. They took him with them several miles on their way homeward and had frightened him so that his conduct was submissive in the extreme. When they came to part with him they compelled him to mount a stump and cheer three times for "Tom the Tinker." This term had come into popular use to designate the opponents of the excise law. Brackenridge claims that it originated with a certain John Holcroft, who first used it when William Congran's still was cut into pieces. This cutting or breaking of a still was popularly called "mending" the still and the men who mended it were called "Tinkers," so that those who collectively broke up stills and who opposed the law, were called "Tom the Tinker." The reader will understand that not infrequently the still of a man who complied with the law, was destroyed by disguised insurrectionists. Notices threatening prominent citizens, admonishing them to desist or leave the country, were understood thoroughly

if signed "Tom the Tinker." Letters were sent to the "Pittsburgh Gazette," signed "Tom the Tinker," and they frequently closed with a threat against the person of the editor if he failed to publish them. The following may throw some light on the manner of proceeding; it is a copy of a notice given to John Reed and is taken from the "Gazette."

Mr. Scull, Editor and one of the proprietors of the "Pittsburgh Gazette." I am under the necessity of requesting you to publish the following in your newspaper. It was found posted on a tree near my distillery.

July 23, 1794.

ADVERTISEMENT!

In taking a survey of the troops under my direction in the late expedition against that insolent excise man, John Neville, I find there were a great many delinquents among those who are carrying on distilling. It will, therefore, be observed that I, Tom the Tinker, will not suffer any class or set of men to be excluded from the service of this, my district, when notified to attend, on any expedition carried on, in order to obstruct the execution of the excise law and obtain a repeal thereof.

I do declare on my solemn word that if such delinquents do not come forth on the next alarm with equipments and give their assistance, such as in them lies, in opposing the execution and obtaining a repeal of the excise law, he or they will be deemed as enemies, and stand opposed to virtuous principles of republican liberty, and shall receive punishment according to the nature of the offense.

And, whereas, a certain John Reed, now resident of Washington, and being at his place near Pittsburgh, called Reedsburg, and having a set of stills employed at said Reedsburg, entered on the excise docket, contrary to the will and good pleasure of his fellow citizens, and came not forth to assist in the suppression of the execution of said law, by aiding and assisting in the late expedition, has, by delinquency manifested his approbation to the execution of the aforesaid law, is hereby forthwith to cause the contents of this paper, without adding and diminishing, to be published in the Pittsburgh Gazette the ensuing week, under no less penalty than the consumption of his distillery.

Given under my hand this nineteenth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

TOM THE TINKER.

The reader has certainly noticed that almost the entire community seemed to be interested in overthrowing the law. There were many distillers in comparison to the whole number of inhabitants though all distilleries were small. But these could not have held up as they did in opposition to the law had they been unaided by others. The sequel to this public uprising lies in the fact that nearly every man in the community was engaged in producing rye and to all of

them the law seemed to apply directly. It is difficult now to realize the extent of this uprising or the rapidity of its growth. Reason was thrown to the winds. Most of the ministers took the side of the people boldly, though the conservative discouraged all mob violence. Findley Smilie, Brackenridge, Cook, Young, Ross, Bradford, Holcroft and others were all in sympathy with all legitimate methods used in opposing the execution of the law. They probably laughed at the head-shaving demonstrations and were not entirely cast down in gloom when the excise man was clad in a coat of tar and feathers. No minister taking the opposite side could have retained his pulpit. He alone was orthodox and popular with his hearers, who sustained the people in their "great strike for liberty," as they called it. The lawyer was in good standing only when he defended the rabble when one of them was accused. No man's property in these four counties was safe, if there was the least suspicion that he was disloyal to the insurgents. The people were first undoubtedly instigated by such men as Gallatin, Findley, Smilie, Brackenridge, Cook, Young, Cannon, Ross, etc., and were afterwards led on to greater deeds of outlawry by such men as Bradford and Holcroft.

Congress in 1794 again modified the law, but nothing short of general repeal would satisfy the people. Some of the lawbreakers were indicted before the courts, but able lawyers defended them and no jury could be found in the community to convict them, no matter what the evidence was. A large number of distillers who had not complied with the law were finally summoned to be tried in the United States Courts in Philadelphia. General John Neville, the inspector, in company with the marshal of the district, went to serve a summons on a distiller named Miller. A furious outbreak followed which was due more to Neville's presence than to the serving of the summons, for others had been served before this. Men came from the surrounding harvest fields, fired at them and chased them out of the country. The same day a military meeting was being held at Mingo Creek, in Washington county, to raise a company of men for service against the Western Indians. The report of the chasing of the marshal and Neville soon reached this meeting, which was seven miles away. A mob at once took across the country for the marshal's house. When they arrived, they demanded a surrender of his commission, his papers, etc., which was promptly refused. A general battle began at once. The inmates of the marshal's house were better armed and better protected than the attacking party. Six of the besiegers were wounded and one was shot dead. On this the law-

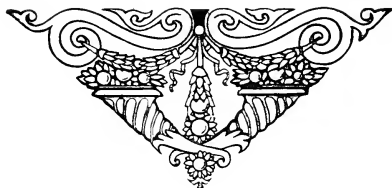
breakers retired to their homes, but only to better prepare themselves for another attack.

The meeting was called and all good citizens were warned "to strike for freedom" or "be forever enslaved," etc. In response to the call a large meeting was held at Mingo Creek meeting house, the purpose of which was to avenge the outrages of the previous day. This meeting appointed three men as their leaders, and elected Major James McFarlane, an old and experienced Revolutionary officer as commander of the forces.

In the meantime, United States soldiers were collected to guard General Neville's house. The mob marched at once to his place and demanded his papers and commission which, of course, were refused. Then the women of the house were allowed to pass out of the house unmolested, immediately after which a battle began. The regular soldiers defending the house were in command of Major Kirkpatrick. It is scarcely fair to say that McFarlane commanded the Insurgents, for very soon they reached that degree of excitement that the commander had no power over them. Early in the fight Major McFarlane stepped from behind a tree to confer with Major Kirkpatrick, intending to try to bring about a settlement of the difficulty. As he did so he was shot, and died immediately. His death only added fuel to the fire. The barn and outhouses with all their harvested crops were at once set on fire, and Kirkpatrick and his soldiers were allowed to retire.

When this became generally known, lawlessness became the rule over all the four counties. The United States mail carrier was waylaid within a mile of Greensburg by two men who had perhaps no other motive in view than to show their contempt for the authority of the Government of the United States, though they searched for orders concerning the Insurrection. They broke open the mail bags and rifled their contents, not for financial gain, but to show that the people and not the Government, held complete sway. After the battle at Neville's and the mail robbery, a public meeting was called by David Bradford, of Washington, who claimed to be the leader of the united forces of the four counties. This meeting was held at Braddock's Fields, as it was then called, the location of which is well known to the reader as that of the present city of Braddock. The call was that all should come armed and provided with four days' rations. About seven thousand people, some reports gave many more, actually assembled on the day appointed. Many of them, of course, came through idle curiosity, others because they were afraid to remain

away, and certainly more than half the number were without arms. David Bradford was chosen commander-in-chief of the forces and Edward Cook was made chief lieutenant. Bradford's idea was to besiege the town of Pittsburgh and burn the houses of the few prominent citizens who sustained the law, such as Neville, Gibson, Bryson, Kirkpatrick, etc. Had his advice been followed the town would have protected itself and blood would have flown freely, with the probable result that Pittsburgh would have been reduced to ashes.



CHAPTER XXVIII

THE WHISKEY INSURRECTION—Continued

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Whiskey Insurrection, Continued.—Brackenridge Advises Moderation.—Public Meetings Called.—Washington Calls Out an Army.—Governors of Several States Send Troops.—Commissioners Appointed.—The Army Arrives.—The Insurrection Dies Down.—Washington Reaches Bedford.—David Bradford; Albert Gallatin; Alexander Hamilton.—Punishment of Offenders.—Washington's Prompt Action Saves Trouble.

Hugh Henry Brackenridge was then the most gifted and eloquent lawyer in Western Pennsylvania. He had defended, free of charge, many of the ringleaders of the Insurrection, who had been indicted. He was thoroughly trusted by all of the insurgents. When he and his friends saw that no power could prevent them from marching to Pittsburgh, they tried to induce them to go in a peaceable and orderly manner. In his address to them he said: "Let us go there by all means, if for nothing else, to show them that the strictest order can be observed by us; that we are not the rabble they take us for but that we are the people; that we are asserting their rights. We will do them no danger nor put them in fear. We will march through the town, take a turn, come out again upon the fields by the banks of the river, and after drinking a little whiskey with the inhabitants who will gladly receive us, the troops will cross over to the other side of the river, then we will have won the people of Pittsburgh to our aid." Cook advocated the same behavior, and with the standing of these men, the mob could not well turn a deaf ear to their advice, particularly to the eloquent appeal of Brackenridge. The people of Pittsburgh were greatly alarmed, but their fears were allayed on the arrival of the army, for they had no doubt been very largely influenced by Brackenridge's advice. There was little harm done. Some one in the night set fire to Kirkpatrick's barn, and we believe this was the only damage done to the town. In a day or so the greater part of the army was disbanded or had disbanded itself, and peace and quiet again reigned in the four counties.

It was now about time for the more conservative citizens to begin to see the inevitable result of this lawlessness if it could not, in some way, be controlled. A meeting was therefore called for Parkinson's Ferry, to convene on August 14, 1794. This was attended by 260 delegates from the four western counties. Edward Cook was made chairman of the convention and Albert Gallatin secretary.

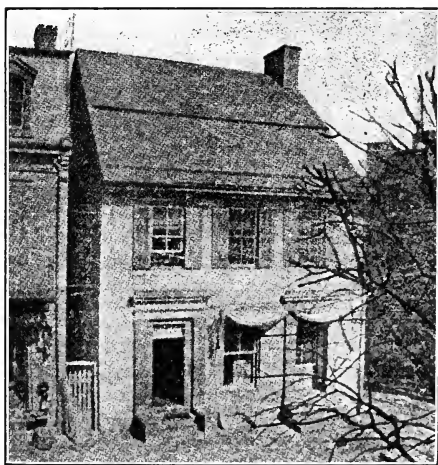
They, as usual, persisted in adopting a series of resolutions

against the excise law, and particularly against the taking of the offenders to Philadelphia, three hundred miles away, for trial. This meeting was the most conservative yet held in the four counties. There were some very eloquent addresses made by such men as Gallatin, Brackenridge, Edgar and others. These addresses urged a slow procedure by purely legal methods. It is now generally supposed that these men and others of the delegates were there for the purpose of manipulating the convention and to thus gain, by a clever management and by good advice, what could not be gained by open opposition to the rabble. The entire force of the Whiskey Insurrection was here represented by two hundred and sixty delegates. By good management of Brackenridge and his friends, their power was delegated to one representative from each township; this reduced them to sixty delegates. From these sixty delegates were then appointed a committee of twelve who should thereafter represent them and serve as a standing committee. The newly constituted committee could therefore bind the four counties and could be much more easily managed than a large body could be. It was certainly a wise move on the part of the managers and went far towards a reëstablishment of order in the excited community.

The committee of sixty met at Redstone on September 2, and the standing committee was ready at any time to meet a similar committee appointed by the Government or the State. About this time Governor Mifflin of Pennsylvania ordered that the Pennsylvania troops be equipped for service at once, and issued a call for an extra session of the General Assembly. The capital of the United States was then at Philadelphia, and President Washington was not slow to act in a matter of this magnitude. On August 7th he issued a proclamation commanding the insurgents to lay down their arms before September 1st or abide the consequences. He also began to raise an army, and in a few days had 12,950 men ready to march on his command. Many of them came from the drilled soldiers of the Revolution and were recruited from Eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia. The President appointed James Ross, Jasper Yates and William Bradford to represent the government and confer with a like delegation, should one be appointed, representing the insurgents.

Governor Lee, of Virginia, commanded the troops raised in that State by Washington, and the Governors of the several States commanded the troops sent out by them. The President himself as commander-in-chief of the army under the then new Constitution of the United States, arranged to accompany the troops and with him were

General Henry Knox, General Alexander Hamilton, then secretary of war, and Judge Peters, the latter being judge of the United States District Court of Pennsylvania. The army set out from Philadelphia on October 1st. President Washington left the capital a few days later and joined the army at Carlisle. It is probable that Washington learned for the first time at Carlisle from the delegates sent to meet him, of the conciliatory movements that were then in progress and of the actions of the committee appointed to secure a cessation of hostilities in the West. He came on west, however, with the army as far as Bedford and arrived there on October 19. There he remained for two or three days, establishing headquarters in a stone house which is yet standing on the north side of the Lincoln Highway as one journeys east through Bedford. He then went back to Philadelphia, reaching that city on October 28th. It is often said that he came on west, and the place where he stopped in Greensburg has been pointed out to strangers, but the claim is entirely unfounded. From the fact that he journeyed a part of the way with the army and then returned without coming near the seat of war, it is believed that he learned on the way that the backbone of the Insurrection was broken and that the people were realizing the injury the general uprising was doing to the four counties.



Washington's Headquarters in Bedford, 1794. House Still in Use.

The loyal citizens then began to manifest an interest in the matter. It must be remembered in this connection that news traveled much slower then than now. We were three hundred miles from Philadelphia, the capital, and the intelligence of the battle at Neville's traveled more rapidly than usual, if Washington heard of it in less than a fortnight after it took place. On August 8, 1794, Washington had appointed James Ross, Jasper Yates and William Bradford to go at once into the western district with instructions and power to confer with the citizens in revolt, or with those representing them. Previous to this on August 6th the Governor had appointed Chief Justice McKean and General William Irvine to go to the western section representing Pennsylvania there, and to ascertain the facts concerning the turmoil, report the result of the findings to him and make known the will of the authorities of Pennsylvania to those in opposition. The meeting at Parkinson's Ferry, which convened August 14th, knew nothing of the proceedings in the East and of the appointment of these committees, the calling out of the army, etc. The committee of sixty, that is, one delegate from each township in the district, was to meet at Redstone, September 2nd, and the committee of twelve which was called the standing committee was to meet and confer with any committee that had been, or that might be appointed by the government, and they were to report the result of their conference.

The commissioners appointed by Washington reached Pittsburgh shortly after the middle of August and the commissioners on the part of the State reached there on August 17th. On August 20th all these commissioners met the standing committee of twelve. This last committee was composed as follows: From Westmoreland, John Kirkpatrick, George Smith and John Powers; from Allegheny, Thomas Morton, John Lucas and H. H. Brackenridge; from Washington, David Bradford, John Marshall and James Edgar; from Fayette, Edward Cook, Albert Gallatin and James Long. All these seventeen men met at Parkinson's Ferry. The commissioners on the part of both the National and State governments made it known distinctly that they could only exercise the powers vested in them to suspend prosecutions or to agree to a general pardon for crimes and irregularities already committed, when those in opposition to the law had given full and satisfactory assurance of a change of sentiment and of a fixed determination among the entire people in rebellion, to obey the laws of the United States. The committee of twelve on the part of the people presented their causes of complaint, dwelling at great length on the disadvantages and hardships of being indicted and tried in a court distant across a range of mountains and three hundred miles

to the east, before a strange judge and strange jurors. They also advanced every argument of the day against the excise laws. The conference was in session about a week, and adjourned August 28th, to meet at Redstone. There they held a session of two days in which both Gallatin and Brackenridge spoke long and eloquently in favor of law and order.

Bradford, on the contrary, spoke against both law and order, but the committee was carried against him. So strong was the popular sentiment in favor of proceeding in the lawless manner he set forth, that a great difficulty was experienced in getting men to vote openly lest the popular frenzy be brought down upon them. Nor would they vote "yea" or "nay" for fear that their handwriting might be discovered on the ballots. The expedient was at length devised by which the words "yea" and "nay" were written by the secretary on the same piece of paper and these were distributed among the delegates. Each voter could then destroy the one-half of the ballot and put the other into the box. This conference resulted in the appointment of another committee who, in conference with the State and National commissioners, were empowered to appoint a day upon which the sentiment of the people could be taken on the question "whether the people would submit to the laws of the United States." This submission, the commission prescribed, was to take the form of signatures to a paper circulated throughout the four counties, pledging the signers to be loyal to the Government, and pledging their intention to abide by the terms of the excise law. It was moreover to be signed on or before the 11th of September.

The time was undoubtedly too short, for but ten days remained and four of these passed before the last papers to be signed were printed, allowing but six days to circulate them over a region nearly one hundred miles square. After this was agreed upon, all of the commissioners returned east while papers were being printed, except James Ross, who was delegated to remain in the district and carry the report of these signatures to the President. At many places designated as signing places, the people were not notified and did not meet at all. Some few polls were broken up by a lawless assemblage. Marshall and Bradford, the ringleaders of the insurgents, both signed the paper, the latter urging the people to follow his example. The report carried east by James Ross, because of the shortness of time, was a very meager one so far as a universal expression of loyalty was concerned, and particularly was it meager when compared with the large and growing population of the four counties engaged in the Insurrection. It impressed the President so unfavorably that he

determined to send the army, which by this time had collected at Carlisle, on its original mission over the mountains.

The delegates from the townships who had been appointed by the Parkinson's Ferry meeting on August 14th, met again at that place on October 2nd. They adopted resolutions which set forth that the meager number of signatures was not indicative of a disposition to oppose the law, but because of a want of time to collect the true sentiment of the community. They resolved to submit to the revenue laws without further opposition, and appointed William Findley, then a member of Congress, and David Redick, of Washington county, to carry their resolutions to the President and Governor, and to explain the condition of the country. These commissioners met the President at Carlisle on October 10th, and after that had several interviews with him. They represented that the great body of the people remained quietly at their homes, being engaged in their work and were everywhere organizing for the suppression of disorder.

Washington listened to them attentively; he censured them for the part they had taken in the inception of the trouble but decided that, since the army was already under marching orders on its way to the disaffected country, the orders would not be countermanded. He assured them, however, that no violence would be used and that his only demand was that the people should return to their former allegiance to the Government. After Findley and Redick returned from their conference with the President they called a meeting of the committee of safety at Parkinson's Ferry for October 24th, so that they could report to it. In the meantime many meetings were held all over the district and this assured the delegates that the people were rapidly changing their opinions and were now in favor of law and order and of submitting to the revenue laws without further opposition or complaint. Findley and Redick were again delegated to visit the President and express to him the growing sentiment manifested at the meeting on October 24th. They started at once to lay the matter before the President at Bedford, but found when they reached there, that he had already gone east. From there the commissioners went to Uniontown to confer with General Lee, who by that time had his army headquarters at that place. He had full power to treat with them and assured them that his army would neither injure the people nor destroy property. He advised them to induce the people to be as active in restoring order as they had shortly before been in bringing about dissension.

The report of this conference with General Lee was published and widely circulated. The general further published an address to the

people of the four counties, advising them to subscribe to and support the Constitution and obey the laws. Books were promptly opened at the offices of all justices of the peace, which gave notice that they would receive the test oaths of allegiance of all who wanted to come out on the side of law and order. Notice was given as to the place and time of entering stills, and the distillers at once came forward to make the proper entry. In fact, they seemed anxious to enter them, and the people, as General Lee requested, were actually as enthusiastic in sustaining the law as they had formerly been in opposing it. All was quiet in Old Westmoreland when the army arrived. Thousands were daily taking the oath of allegiance.

While the army was passing through this section, it became its duty to hunt up and arrest the men who had been most active in raising this disturbance, as well as the distillers who had failed to make their reports as required by law. Most of those who were arrested were really guilty, but Judge Peters, perhaps in every case where he could do so without stultifying himself, ruled that they were guilty of no offense against the Government. Others were sent to Pittsburgh. While confined there some were released, because they had influential friends, it was said, while others, no more guilty than they, were sent to Philadelphia for trial. This partiality, probably as is usually the case, existed more in the minds of those who did not understand the inner workings of the law, than in reality. There they were unfortunately confined nearly a year before they were tried. This was a great injustice to them, and particularly does this injustice appear when it is learned that nearly all were finally acquitted. Probably by a fair construction of the law, many might have been found guilty of treason, for they had levied war against their own Government and had incited and engaged in rebellion and insurrection.

John Mitchell was the leader of those who robbed the mail near Greensburg. He was convicted and sentenced to be hanged, but was afterward pardoned by the President. Another conviction was for arson, the defendant being the principal one of the mob which had set fire to Wells' house. After being sentenced to be hanged, it was learned that he was a very ignorant and impetuous man and was subject to epileptic fits. Washington at first reprieved and then pardoned him, perhaps intending to do so from the first.

The Insurrectionists were not as evilly disposed as they have generally been represented. True, they had perhaps no legal reason for opposing the excise law, but there were many reasons why it bore with great severity on them, and these should, in some degree, palliate their actions. To tar and feather an officer was a more common pun-

ishment in those rude days than now. They also, it is true, burned General Neville's residence, but only after their leader was, as they thought, needlessly shot down. They frightened a marshal by shooting, but certainly shot purposely over his head, for the skilled marksmen of that day who could unerringly pick a squirrel from the highest tree with a rifle, could easily have hit the marshal had they desired to do so. Those who will compare the several acts of the Insurrectionists with those of the mob which took possession of Pittsburgh in the railroad riots of 1877, after nearly a century of civilization, will conclude that the former, in almost all their actions and meetings, were comparatively well controlled and deliberate. The masses, in 1794, were uneducated. Acting under the advice of fanatics and adventurers, whom they looked up to, they were led into error, but there is no evidence whatever that they seriously contemplated the taking of life or the wholesale destruction of property. The evidence, indeed, is all on the other side.

On November 7th general orders were issued for the return of the troops except one detachment under General Morgan, which remained for the winter in Pittsburgh. One company of this detachment was stationed at Uniontown and another at Greensburg. The march on the way eastward may be fraught with interest to those who are accustomed to the more rapid mobilization of soldiers in the present day. The first day's march was to Hellman's, fifteen miles east of Pittsburgh, the starting place; the second day brought them to a point near Greensburg, having marched fourteen miles; the third day they marched to Nine Mile Run, near Youngstown, or eleven miles; the fourth day they marched to an encampment two miles east of Fort Ligonier, crossing the summit of Chestnut Ridge by the Old State Road, making eleven miles; the fifth day they crossed Laurel Hill and encamped at the foot of the eastern slope, making nine miles; the sixth day they reached Stony Creek, nearly a mile beyond the present town of Stoystown, making eleven miles; on the seventh and eighth days they marched respectively eleven and twenty-four miles and reached Bedford. From Bedford they marched to Carlisle, a distance of about ninety-five miles as the road was then laid out. They marched by the Old State Road.

In former chapters we have given brief sketches of the lives of General John Neville and Edward Cook and these need not be repeated here. General Neville's son, Presley Neville, also figured with his father in the Whiskey Insurrection. He was born in 1756, and was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania. He entered

the Revolution as an aide to General Lafayette and was taken a prisoner at Charleston. Later he was connected with the militia of Allegheny county and was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly. His wife was a daughter of General Daniel Morgan. During most of his life he was engaged in the mercantile business in Pittsburgh. He died in Ohio on December 1, 1818.

Captain James McFarlane was also a soldier in the Revolution and was a man of exemplary character and conduct. The day following his unfortunate death he was buried at Mingo Creek, now Elizabeth, and on his mossy headstone may yet be read the following inscription:

Here lies the body of Captain James McFarlane of Washington county, Pennsylvania, who departed this life July 17th, 1794, age 43 years. He served during the war with undaunted courage in defense of American Independence against the lawless and despotic encroachment of Great Britain. He fell at last by the hands of an unprincipled villain in the support of what he supposed to be the rights of his country, much lamented by a numerous and respectable circle of acquaintances.

His friends had no other way of transporting his body from Neville's to Mingo Creek, so they put him on his horse and tied his body there with ropes, and his faithful animal bore him home the night after he was killed.

John Marshall was a Virginia settler who came to Washington county. He was register, sheriff and member of the Legislature from Washington. He was also county lieutenant of that county during part of the Revolution and was always one of the strong conservative men. He had come originally from the north of Ireland.

Benjamin Parkinson was born in Pennsylvania. He was a Federalist and had been a justice before the constitution of 1790, during which time he sat on the Common Pleas bench of the county. He, for many years, supported General Neville, but in the Whiskey Insurrection he assisted in superintending the arrangements when the Neville house and home were attacked. He lived at Parkinson's Ferry, now Monongahela City.

John Cannon had come west from Chester county and settled near where the town which still bears his name is located. He sided with Virginia in the State boundary disputes and also favored the formation of a new State rather than have the region claimed by Virginia included in Pennsylvania. His name has been clouded, and justly so, because of his participation in the murder of the Moravian Indians.

David Bradford was a native of Maryland. He was an able member of the bar, practicing mostly in Washington, where he resided, but practicing more or less in the other three counties. He had been district attorney in 1783. He was a Federalist and one of the leaders of the insurrection, which accounted for his election as commander-in-chief of the forces at Braddock's Fields. He was the only man engaged in the insurrection who was not included in the Amnesty Proclamation issued by the Government after the close of the insurrection. Forced therefore to leave his home, he went to Louisiana Territory, which was then owned by the Spanish government. There he became an extensive planter and grew very wealthy for his day. While a resident of Washington he built a large stone house in Washington which was the first pretentious stone structure in the county. It is standing to this day, and is in a good state of preservation. Bradford was respectably connected, being a brother-in-law of Judge James Allison, who was the grandfather of John Allison, afterward register of the United States Treasury.

Albert Gallatin was the most noted man in after life who was connected with the insurrection. Born in Geneva, Switzerland, on January 29, 1761, he was graduated from the University of Geneva in 1779. He came from a family of high standing and shortly after his graduation he came to America and settled first in Boston. He served in the Revolution. In 1782 he was elected a professor in Harvard College. In 1785 he moved to Western Pennsylvania, purchasing a large tract of land in Fayette county. Gallatin opposed the Federal constitution and it was perhaps this which led him into the insurrection. He was a member of the convention which framed the Pennsylvania constitution of 1790. In 1792 he was elected to the United States Senate, but had not been a citizen of the State long enough to be eligible and could not take his seat. He was promptly elected to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Congresses. On January 26, 1802, Thomas Jefferson appointed him Secretary of the Treasury and he held the position also under Madison and until February 9, 1814, when he was appointed a commissioner to negotiate the Treaty of Ghent, which bears his signature. Afterwards he was Minister to England and Minister to France, and was appointed to negotiate a commercial treaty with Great Britain in 1815. As Secretary of the Treasury, he has been surpassed by no one save the great Secretary Alexander Hamilton. He died in New York in 1849, where he was president of the National Bank.

In referring to the somewhat meager list of intellectual men who had represented Pennsylvania in the American Congress, the eccen-

tric John Randolph, of Roanoke, Virginia, once said that Pennsylvania had never had but two great men in all her history; one said he was Benjamin Franklin, of Boston, and the other was Albert Gallatin, of Switzerland. The "American Statesmen Series" includes Franklin and Gallatin from Pennsylvania, and one other only from this State, whom Randolph, were he living, might characterize as Thaddeus Stevens of Vermont.

David Redick had come from Ireland and settled in Washington county, where he was admitted to the bar in 1782. In 1776 he was a member of the supreme executive council and vice-president of that body, filling that position till 1789. Later he was prothonotary and clerk of courts of Washington county. He was also a surveyor of note and was often appointed to lay out lands in the four counties of the southwest. He died in Washington, Pennsylvania, in 1805.

Though Albert Gallatin in after life achieved a prominence which greatly surpassed all others connected with the insurrection, William Findley was the most prominent man connected with it at the time of its occurrence. He was born in the North of Ireland in 1742 and came here in 1763, settling first near Carlisle. Entering the Revolution as a private, he was promoted to a captaincy, and after the war closed settled in Westmoreland county, near Latrobe. He was a weaver by trade and plied the shuttle for years after he came west. His first public office was as a member of the constitutional convention of 1789. In 1790 he was elected as a member of the Second Congress and remained there by successive elections until 1799. In 1802 he was again elected, after an absence of four years, and remained there by reëlection seven terms, that is, fourteen years. He was therefore in Congress twenty-two years. With a very limited education in his youth, he became in after life a man of wide information. Like many others, he sided with the people at the beginning of the insurrection, but saw to what lengths his theories would lead them, when free from legal restraint. Promptly admitting his error, he turned around and became a leader of the men who strived to undo the unlawful work. For that reason, he has been charged, and perhaps justly, with demagogery. He died April 5, 1821. A more extended sketch of his life is found elsewhere in these pages.

The Whiskey Insurrection is generally regarded as affecting an extremely limited district of Pennsylvania, and as such, has been generally treated by historical writers. In a truer and wider sense it was fraught with great good to the American people. It was the first attempt on the part of the people to overthrow the national authority. This came, too, when the government was in its infancy, struggling

for its first footholds among the nations of the world. It may seem a small affair as we read of it now, but it was, in reality, a very dangerous one, and in proportion to the population of the United States, those in rebellion and those who would have followed their lead on the same issue, had it not been effectually checked, constituted a very important element in the new republic. It is well for us that Washington was President at that time, and that he met the insurrection in its inception, and with that unyielding and dignified bearing which was characteristic of his every official act. Had he vacillated or shown any weakness or want of policy, the Whiskey Insurrection might have grown and eventually wrought the disruption of the republic in its youth.

Those who would know more of the subject will be abundantly repaid by reading "The Latimers," a novel of great strength, by Henry C. McCook, founded on the Whiskey Insurrection. It is a correct portrayal of the people of that day and their customs and habits, and is in the main a true historical novel.



CHAPTER XXIX

EARLY SETTLERS

CHAPTER XXIX.

Early Settlers from the East; Largely Young Men.—Their Scanty Household Goods; Their Method of Working in Companies.—How They Built Log Houses; the Average House; the Latch String; Dr. McMillan Quoted; Daniel Webster Quoted.—Product of Farms; the Women Spin and Weave; the Dress of Men and Women.—Maple Sugar; Thackeray Quoted.—Wild Fruits; Wild Animals, Wolves, Bear, Deer.—Tools Used by Farmers.—Scarcity of Salt; Its Manufacture.—Continental Money; Its Value.—The Country Merchant Came.

The early settlers in Westmoreland county were nearly all young men. They came largely from Virginia and from the Cumberland Valley and most of them were descendants of Scotch-Irish parents. There were a few, to be sure, who came directly from the old country, but rarely ever were any of them beyond middle age. The old people were left behind in the East, or in Europe. Often a young man came across the mountains unmarried and here located a tract of land, clearing a part of it, and sometimes building a house the first year. Late in the fall he returned to his former home to get married, and early in the spring the two set out for their new home. He usually had a horse on which the young wife rode and on which was also carried a few indispensable household goods, which could not be purchased here in the primitive age. Sometimes a well-to-do young pioneer had two horses. If so, on one was a packsaddle on which was brought west perhaps three hundred pounds of household utensils. In any event, they brought a skillet, a pot, a few pewter dishes, a few knives and forks, an axe and a mattock for clearing land.

They generally brought some bedding material, though this was often made entirely of the skins of animals killed on the way or procured after their arrival. They also brought garden seeds and a few dried herbs to last them until new ones could be raised. Seed corn and seed grain were always kept at the garrison for the benefit of the community, and thither went the young farmer who was in need when planting time came. Those who came west also often brought seeds of favorite apple and peach trees, which they planted near their new homes. The young settler himself usually walked all the way and carried a rifle on his shoulder, for this he must have in the new country. With this outfit, if they had with them a few pounds of hard baked bread and if he was fortunate enough to shoot a deer, turkeys or other small game on the way, they were well supplied for

a fortnight's journey through the wilderness. There were often days of travel without the sign of a human habitation. If the travelers were near a settler's house, be it ever so humble and crowded, they were always taken in and made welcome.

This long journey was usually made in the spring time, when sleeping outside was neither dangerous nor inconvenient. They were, moreover, often going to a settlement where they were looked for by relatives or acquaintances, and the journey had in it for them much to look forward to with pleasure. Seldom did a family locate in a new country alone. In case the community in which they were moving was entirely new, they formed a company among the neighbors in the East who made the journey and all located together. These companies were called colonies and often had among them entire families who were thus being transplanted to the West. As has been observed before, the first log houses or cabins were built near the forts; then they spread out along the military roads and finally the entire community was sparsely settled. Fort Pitt, as well as Fort Ligonier, was garrisoned by the Government or the State, and in these forts the settlers, except during Dunmore's War, were made welcome until their log houses were ready for occupancy, so that their residence in the forts was not always limited to times of danger.

Western Pennsylvania had few Daniel Boones in its early history, men who isolated themselves entirely from companionship and lived alone in the wilderness. Fur traders, of course, did this in the early days, but they are not generally considered among the thrifty pioneers who cleared away the primeval forests, and became the original founders of the homes we glory in to-day.

The early pioneers whom we are considering were homemakers, and, after the acquisition of land, what they most desired was neighbors. They did not come here to hunt and fish, nor to buy and speculate in furs and skins procured by the Indians. Generally they left better homes in the East but were willing to endure all manner of hardships for a few years with the hope of abundance later on. They very soon learned to love their new homes and to fight for and defend them, as we have seen in Dunmore's War, and in the Revolution, even as though they had been palaces. However rough the land, however small the clearing, or however rude the mudplastered log cabin of the settler, it was his own, and that consolation alone was enough to enable him to overlook all its imperfections. Because he owned it himself, he was willing to defend it against the world if necessary. "To be a freeholder," said Blaine in his eulogy of Garfield, "has been the patent and passport of self respect with the Anglo-

Saxon race ever since Horsa and Hengist landed on the shores of England."

For many years, as we have seen, the pioneer worked with his gun near him and in company with his neighbors. In house-building, he was almost compelled to have neighbors, or at least some assistance in putting the logs in place. He could cut and hew the timber and perhaps a neighbor could help him draw the hewn logs to the place selected for the house, and then came the "raising," which was a great day among our pioneer ancestors. The whole community assembled and often put up a log house in a single day. Sometimes they cut and hewed the logs and erected the house between sun-up and sun-down, for there was no eight-hour system in vogue then. A house fifteen by thirty feet, two rooms below and one above, was a very respectable sized house for that period. The axe was the principal tool used in housebuilding. On the day of the raising the older people had each a dram before they began work, for whisky was supposed to be almost indispensable in almost every well-regulated community. Thus both old and young were brought together at the raising and all had a part to perform. Not by any means the least attractive feature of the occasion, were the young maidens who attended to prepare the noon meal. The young men, who proudly showed their strength by lifting logs to their places, were often rough and unpolished, half hunter and half farmer, but nevertheless they greatly attracted our grand dames.

The raising was governed by rules which greatly facilitated the work. The men were divided into two equal companies, and, after the military order of that day, each chose a captain. The logs were pushed up on slides at each side and ends of the house, and the party which could most rapidly put its logs in place was the victorious one. When the log was at its proper height, it was notched at the ends to fit on the log underneath it and thus be held firmly in the house. The man who notched the ends of the logs was called a "corner man" and there were four of these, that is, one at each corner. A sharp axe, a true eye and a strong arm were the requisites of a corner man. Had he these qualifications he could very quickly notch the logs to fit on the log below and cut its upper side to fit the triangular notch of the next log. He must also keep his corner plumb, and this required more care than we might think. He was a very important man in a new house building community. While he was doing this notching, those on the ground were moving the next log up the slides to its final position. A good corner man must also have the last log finished and in place by the time the next log arrived, so as not to keep the

men waiting, but if he did keep them waiting sometimes in the morning when the logs did not have to be raised very high, later in the day he could often indulge in the sarcasm of calling for logs, for each succeeding log had to be raised about a foot higher. The average log, when green, if it was twenty feet long, would weigh about fifteen hundred pounds, and it was not an easy matter to hoist it ten or fifteen feet, with the limited appliances of that day.

The average house, say fifteen by twenty-five feet, was eight or nine feet to the top of the first story, but the second story was not generally more than four or five feet to the eaves of the roof. Sometimes, when the house was more pretentious, the second story was a full story of eight or nine feet. The sides and ends of the house were generally built of logs of equal length, making no provisions for the doors or for windows. The logs were afterward sawed away for such openings, and this can be noticed even to this day in our old log houses. Sometimes there was a chimney in the center with a fireplace on each side, but this was a more pretentious style of architecture than the pioneer in his hurry, usually adopted. The chimney was often at one side or end of the house and frequently on the outside, in which case there was an opening through the logs for a fireplace. In most houses the chimneys were made of stone and mortar. A few that were too hurriedly constructed, had chimneys made of small pieces of wood which were laid in thick mortar which covered the inside fairly well and thus protected the chimney well from the sparks of the fire. The earliest houses had no glass windows. Light was admitted through greased paper and the light at best was very poor. There was no glass manufactured in America then, and glass was a luxury only indulged in by those who could afford to transport it from the East. Glass was first manufactured in Pittsburgh in 1791, but it was long years after that before it came into general use in making windows.

At the top of the first story, logs called joists, smaller in size than the others, were laid across the building and these were hewn on one side only. They were usually small saplings from eight to ten inches in diameter. At the top of the house came the rafters made after the same manner, but not so heavy. The roof was made of clapboards, that is, boardlike pieces split from straight-grain logs. They were much larger and thicker than split shingles. Sometimes they were smoothed off with a drawing-knife. From these were also made the rough floor of the second story, if there was a second story at all, for many houses were but one story high, and, indeed, many of them had but one room and were not even fifteen feet square. The floor of the

first story in the most primitive houses were made of clay. Next to clay in advancement was the puncheon floor, which was made of logs split in the center and laid with the flat side up. These flat surfaces, with but little dressing, made a comparatively level and a very solid floor. The fireplace was a great wide opening so that a log six feet or more in length could be rolled into it as a back log and thus help to throw out the heat. Over this fireplace was hung the rifle, bullet pouch and powder horn of the owner of the house. Frequently the antlers of a deer hung above the fireplace and from them were suspended the implements of the hunter. The door was hung on wooden hinges. The door-latch was a short bar of wood on the inside and from it upward through a hole in the door, passed the latchstring so that it could be opened from the outside, but when night came the latch string could be drawn in—a simple way of locking the door. From this came the phrase of welcome, "The latch-string is out." The houses were made comparatively warm by filling up the cracks between the logs with small pieces of wood covered with mortar. It was also a dry house, after the floor was put in, but these were almost its only merits. The houses burned in Hannastown and also the houses in Pittsburgh at that time, were the best in the western country, yet none of them were better than the description above, and some of them were much smaller. In 1774 there was but one house in Pittsburgh with a shingle roof, and it was pointed out as a marvel in town improvement and as an evidence of great enterprise around the Fork of the Ohio.

Dr. MacMillan, who came to the West to preach in 1778, says: "The cabin in which I lived was raised but there was no roof to it, nor any chimney nor floor. We had neither bedstead, nor table, nor stool, nor chair, nor bucket. We placed two boxes, one on the other, which served us for a table, and two kegs served us for seats, and having committed ourselves to God in family worship, we spread our bed on the floor and slept soundly until morning. Sometimes, indeed, we had no bread for weeks, but had plenty of pumpkins and potatoes and all the necessities of life. As for luxuries, we were not much concerned." Dr. James Power, who preached in Westmoreland during the Revolution says that for years after he came here, there was not a frame, stone or brick house within the limits of his congregation, and his charge included nearly all that is now embraced within Westmoreland county. Stone houses were not built until the latter part of the century, and even then were built only where stones could be readily procured. The furniture within the houses of that day was nearly all home-made, and, in many instances, without sawed

lumber. Our day laborers would scarcely live in such houses even though they were rent free, yet those were the houses and castles of our ancestors who fought so bravely to protect them and who were not inferior to us in physical or moral qualifications, nor were they by nature intellectually inferior to us.

If the reader who prides himself upon being descended from one of Westmoreland's oldest families, will go back far enough he will find his ancestor lived in just such a house as above described, and likely in one not so complete. Nor will he be ashamed if he is a truly worthy and loyal son of his pioneer ancestor. The greatest and most distinguished man of last century was born in a one-story log cabin in Kentucky. Daniel Webster, the Hercules of American Statesmen, in a political address made during the "Log Cabin Campaign," in 1840, at Saratoga, New York, bore this testimony to the old log huts:

It did not happen to me to be born in a log cabin, but my elder brothers and sisters were born in a log cabin, raised amid the snow-drifts of New Hampshire at a period so early that when the smoke first rose from its rude chimney and curled over the frozen hills there was no similar evidence of a white man's habitation between it and the settlements of Canada. Its remains still exist. I make to it an annual visit. I carry my children to it, to teach them the hardships endured by the generations which have gone before them.

The second story of the log houses of that day, if there was a second story, was generally called a loft, and was reached sometimes by a stairway but often by a ladder or even by wooden pins driven into the logs. On the rafters were often hung pieces of smoked meat, all kinds of herbs for medicine, and clothing when not in use. The stables of the pioneers were built like the houses but of smaller logs, but they were rarely hewn. The smaller logs were used so that the cracks between them might be less, and thus protect the stock from wild animals, such as bears and wolves, which roamed the country at will, and were very destructive to domestic animals. The stables were not much of a protection against the blasts of winter, for the cracks between the logs were very rarely closed. When the early settler began to erect buildings, he almost always located them near a never-failing spring, and thus generally on lower ground. In felling trees for his house and stable, he was clearing his land, and thus his first fields were near his house. Afterward he cut other trees, collected them together and burned them. The forest was first killed by deadening trees and among these he raised grain even the first season. One man in a day could deaden the trees of several acres of land. In a few years the storms uprooted the dead trees and the huge bowls

by that time were very dry, so that after four or five years they were collected together, making a log heap that could be reduced to ashes in a few hours. In this way the primeval forests were gotten rid of.

The pioneer's next duty was to fence a few of his fields, that is, such as he intended for agricultural purposes. The cattle and horses were allowed to wander at large, browsing in the woodland, and the fences were to protect the growing crops from them not as now, to keep the stock at home. Bells were hung on the necks of animals, so that they could be found when needed and that the farmer might know from the sound of the bell, when they had broken into his fields. Bells were almost indispensable in a new, unfenced country, yet they sometimes wrought great harm. The prowling Indians frequently removed the bells from domestic animals and, hidden by the bushes in dark ravines, by shaking them, induced the children or the pioneer to come close to them, they thinking from the sound of the bell that they were approaching the cows or horses for which they were searching. They thus became easy victims for the redskins. The bells on animals were also supposed to be a protection against wild beasts, for rarely ever, it is said, would a wolf or a bear attack an animal which wore a tinkling bell.

Corn, rye and potatoes were the principal products of the early farmers. They were very anxious to raise wheat, but had poor success in its culture, even in our present wheat growing communities. They believed that wheat and rye could be raised only on high ground, and for that reason, cleared the hills first. The more level tracts and rich river bottoms, which afterwards constituted the most productive farming land, were then too damp for wheat or rye, particularly the former, to live in over winter. Furthermore, the rich bottom land was very prolific in the growth of weeds and briars and required much more labor to reclaim it than the higher ground. Corn was largely used for bread and by the hunters and travelers in the form of johnny-cake, which, because it was used by travelers, was originally called journey cake. The average garden of those days was a very small affair. The pioneer housewife raised sage, from the leaves of which she made tea, using them as a substitute for the tea of commerce. To the real tea our ancestors were always hostile, after the tax was put on it by Great Britain, in 1765. When Arthur St. Clair first moved his family to Ligonier, Mrs. St. Clair, who was a Boston woman of gentle birth, brought with her a chest of real tea. Many of her new neighbors had heard of it before but had never tasted it. They came from near and far to attend her tea-parties.

They enjoyed it so much that it was but a short time until all she had brought was exhausted. Coffee was not known to our early settlers but by the time of the Revolution, was used for special occasions. The root bark of the sassafras tree, roasted chestnuts and roasted rye or wheat were all used in place of coffee.

From necessity, our ancestors of that age were clothed almost entirely in homespun garments of linen or wool, or a mixture of the two called linsey-woolsey, or in the skins of animals. Flax culture is so far removed from our generation, that perhaps a few words concerning it may not be out of place here. It was undoubtedly the mainstay of our pioneers. Its culture is one of the oldest of human industries. Dr. Herr, the great German botanist, has proved thoroughly that it was cultivated even among the prehistoric races of Europe. After many years of research, he asserts that it was grown in Egypt five thousand years ago. Its use in the formation of textile fabrics is much older than the use of wool, notwithstanding the fact that sheep are among the oldest of domestic animals.

Flax is a fibrous plant, from the bark of which all linen is made. It will grow readily in any soil but will grow best on loose ground. The seed is a very small brown grain and from it is manufactured all pure linseed oil. The seed is so small that a gallon of it would sow about two acres of ground. It grows about two and a half feet high and bears a pretty blue blossom, a field of which, when in full bloom, was most attractive to the eye. When ripe, it was pulled up by the roots and dried on the ground in small shocks, like wheat. The seeds were easily removed by threshing it with a flail. The stem itself was very brittle when dry and the bark of the stem was very tough, and so, when bent rapidly or broken on a crude machine called a flax-break, the bark remained whole, while the brittle stems were reduced to small pieces and were easily separated from the fibre. Finer parts of the fibre or bark could be spun into linen, and the coarser part was made into a fabric called tow. This separation was done by drawing it lengthwise over a "hackle," which was a small piece of wood set with numerous iron spikes projecting about four inches. This caught the rough material and allowed the finer fibre to be drawn through. Then the housewife spun it on the spinning-wheel propelled by a treadle tramped by one foot. Spinning-wheels may yet be seen in many houses, preserved as mementoes of the spinning age.

Spinning with the wheel was a very ancient and a very simple art. They spun in the days of Virgil, for the great Latin poet says: "The slender thread of life is drawn out from the spindle of the

Fates." They both spun and wove in Greece, and, still farther back than Homer's age, the Egyptians were weaving linens which would be of a high order even in our advanced age. Homer compares the life of a man to the "swift flying shuttle of the weaver." Nor was the spinning in the latter part of the eighteenth century confined to the pioneer woman of the West, but our grandmothers, in the best esteemed families, had been taught to spin and knit, and many of them to weave. The mother of General Washington, Mary Ball, who was a woman of high birth and wealth, could spin, knit and weave, and Martha Washington, the wife of the general, equally patrician in her birth, became famous for her knitting societies during the Revolution. The cloth was woven on looms which were rather expensive structures, and only perhaps one family in a dozen could afford one, though every family of any standing at all, even if of limited property, had one or more spinning wheels. The neighbor who had a loom, took in weaving and generally retained a part of the fabric woven in payment for his services. A fabric made of tow or linen was very durable, but not a warm covering for cold weather, so a mixture of wool and linen called linsey-woolsey was made. Through many a long winter's evening, aided only by the flickering light of a tallow dip, would the industrious mother nod and bend over the spinning wheel, or grasp the countless threads with weary fingers, and weave them into webs of cloth for her husband and her children.

Wool could be prepared for home spinning by "carding," which was done by two hand cards which looked not unlike horse curry-combs. It could then be spun or woven like linen or tow. But the pioneer's great difficulty in producing wool was to protect the sheep from the wolves and bears which were found in every section of the West. Foxes, too, which were very destructive to young lambs, abounded in the forests. When the country grew older these animals were banished in part and wool carding by hand was abandoned, for in many localities late in the century there sprung up fulling-mills. To these the farmer sent his wool where, by simple machinery, it was made ready for spinning, or he could, at a later period, have it spun and woven into such cloth as he stood in need of. The wool factories were run by water power and the work they did was not expensive. Still later, these factories colored wool and the old time weaver made it into blankets of red or blue and white, some of which may yet be seen, preserved as heirlooms among the older families of the country. These factories were very, very scarce before 1800 and, for thirty or forty years at least, our pioneer families in Westmoreland spun and wove their own cloth almost entirely by hand. In the

winter men wore caps made from the skins of animals, and, in the summer, they wore straw hats, but all were of domestic make. Men wore buckskin trousers, and these were worn by men in all ranks of life. They often wore a hunting-shirt, as it was called, though its use was not confined to the chase. It was sometimes made of doe or buckskin and was very slow to wear out. The well-to-do men wore shoes with buckles in the summer while the poorer class wore moccasins, a soft soled shoe of home manufacture, made of buckskin. Along with shoe buckles and knee breeches went blue coats and brass buttons, but the cloth of these was not generally of home manufacture.

There was much more difference between the well-to-do and the poor as to dress than there is now. Women wore short skirts of linsey-woolsey in the summer and of all wool in the winter. They wore beaver or felt hats on special occasions, and the hats did not differ very much from those worn by men on dress occasions. It was then fashionable for women to tie a fringed silk handkerchief over their heads. Many well-to-do women, before 1800, were barefooted in summer when about their housework and prior to that time, many of them attended church, the only dress occasion they had, without shoes. In the winter they wore moccasins. It was at least thirty years after the founding of Westmoreland by the first settlers, that silk dresses began to be worn even occasionally by women. It is true, as we have seen, that a silk dress was taken from a house in Hannastown by an Indian, but this was so remarkable that it was specially noticed, and its being silk was what preserved the incident to us. Calico and all kinds of fabrics were unknown to our ancestors of the Revolutionary period. During the early years of the last century, calico sold for a dollar a yard and, even as late as 1825, was sold for fifty cents per yard.

Another crude industry by which the pioneer gained a part of his sustenance, was boiling the sap of the maple sugar tree and making syrup and sugar. It was done in a very primitive manner compared with the same industry of our age, yet the result was nearly the same. They bored a small hole into a tree and inserted a hollow reed or stick through which the sap dripped rapidly into a trough about three feet long made by hollowing out the half of a small log. These logs were hollowed out with an axe and could be made to hold three or four gallons of sap which was boiled in kettles over wood fires. The season for making it was very short, being confined to the first mild weather in springtime. Consequently when the pioneer had many trees on his land he kept the sap boiling night and day, for it soon became sour if not used up. The sugar camp was a fav-

orite place for young men and women to meet at night to make sugar and to keep the fire going and the water boiling after the older people had gone home. The boiling was always done in the midst of or near the grove of trees. The trees on the eastern slope of the hills and in the bottoms where the morning sun struck them directly, were the most productive of sap. An average tree produced from ten to fifteen gallons of sap per day., and a large tree produced much more, a very large one as much as a barrel in a day of twenty-four hours.

A Scotch-Irishman who located here last century, was very much delighted with sugar-making which to him was a new way in securing the saccharine substance. He worked his trees all he could in the springtime and told his neighbors that he would "stapp aff" until his corn was planted and then he would begin again. The great English novelist, Thackeray, made a greater mistake than this in his charming story entitled "The Virginians," written in part to portray the ill-fated expedition of General Braddock to capture Fort Duquesne. He represents his hero, George Warrington, as being taken a prisoner by the French and confined in the fort until his escape in October, 1756. The hero then started at once on foot by long night journeys through the wilderness to his home in Eastern Virginia. The novelist represents him as very greatly admiring the hues of the October forests in Western Pennsylvania. Traveling mostly by night to escape pursuers, one night he saw a distant light in a valley. The escaped prisoner was very hungry, yet feared to go to the light lest the campers should prove to be Indians or hostile French who would recapture him. But finally, spurred on by hunger, he ventured close enough to discover, to his great delight, that they were farmers boiling sugar; for this says the great novelist, "is the season of the year that the Pennsylvania farmers secure their sugar by boiling the sap of the maple tree."

The Indian made syrup from the maple and also from the walnut tree, the latter producing a very dark colored but very sweet fluid or sugar. Indeed it is said on good authority, that the industry now so common in America, was taught to white people by the Indians. They cut a small niche into the tree and caught the sap in vats or troughs, boiling it very much as our forefathers did. The sugar or syrup was, like all products of that day, made for home consumption only. It was long years before there was a sale for it. The industry, with many modern improvements, is yet carried on in many parts of Pennsylvania and other states, though the product is now almost exclusively maple syrup.

The woods also at that time were full of wild fruits. Moreover,

all small fruits and berries grew more abundantly and were more luscious then than now. Horace Greeley noticed the same change in the New England states and attributed it entirely to the destruction of the original forests. The removal of the forest so changed the moisture of the atmosphere and the earth and so subjected the tender buds to the intense heat, to the stormy blasts of winter and to severe cold, that small fruits scarcely thrive at all now, compared with their natural growth when the country was clothed in its primeval forest. Blackberries, whortleberries, raspberries, wild plums, wild strawberries, haws, wild grapes, servesberries, the latter ripening with the early days of June, were plentiful then, and of much finer quality than the stragglers which the woodsman may now occasionally find. The peach and the cherry tree both bore fruit in their third year and were easily raised then, while now, owing to climatic changes in some sections, they can scarcely be grown at all. In the early days of Westmoreland, many of these small fruits were grown profusely in almost every resident lot in the towns and, of course, on every farm. Wild fruits were of great advantage to our ancestors. It is an undoubted fact that many of them lived, sometimes for days, without bread or meat. Often an escaped captive traveled hundreds of miles through an almost unbroken forest, subsisting entirely on wild fruits.

Most of the early families depended mainly for their meat supply on the trusty rifle. All men of that day were presumed to know how to handle a gun. Small boys looked forward to the great day in the future when they could be entrusted with firearms and go into the woods to hunt. The country was full of game. The most dangerous animals were the black and brown bears, which were very common, and especially among the hills of Southwestern Pennsylvania where the cavernous rocks in the mountains and the deep ravines, afforded them good dens and hiding places. They by nature inhabited the wildest regions and, of course, were common in the earlier days in every section. They ventured into the settlements in the later days only in pursuit of food. The settler's sheep, pigs and calves were constantly in danger but were much more likely to be carried off in the winter on account of the scarcity of food, than in the summer. All parts of Westmoreland county, at least up until 1820, suffered severely from such depredations. Bears were often killed in various parts of the county as late as 1830 and 1840, but these had probably come from Laurel Hill or from the Allegheny Mountains in search of food. The meat of the bear was used by the pioneer and very much resembled pork. The pioneer invariably laid in a stock of it for winter and preserved it in the same manner that pork is now preserved.

The bearskin also made at least half of a very warm bed cover or robe because of its thick coat of soft fine hair. The bear was hunted with dogs. It could travel long distances through dense underbrush and was, therefore, not by any means an easy prey for the hunter. When closely pursued by dogs, it climbed a tree for safety, and could then be brought down with a ball from the rifle. They were also caught in large wire or steel traps, and were so furious when thus captured, that they would frequently bite off the foot above the jaws of the trap and thus escape. They were caught more securely in pens made of strong logs built on the side of a hill, or built so that the bear could easily reach the top of the covering of the pen, which was baited with a tempting cow's head or other piece of meat. The top of the pen was so arranged that it tilted with the bear's weight and dropped it into the pen. The tilting part of the roof closed immediately over the captive's head, and the pen was thus ready to entrap another bear. The bear was not a crafty or cunning animal like the fox, and was frequently entrapped by this and other equally simple devices.

There were also many deer in the country and they were not confined to the mountains, but roamed over all of Southwestern Pennsylvania. In fact, they were more plentiful in the early days in the valleys than in the mountains, for the reason that there was a more luxurious vegetation for them to browse on. Later, of course, by the advent of the settlers, they were driven to the mountains exclusively. They fed on grass, herbs, buds and grain and frequented this section of the state because of its abundant streams of fresh water. They were wild and quick in movement when frightened, but with the hunter who understood their habits, they were comparatively easily shot, and, upon them, the pioneer depended largely for his supply of meat. Dozens of them were sometimes shot in a single year by one pioneer who hunted only in leisure hours. The deer had certain places where they crossed the valleys from one high hill or spur of mountain to another, and these crossings were well known to the hunter and were sometimes well defined paths. Posting himself near these crossings, he could easily shoot the deer. There were certain places also where the water which oozed from the earth was slightly salted. These were called "salt licks," and were much frequented by them, for they had the same taste for salt that cattle, sheep and horses have. The meat of the deer, called venison, most nearly resembled mutton or beef. It was dried or "jerked" to preserve it for future use. The skin of the deer was, as we have seen, like that of the bear, of great service to the hunter. It was covered with a thick growth of

hair and was almost impervious to cold or rain. When prepared in the form of buckskin or doeskin, it could be readily manufactured into breeches, coats, hats, moccasins, etc.

There were no buffaloes in this section after the advent of the white man, but Washington in a letter, wrote of hunting them on the Upper Ohio River sections, and the Kanawha River regions in West Virginia were relied upon to some extent to furnish buffalo meat for the army in charge of Fort Pitt during the Revolution. Formerly, the buffalo undoubtedly inhabited this region. Small game, such as wild turkeys, pheasants, rabbits, squirrels, etc., abounded everywhere, and in some localities were an annoyance to the growing crops. Ammunition was too expensive to be wasted on them, though wild turkeys were always considered a great delicacy, and were much sought after by the pioneer. Twice a year they had droves of wild pigeons to shoot at, that is, on their migrations north in the spring and south in the fall. These birds came in great numbers; numbers, indeed, which seem almost fabulous to the modern reader. They have frequently settled so thickly on forest trees that their weight would break the limbs of hundreds of trees from top to bottom. They have frequently flown over the country in such vast numbers that they darkened a whole community, yet this beautiful bird is almost exterminated now.

Wolves were a great annoyance to the farmers. Taken singly, the wolf was a cowardly skulking animal, but a pack of them, when driven to desperation by hunger, would attack either man or beast. The wolf of Pennsylvania was brown in color rather than the gray wolf of the present West, with which we are more familiar. It hunted its prey by scent like a dog. A pack of them would approach the cabin of a farmer in quest of pigs or sheep, and announce their presence by prolonged howls, which terrified the community almost as did the warwhoop of the Indians a few years previous. In that frenzied condition, produced by hunger, a gang of them would spring upon a horse or a cow, fasten their teeth into its flesh and, though all its strength was brought to bear, it was soon brought to the ground and devoured. A man alone after nightfall was equally in danger, did he encounter a pack of hungry wolves. The only safety for him was to climb a tree. They could not follow him there, but could watch him all night, which they often did, skulking away to their dens with the earliest dawn of morning. They were always gregarious animals. They generally inhabited mountainous countries, or sections where they could readily find dens among the cavernous rocks, and later,

where they were not too far removed from the domestic animals of the early settlers.

In 1782, the state offered five dollars for the scalp of a wolf whelp and twenty-five dollars for that of a full grown wolf. This was in state currency, however, which was greatly depreciated, but a few years later a reward of eight dollars in gold for every wolf that was killed was offered, and this reward was afterward increased to twelve dollars. In addition to this, some counties in Western Pennsylvania were so sorely afflicted with them, that they offered special rewards. Squirrels and crows were also a great nuisance to the farmers. They dug out the newly planted corn grains and feasted on the ripening fields. Premiums were put on their scalps also, and some counties were specially authorized by legislative enactments to assess and collect a squirrel scalp fund. The premiums offered by the state were, two cents for squirrels and three cents for crows, and this was but little more than the cost of the ammunition, which of itself was a very important question to the pioneer. He could not produce the ingredients of powder, nor dig lead from the earth. All firearms were then discharged by flintlocks, and hence they were not compelled to buy caps, which came afterward, but lead must be purchased.

Powder was very frequently manufactured by the early pioneer. Its explosive quality is brought about by the chemical action of the union of three most inexplusive ingredients, saltpeter, charcoal and sulphur. Taking about six-tenths of the former and two-tenths of the latter and two-tenths sulphur, they first pulverized each separately; then mixed them in water and dried the mixture over a fire. To keep the mixture from becoming a solid mass, they were compelled to stir it constantly and when finally dry, they had a fair quality of powder. The charcoal they could produce, but were compelled to purchase the saltpeter and sulphur. It could be still made at a less cost than the selling price of powder and, moreover, the latter could not always be purchased in this section, when the settler needed it. One hunter was thus manufacturing powder and was drying it over an open fire. Forgetting himself and perhaps not realizing that it was already dry, he stirred the fire below with the same paddle he was using in stirring the powder. At least a small coal perhaps adhered to the paddle. At all events, it exploded and very nearly cost him his life.

A good hunter in those days used nothing but a rifle and, for small game, a gun of very small bore and bullet was used. It was not an uncommon thing then for a hunter to bring in a dozen squirrels or small birds, like quail or pheasants, each one of which was shot in the head. Squirrels were often killed by barking them, that

is, shooting the bullet into the bark between the bark and the squirrel. This was almost sure death to the squirrel and did not destroy the meat.

There were few tools used by the farmers in those days compared with the machinery now in use. Scarcely any farmer had a wagon, but hauled his crops on a rude sled which he could easily manufacture himself, had he but a saw, an auger and an axe. Hay was often dragged with a grapevine used in place of a rope, and a comparatively good sized pile, weighing several hundred pounds, could be dragged by putting the vine around it and hitching a horse or an ox to the end. There were no ropes in the community then. They had a rude shaped plow, but very few harrows. To mellow the ground after plowing, they dragged a thorn or other tree with projecting branches, over it. The land was covered with deadened trees and stumps and, because of these, was very much more difficult to cultivate than when thoroughly cleared. Grass was cut with a scythe and grain with a sickle. Finally grain cradles were introduced, but were used only in cutting wheat, rye and perhaps buckwheat. So it will appear that the pioneer farmer with an axe, saw, auger, sickle, scythe and plow could manage to get along reasonably well as far as tools were concerned. With these he could manufacture nearly everything else he needed. There was little done except farming. There were no stores worthy of the name and nearly all the people depended upon agriculture for a livelihood.

Women not infrequently worked in the fields and helped to perform much of the labor which is now performed by men exclusively. To destroy the forest was the pioneer's first duty, for it will be remembered that the entire country was practically an unbroken wilderness when first settled by the white race. The work on the farm was very hard. A day's work was from daylight until dark with a short period allowed for each meal. In the winter months the pioneer cleared the lands and later threshed his grain with flails. No one at that time, who worked a day or two for a neighbor was paid in money, but in return labor when he needed help, and any pioneer living within two or three miles of him was considered a near neighbor.

Prior to 1790 or 1800, there was scarcely a market for any farm product, but each farmer was content if he could raise enough to live on from year to year, improve his lands and perhaps increase his live stock and his acreage. After that, when there came a market for rye for distilling purposes, and when the manufacture of iron made a market for horses, oats, corn and cattle, then pioneers began to build better houses, and all over the country can yet be seen the crumbling

ruins of old stone houses and barns built in the early years of the last century. During these primitive years, he had few expenses. He had scarcely any doctor bills, for there were but few physicians, and, moreover, the housewife knew the simple remedies of garden herbs and wild plants, which she very carefully preserved. His fuel was cut from the surrounding forest, his clothes were homespun or grew on the backs of wild animals, while the crude iron implements and ammunition were among the few necessities which he could not produce. But often these were subjects of barter and he could procure them in return for rye, potatoes, or the skins of animals.

The great crying need of the settler was salt. This he could not produce from his land, and neither he nor his live stock could live and get along well without it. In Craig's History of Pittsburgh, is quoted a letter from Daniel Broadhead, written to the President of the Supreme Executive Council, in which he says salt will purchase any material which money will not buy. He urges them to send it and urges that they cannot send too much salt. All salt was then brought here on pack horses from Hagerstown, Maryland, or from Philadelphia, and hence its great scarcity. In 1790 one barrel of salt was worth twenty bushels of wheat. Meat could not be kept without salt, so its scarcity brought about a corresponding scarcity of meat. When Fort Pitt was garrisoned as a place of safety, it was not uncommon to send soldiers out into the woods to hunt for game. Few cattle were raised because of the enormous price of salt. About 1800 Kentucky salt was manufactured from the inexhaustible salt wells of that state and was brought up to Pittsburgh in barrels on boats, and it then became cheaper. Yet as late as 1806, Kentucky salt was selling in Pittsburgh at \$14.00 per barrel, though the barrels were about one-third larger than they are now. For many years salt was worth from twelve to twenty cents per quart at retail. Deer-licks, it is true, were known here long before the Revolution, and Captain Brady and other hunters from Fort Pitt frequently took advantage of them in securing venison. But the pioneer had neither the money nor the knowledge to bore for and manufacture the salt from the water which oozed from the earth. The common way of procuring it was to send a train of packhorses east laden with skins and furs and return with them laden with salt.

Both Congress and the Legislature passed measures to relieve the people from their growing need of salt. In September, 1776, a large amount of salt was found secreted by some Tory merchants in Philadelphia and it was at once confiscated and divided among the counties of the State. Pittsburgh was then in Westmoreland county

and the share given to all of the county was 319 bushels. In 1778 the legislature purchased a large quantity of salt for free distribution, and there was also a law passed prohibiting anyone from having a monopoly in the salt trade. The Continental Congress established a salt works in New Jersey, but like most of its exploits, this was not successful. In 1779 a Committee of Salt was appointed by the State to regulate its price and force its sale on the part of those who had laid up large quantities of it. In a "Merchants Memorial" relative to a seizure of salt made by the Salt Committee on October 23, 1779, it is stated that they had refused two hundred dollars per bushel and that now, when taken from them for the State's benefit, they were only receiving about one hundred and fifty dollars per bushel for it.

Flour was a very scarce article in the East and accordingly, President Reed proposed in 1779 that salt be distributed among the counties in proportion to the amount of flour sent east by them. While salt was more abundant in Kentucky, they had not yet begun to distill whisky there and therefore, when our pioneers began to make whisky, boatloads of it were sent down the river and exchanged for Kentucky salt. But salt, in the early years of the last century remained at a very high price and it was not unusual for the pioneers in Westmoreland to unite and send down to Hagerstown or to Kentucky, a train of packhorses which would carry back the salt for the coming year. Each horse could carry from two hundred and fifty to three hundred and fifty pounds. Even as late as 1820, farmers' boys went east for salt. One horse could carry two hundred and fifty pounds of salt and the boy rider also. The speed of travel was about twenty-five miles per day, or perhaps less, unless they were strong horses. The boys, an old pioneer has told the writer, looked forward all year to the prospect of a trip to the salt works in the fall, and when they returned they were veritable young heroes, and were asked to tell of their sight-seeing trip.

Shortly after 1800, salt was discovered in the Conemaugh Valley by an old woman named Deemer, who noticed salt water oozing up in the river bottom in times of low water. William Johnson first sunk a well and started a works. His land lay near the present town of Saltsburg, where he also built a grist mill, and called the place Point Johnson. This was in 1812 or 1813, and his works could produce about thirty barrels of salt per day. He brought down the price of salt considerably. Salt was also known to ooze from the ground at Jacob's Creek because of well known deer-licks in that place. William Beck first began to manufacture in that locality on Sewickley Creek. The salt bed was about five hundred feet below the surface,

though Johnson had bored a well only two hundred and ninety feet deep when he found an abundance of salt water. These wells were bored openly by man power. Four men stood on the ground and four on a platform above them and the eight men grasped the shaft of the auger, and raising it about three feet, simultaneously let it fall. This was repeated time after time and the auger or bit was turned an inch or so each time. A rope was fastened to it after the shaft of the auger passed below the surface of the ground. It was a very slow process. It is known that they actually worked in this manner two or three years in boring a hole five hundred feet deep, but it is scarcely probable that the work was pursued daily. The well was tubed and the manufacture of salt began at once. This resulted in another reduction of several dollars per barrel. The water was pumped from the well with horse power and was boiled down in kettles and pans over large fires. So primitive a method of manufacture was, of course, very expensive. For many years afterwards a good cow might be exchanged for a barrel of salt.

A great many references have been made in these pages to the Continental money of the early period and to its fluctuating value. The real value was so indefinite and irregular that it is difficult to say what it was worth in gold or silver. It was, however, an important factor in our early settlement and must be considered. It was practically the only measure of value the pioneer had. Gold and silver had scarcely any circulation west of the Allegheny mountains before it became the measure of values in 1789, when the country, as a nation came under the present constitution. Prior to that Continental money had scarcely any purchasing power. An old orderbook of 1780, among other things, prescribes the amount which landlords are allowed to charge their patrons for liquor and accommodations. These rates are given in Continental money and are as follows:

"Half pint of whisky, \$6.00; whole pint of whisky, \$8.50; supper, \$2.00; breakfast, \$2.00; lodging with clean sheets on bed, \$3.00; one horse and hay over night, \$3.00. It is easy to see that no valuation of property based on such depreciated currency can be of any value to us. In 1779, flour and bacon were very scarce here and were brought across the mountains on pack horses. Bacon frequently sold for a dollar per pound. Congress resorted to all manner of schemes to sustain the Continental money. It passed embargo acts, limitation of prices acts, enacted penalties for refusing to take it, etc., but all their enactments were ineffectual in giving it a purchasing power equal or anything like equal to its denomination. The only result of their legislation in this direction seemed to be to bring about a con-

tempt for the Continental Congress. Perhaps our people suffered more from it after the Revolution than at any other time, for the reason that the soldiers at the close of the war were paid off in this depreciated currency. This brought much of it into the southwestern part of Pennsylvania, and it at once drove out what little gold and silver the people had. As if this was not sufficient, the State also issued a currency. There was no reason why the latter might not have been good upon redemption by the issuing power. But the pioneer sentiment was so opposed to paper money, a prejudice brought about by their experience with Continental money, that the State's currency had but little more value than that of Congress.

The county commissioners' of Westmoreland county in 1780 adopted a system of value which was probably a fair one, for it was confirmed by the courts of the county. In this system thirty dollars in Continental money was valued at three shillings and six pence. This would indicate that a dollar in gold was worth about fifty dollars in Continental currency. David Duncan, a well known Revolutionary soldier of Pittsburgh, was Commissioner of Purchases and reported that he had purchased in 1781, stall-fed cattle at one shilling per pound, state money, and whisky at six or seven shillings per gallon. He further said: "I have been in the glades trying to purchase beef, but none would sell without hard money." By the glades he most likely meant the section now included in Somerset county, for this was an old-time name for that county.

The people in Westmoreland had much difficulty in paying their preachers and often paid in farm products instead of money. In some instances it was stipulated that the amounts subscribed by the members of the congregation should be paid either in money or grain, the latter to be delivered at the parsonage at, say four shillings per bushel for rye and two shillings and six pence per bushel for corn. They also agreed that this should be paid quarterly and should be sued for as lawful debts if not paid. It was frequently agreed that the preacher's salary should be paid, one-half in money and one-half in provisions. Rye was then rated higher than corn or wheat, because they had already begun the manufacture of it into whisky. It is not uncommon in the records in Greensburg to find a will in which the father gives his land to a son or perhaps divides it between his sons and stipulates that the devisee shall deliver to the other heir or heirs certain number of bushels of wheat or rye, oats or corn annually for a given number of years, as their share of the estate. In this manner, he made as he supposed, a fair division of his property among his children.

Late in the century came the merchant, and stores were started by laying in a small stock of groceries, common fabrics, hunting materials, etc., which were replenished twice a year by his going to the eastern cities for them. It is true that we had four traders before this, but they dealt exclusively in one product and were not regarded as merchants as we understand the term now. There were not many country stores however before 1800. The country store was usually at a small cross roads, perhaps where water power could be had and a grist mill was erected. The storeroom of the merchant was not over twelve to fifteen feet square with counters around three sides of it. It was heated by a wood fire. On his shelves were a few dishes, groceries, ammunition, tobacco, and a few fabrics sold by the yard. Goods were sold mostly at one hundred per cent profit, which was perhaps not too great, for he took in return, all kinds of farm products and sometimes had great difficulty in disposing of them. He took bacon, wool, butter, eggs, whisky, flour, and as an old-time merchant once told the writer, "a little of everything except money." With all his large profit on his goods, he generally found it difficult to furnish cash enough to replenish his store twice a year. This he did by long horseback journeys to Baltimore or Philadelphia, carrying in his saddle bags the gold with which to pay for the goods he purchased. The merchant was usually looked upon as the leading business man of his community. He wrote letters, articles of agreement, etc., for his neighbors, and sometimes founded a little town which frequently grew and became an important center and is perhaps a prominent borough or city to-day.



CHAPTER XXX

EARLY CUSTOMS

CHAPTER XXX.

Early Customs.—Houses; People; Their Manner of Dress.—Early Weddings.—Witchcraft; Doddridge Quoted.—Pioneers Dress Like Indians.—Treatment During Sickness; Wizards Treat Patients.—The Pioneers Hunt Wild Animals; Wild Game Plentiful; Wolves and Foxes Do Great Damage; Circular Hunt to Destroy Them.

However primitive may have been the houses, dress and manner of living in the eastern homes, and they were doubtless crude enough, from absolute necessity they were much more so in the new homes west of the mountains. The present generation is so far removed from the style of life of two or three generations ago, and so deeply merged in the concerns of the present, that to some of us at least, the story of the privations of our immediate ancestors seems but little more than a myth.

The first and most important duty of the pioneer in this section was to protect himself and family from the Indian's tomahawk, which spared neither age nor sex. Every man's house in those days was, in the truest sense, his castle, and all its inmates were trained to perform a part in its defense, where necessary. The "forts" of the early days were not merely places of defense, but became settlements consisting of cabins, blockhouses and stockades. Doddridge says that "a range of cabins commonly formed one side, at least, of the fort. Divisions or partitions of logs separated the cabins from each other. The walls on the outside were ten or twelve feet high, the slope of the roof being turned wholly inward. A very few of these cabins had puncheon floors; the greater portion were earthen."

The Indians, to be sure, had no artillery, otherwise these crude places of defense would not have withstood a long siege. As it was, they were seldom attacked and scarcely ever was one of them taken. The Indian fought by stealth, by being concealed and by surprising his victims, rather than by a bold attack on a well-defended stronghold. Gradually the cabins appeared farther and farther away from the fort as the population of the settlement increased. One pioneer knew of the location of a neighbor's cabin by the curling smoke which daily made its way through the little break in the forest, which the pioneer called his "clearing." The first settlers necessarily brought with them all their household goods and farming machinery. These could scarcely be purchased here, even though the pioneer had had anything to buy them with. Doddridge refers to one man near the Allegheny

river, who traded his settler's right to two hundred acres of land for a set of plow irons. Peltry and furs were then about the only stock in trade; the skins of animals were practically a circulating medium. Every settler and his family collected what skins and furs they could during the year. These they hoped to send over the mountains later in the fall. This departure to "east of the mountains," as they expressed it, was a great event in that day. For convenience and safety in the earlier times, several neighbors of the settlement journeyed together. Nor could they then neglect those who were left at home; a certain number remained to protect them against the lurking savages. In the fall of the year, after seeding time, the families selected one of the settlers who should have charge of the little caravan east. He was assisted by young men who were strong and well able to defend themselves against attacks. All products to be sent east were carried on pack-horses. A caravan of a dozen pack-horses could be managed by two men, one on the lead horse and one in the rear to see that the burdens remained in the proper places and to prod up any horse that seemed to lag and fall short of the usual speed of travel. Each horse was laden not only with the product for sale in the east, but with his own food for both the going and the returning journey. Part of the grain for the returning journey was hidden on the way east, or perhaps deposited with a settler. Each night the horses were allowed to browse through the forest, and thus the grain food necessary for their sustenance was cut down to the minimum. The horses were hobbled at night, so that they would not wander away very far from the camp or be difficult to catch in the morning. Each pack-horse wore a bell when turned out at night, so that his whereabouts might be readily determined in the morning. During the day's journey the bells became monotonous to the driver and were stuffed with leaves to prevent the sound.

Doddridge tells of one caravan which put up at a lodging house on the mountains. In the night the landlord and his hired man stole two bells from the horses. They went some miles the next morning before the theft was discovered. A detachment was sent back, only to find that the suspected parties denied all knowledge of the theft or the bells. Accustomed to make and execute their own laws, they suspended the suspects by the arms pinioned behind their backs. This soon brought a confession. The bells were then hung around the necks of the thieves, and in this condition they were driven on foot until they overtook the caravan, which had gone nine miles eastward. A halt was called, a jury selected, and the men were tried. They were found guilty and sentenced to receive twelve lashes on the bare backs

from each driver. When the time came for one of the men who had lost a bell to administer the punishment, he took a firm grasp of the rod and said, "Now, you infernal scoundrel, I will give you nineteen to a dozen; just think what a figure I would make in Baltimore without a bell on my horse." The man was in dead earnest, for he had never seen a pack-horse in a city used without bells. The early market place was either Philadelphia or Baltimore. Later a market was established in Frederick and in Hagerstown.

Doddridge writes of the simplicity of house furniture in the early days, saying that the table furniture for several years after settlement consisted of a few pewter dishes, plates and spoons. They used wooden bowls mostly, and when these could not be had they used gourds and the hard shells of squashes in their stead. Iron pots, knives and forks came later. Pork and hominy was the most common dish, while johnny-cake and corn pone was almost the only form of bread in use, being used mostly for breakfast and dinner, while mush and milk was the standard dish for supper. When milk was scarce, which was often the case, because of the scarcity of cattle and pasture, mush was eaten with sweetened water, molasses, bear's oil, or with the gravy of fried meat. Every family, in addition to the usual garden products, tried to raise corn for roasting ears, pumpkins, squashes, beans and potatoes. These in the latter part of the summer and fall were cooked with pork, venison and bear meat, and, says Doddridge, "made very wholesome and well-tasted dishes."

Tea and coffee were practically unknown, and when introduced, were generally greatly adulterated. Doddridge's experience with his first cup of coffee is well worthy of reproduction, for it was doubtless the experience of many others. When quite young he was on his way east with his uncle and stopped over night at the town of Bedford. He writes: "The tavern at which my uncle put up was a stone house and to make the change from the log cabin of the backwoods still more complete, it was plastered in the inside, both as to walls and the ceiling. On going into the dining-room, I was struck with astonishment at the appearance of the house. I had no idea there was any house in the world which was not built of logs; but here I looked around the house and could see no logs, and above I could see no joists; whether such a thing had been made by the hand of man, or had grown so itself, I could not conjecture. I had not the courage to enquire anything about it. When supper came, my confusion was worse confounded. A little cup stood in a bigger one with some brownish-looking stuff in it which was neither milk, hominy nor broth; what to do with these little cups and the little spoon belonging

to them, I could not tell, and I was afraid to ask anything concerning the use of them. Therefore, I watched attentively to see what the big folks would do with the little cups and spoons. I imitated them, and found the taste of the coffee nauseous beyond anything I had ever tasted in my life. I continued to drink as the rest of the company did, with the tears streaming from my eyes, but when it was to end I was at a loss to know, as the little cups were filled immediately after being emptied. This circumstance distressed me very much, as I dare not say I had enough. Looking attentively at the grown persons, I saw one man turn his little cup bottom upward and put his little spoon across it. I observed that after that his cup was not filled again. I followed his example, and to my great satisfaction the result as to my cup was the same." Tea and coffee, in the opinion of the early settlers, was good enough for snobs or sick people, but not fit for men. In their language, "they did not stick to the ribs."

Necessary utensils were very scarce, and this led to a great deal of borrowing. When the season of killing hogs came in the fall, a large iron pot or kettle was necessary to heat water for scalding them, yet there was generally only one in a community. Still fewer copper kettles were to be found, though they were equally necessary in making apple butter. These were passed from house to house, day after day, until a whole settlement had been supplied with even one kettle. The pioneer also became in a measure "a jack of all trades," for he was compelled to manufacture with his hands and a very meager outfit of tools, a great many utensils that are purchased now by every one. His work would perhaps not stand the scrutiny of expert mechanics, but however rude, it served its purpose. By hollowing out the stump of a tree he made a "hominy block" or a hand mill that was in common use. In the excavation in the stump or log he could put perhaps half a bushel of grain. This was stomped with a log post with a rounded end until the grain was fine enough for flour. In some instances the post or stomper was suspended from a springy sapling, and this made the up and down movement necessary, much easier. They also ground wheat and rye with or between two home-made circular stones like regular mill stones. The upper stone had a hole drilled into it near the edge. Into this they inserted a pole and with the upper end of the pole inserted in a hole in the joists, two men could take hold of the perpendicular pole and keep the stone turning all the time. The grain was put into a hole in the upper stone and it gradually dropped down and was ground between the two stones. This was not really an invention of the pioneer, for it has been in use in oriental countries for many centuries. Horse power was afterwards

made to take the place of hand power in grinding grain, and later the horse was supplanted by water power. The first water-power mills were operated by water wheels known as the tub-mill wheel, which gave its name frequently to the stream which turned it. The tub-mill wheel was in a round enclosure that resembled a large tub. The water falling on it made it revolve, and thus the perpendicular shaft to which it was fastened was turned, and by gearing, made the mill stones revolve, or ran a saw, as the occasion might be. This wheel gave place to the paddle wheel, the under-shot wheel, and, finally, the over-shot wheel, which was then regarded as the greatest improvement possible.

These early mills in reality determined the locality in a great measure of our early villages and post offices, when the latter were established. The pioneer had to go to mill perhaps more frequently than to any other place. There he waited till his grist was ground and took the flour home with him. Then a blacksmith located near him and shod the horses while the pioneer's grist was being ground. Then came the tavern and its bar, for most people of all classes regarded whiskey, not as a luxury, but as one of the necessities of life. The storekeeper, when his day arrived, found the vicinity of the mill a splendid place to open up a little room filled with such "goods" as the pioneer needed and could not make himself. Then, too, the shoemaker, the tinker, the spinning-wheel maker, the cooper, all came, each to add his mite to the collection of log houses which constituted the town. In the evening came the citizens of the community to talk politics and religion for an hour or two.

These mills and the embryo towns were located on streams that would not turn a mill now. The little mills required less water than the mills of to-day require, it is true, but the streams are much smaller. The removal of the timber which covered most of the hills and valleys then, has diminished the streams all over the country. The surface of the earth is now exposed to the direct rays of the sun and evaporation is much more rapid than formerly, when the sun's rays could scarcely find their way to one acre in a hundred.

The early pioneer was compelled to dispense with the tanner, the tailor, the shoemaker and most of the mechanics whose work is now regarded so necessary to our happiness and prosperity. The few old implements which have been preserved and have come down to us, show real fine workmanship when one considers the few tools which the pioneer brought with him. Their plows, their harrows with wooden teeth, their sleds, etc., were really well made. The writer has seen cooperware, which includes every vessel for holding water, that

was put together by using alternately a red or dark wood stave with a white stave, the former being made of red oak or walnut, the latter of maple or pine, that showed fine workmanship. The circumstances of the people required that they should help each other, and if one had skill in the making of implements of every-day use, he worked for his neighbor, not for money, but in turn for some commodity which his neighbor could produce which he could not.

"Many of the sports of that day were," says Doddridge, "imitation of the strategies of hunting and war." Boys were taught to use the bow and arrow at a very early age, training him to handle fire-arms a few years later. When twelve or thirteen years old he was furnished with a rifle, a powder horn and a bullet pouch. He was then training to be a fort soldier, and even at that age, he had frequently a port-hole in the fort assigned to him. Hunting squirrels, turkeys, raccoons, etc., soon made him an expert in the use of the rifle. Shooting at marks was not a common diversion among men then, for their stock of ammunition was far too slender for that. Boys were taught also to imitate the noise of birds and beasts in the woods, not merely as a pastime, but because of the utility of the accomplishment when out hunting. The imitation of the gobbling and other sounds of wild turkey, though they were very keen of vision and very wary, if perfect enough, often brought them within the reach of the rifle. To imitate the plaintive bleating of a fawn often brought stronger members of the herd to their death in the same way. Wolves were decoyed, or at least made to answer the call, and thus inform the hunter of their location. Indians resorted to the same scheme. Often when prowling through the woods, they brought themselves together or informed each other of their whereabouts by imitating turkeys by day and wolves by night. An easy and correct use of this imitation faculty in a boy was a sure indication that its possessor would become in due time a good hunter and a successful warrior. The sons of pioneers, like Indian boys, were also taught to run, jump, wrestle and swim, and these exercises not only increased his physical strength, but often, very often, saved his life when pursued or in close quarters with the redskins.

In due time in the lives of the children of the early settlers, came the wedding, which, as far back as history takes us, has always been celebrated as an occasion of joy and festivity. Though his circumstances were limited, the pioneer did the best he could. The wedding usually engaged the attention of the whole neighborhood, and a good time was anticipated by both old and young with eager expectation. This is not to be wondered at when we recall that a wedding brought together about the only assemblage of the people of the community

which was not accompanied with labor of some kind, such as log-rolling, corn-husking, house-building or the planning and preparation for some campaign against the Indians. Let us quote directly from Doddridge concerning this all important event in pioneer life :

In the morning of the wedding day the groom and his attendants assembled at the house of his father for the purpose of reaching the mansion of his bride by noon, which was the usual time for celebrating the nuptials, which for certain must take place before dinner. Let the reader imagine an assemblage of people, without a store, tailor or mantuamaker within a hundred miles, and an assemblage of horses, without a blacksmith or saddler within an equal distance. The gentlemen, dressed in shoepacks, moccasins, leather breeches, leggins, linsey hunting shirts, and all home-made; the ladies dressed in linsey petticoats and linsey or linen bedgowns, coarse shoes, stockings, handkerchiefs and buckskin gloves, if any. If there were any buckles, rings, buttons or ruffles, they were relics of old times—family pieces from parents or grandparents. The horses were caparisoned with old saddles, old bridles or halters, and packsaddles, with a bag or blanket thrown over them; a rope or string as often constituted the girth as a piece of leather.

The march, in double file, was often interrupted by the narrowness and obstruction of our horsepaths, as they were called, for we had no roads; and these difficulties were often increased, sometimes by the good and sometimes by the ill will of the neighbors, by felling trees and tying grapevines across the way. Sometimes an ambuscade was laid by the wayside, and an unexpected discharge of several guns took place, so as to cover the wedding party with smoke. Let the reader imagine the scene which followed this discharge; the sudden spring of horses, the shrieks of the girls, and the chivalric bustle of their partners to save them from falling. * * *

"Another ceremony commonly took place before the party reached the house of the bride, after the practice of making whiskey began, which was at an early period. When the party were about a mile from the place of their destination two young men would single out to run for the bottle; the worse the path, the more logs, brush and deep hollows the better, as these obstacles afforded an opportunity for the greater display of intrepidity and horsemanship. The start was announced by an Indian yell; logs, brush, muddy hollows, hill and glen were speedily passed by the rival ponies. The bottle was always filled for the occasion, so that there was no use for judges; for the first who reached the door was presented with the prize, with which he returned in triumph to the company. On approaching them he announced his victory over his rival by a shrill whoop. At the head of the troop he gave the bottle first to the groom and his attendants, and then to each pair in succession to the rear of the line, giving each a dram; and then, putting the bottle in the bosom of his hunting shirt, took his station in the company. The ceremony always preceded the dinner. During the dinner the greatest hilarity always prevailed, although the table might be a large slab of timber, hewed out with

a broadax, supported by four sticks set in auger-holes, and the furniture some old pewter dishes and plates; the rest, wooden bowls and trenchers; a few pewter spoons, much battered about the edges, were to be seen at some tables. The rest were made of horns. If knives were scarce the deficiency was made up by the scalping knives, which were carried in sheaths suspended from the belt of the hunting shirt. After dinner the dancing commenced, and generally lasted till the next morning.

Necessity and policy both demanded that the dress of men of that day, especially those in hunting and Indian fighting, should be simple and strong. It was, in reality, not unlike the dress of the Indians. Elaborate outfits were impossible and indeed would have been out of place on any kind of a hunt. Most men wore a hunting shirt. It was a loose garment reaching half way down the thighs, with large sleeves. It was made wide, so as to lap over a foot or more when belted. To this was a cape which covered the shoulders, and it was sometimes fringed with a raveled piece of cloth of different color from that of the shirt and cape. In the overlapping bosom of the shirt were crude pockets in which to carry chunks of bread, meat, tow for wiping the barrel of the rifle, or anything else which the hunter or warrior wished. The belt was tied, for there were no buckles, and it was always tied behind, and it answered several purposes, aside from holding the shirt together.

The bullet bag was generally in front and fastened to the belt. On the right side the tomahawk was suspended from it, while on the left side, it supported the scalping knife in its leather sheath. The hunting shirt and cape were generally made of linsey or coarse linen and sometimes of dressed deerskins. Deerskins were objectionable, for they were very cold and uncomfortable in wet weather. A pair of heavy drawers and leggins were the dress of the thighs and legs. Moccasins answered for the feet much better than shoes. They were made of dressed deerskin. They were mostly made of a single piece with a gathering seam along the top of the foot and another from the bottom of the heel, and made to gather and cover the ankle joint with flaps left on each side to reach some distance up the legs. They were drawn in tight against the ankles and legs by thongs of deerskin, so that no dust or snow could get into the moccasin. They were easily made, and almost every family had an awl for that purpose. The evenings were given in a great measure to this rude species of shoe-making. For socks, deer's hair or dried leaves were used, and when the moccasins were well stuffed with these the feet were comfortable in cold weather, but in wet weather moccasins were not much better than going barefooted, because the spongy nature of the leather ren-

dered them anything but waterproof. This defective covering of the feet in wet weather caused the greater number of the hunters and warriors to have rheumatism and all were apprehensive of it, and when possible they slept with their feet to the fire. This practice perhaps prevented many of them from becoming confirmed cripples. When thus afflicted they bathed the afflicted parts in hot water and rubbed them well with the oil of rattlesnakes, geese, bears, raccoons, groundhogs, etc. Coughs and pulmonary troubles were quite common in those days, because of the exposure to all kinds of weather. They treated them with syrups, the principal ingredients of which were spikenard and elecampane, both of which grew in abundance. They were very superstitious and resorted to a great variety of charms for the cure of diseases, as well as for other purposes. They had thus remedies which were efficacious against disease and burns, the latter being believed in even in our present generation. They had charms against bullets in battle, though that belief did not prevent them from placing still more reliance in a good-sized tree. Doddridge says that many believed that the "erysipelas or St. Anthony's fire was circumscribed by the blood of a black cat. Hence there was scarcely a black cat to be seen whose ears and tail had not been frequently cropped for contributions of blood." He also says that "the belief in witchcraft was prevalent among the early settlers of the western country. To the witch was ascribed tremendous power of inflicting strange and incurable diseases, particularly on children, of destroying cattle by shooting them down with hair balls, and a great variety of other means of destruction, of inflicting spells and curses on guns and other things, and lastly of changing men into horses, and after bridling and saddling them, riding them at full speed over hill and dale to their frolics and other places of rendezvous."

Wizards were men who were supposed to possess these same mischievous powers, but seldom exercised them for bad purposes. The wizard's power was exercised almost exclusively for the purpose of counteracting the evil influences of the witches. Doddridge says he has known several witch masters, as they were called, who publicly professed ability to cure diseases inflicted by witches, and that he knew respectable physicians who had no more to do from year to year in their business than the witch masters had in theirs. The diseases of children, supposed to be inflicted by witchcraft, were those of the internal organs, brain diseases and a trouble called the "rickets." Generally when the disease could be neither accounted for nor cured, it was ascribed to witchcraft. When cattle or dogs were supposed to

be under the influence of witchcraft they were burned in the forehead by a hot iron, or when dead were burned to ashes.

The hunters of that day did not hunt for pleasure alone. Small game, such as wild turkeys, pheasants, partridges, rabbits and squirrels, abounded in most woodlands, and in some localities were a nuisance to growing crops in fields nearby. To give some idea of game-hunting, let us quote from an old newspaper published in 1820. "On July 4, (1820) fourteen hunters, citizens of Donegal township, divided into two parties and commenced the pursuit of game. In the evening they met, and the scalps being counted, it appeared that they had killed 239 squirrels, 216 blackbirds, 255 ground squirrels, 258 woodpeckers, 7 groundhogs, 18 hawks, and 16 crows. Total, 1,009."

The "Farmers' Chronicle" of January 25, 1828, tells of a meeting of many citizens of the county, held at the house of Jacob Coon, in Unity township, to devise some means of destroying wild animals, mostly wolves and foxes, which had been committing great depredations among the sheep and poultry. At this meeting it was resolved that the citizens of Derry, Unity, Salem and Hempfield townships, and others, be requested to come out and form a circle around a district agreed on and to have a great circular hunt. The line from Greensburg to New Alexandria (nine miles) was to be under the captaincy of Peter George, John H. Wise, William McKinney, John Morrison, George Wallace, John Bigham, James Craig, James Kean and Jacob Frantz. The line then continued along the Loyalhanna to the mouth of the Nine Mile Run and up the run to Youngstown (nine miles), and was under the captaincy of James Moorhead, John Craig, Abram Mansfield, Daniel H. Barr, James Haney, Samuel Cockran, Edward Broden, William Johnston, James Guthrie, John Welsh, Robert Dixon, William Cockran and William T. Smith. The next line reached from Youngstown to Trauger's (seven miles) on the Buzzardstown road, under the captaincy of George Guiger, John Gibson, John Cline, Henry Trauger, John Ankerman, Archibald Shearer, William Dinsmore, John Brindle and Henry Fiscus. From Trauger's the line passed through Pleasant Unity and to Greensburg (eight miles) under the captaincy of Michael Poorman, Henry Graff, John Wilty, Robert Jamison, Solomon Camp, Daniel Barns, John Barns, Daniel Keehus, Eli Coulter, John H. Isett, Hugh Y. Brady, William F. Johnston and William Jack.

All citizens of the section outlined were invited to turn out and assist in the work. The four lines were to be drawn together to McKissocks, which was about the center of the district surrounded by the four lines. It was on the road leading from Johnston's or Shaef-

fer's mills to Greensburg. No one was to bring firearms nor were they to bring dogs unless they led them. Most of the hunters had tin horns and bells and other noise-making instruments. Peter George, Jacob Coon, James McGuin, Peter Bridge, Adam Coon, Jacob Markle, Robert Storey, Oliver Niccols and Peter Rogers were to stake off the meeting place and manage the final arrangements. To manage the hunt, superintend the lines and prevent disorder and confusion, Major John B. Alexander, Dr. David Marchand, Alexander Johnston, Captain Alexander Story, Jacob Eicher, George Smith, Major William Kean, John Chambers, John Markle and John Rogers were appointed. The reader will readily recall many of the above names as among the most prominent men in the county. Professional men and business men of Greensburg who perhaps had no personal interest in the matter turned out to assist and thus benefit their farmer neighbors.

From the same paper of February 8 we learn that the "Grand Hunt" was a great success. The concentration of the long lines began by slow regular steps and each man was expected to make all the noise he could, so as to drive all wild animals ahead of the line. It was a clear, bright morning. When they met in the center there were about two thousand five hundred men, and they had foxes running in every direction. There were thirty red foxes killed. The lines also enclosed a bear and a deer, but both escaped before the line was thoroughly guarded. Wild turkeys, pheasants and rabbits were passed by the score and very little notice was taken of them. But they did not secure any wolves.

Wolves were dangerous then. All wild animals were bolder and more likely to assault either man or beast a century or more ago than the same animals are now. This is due, as Mr. Roosevelt repeatedly notices in his "Winning of the West," to the fear which has been bred and born in the animals by generations of gun-bearing enemies. The only safety for a man pursued by a pack of wolves then was to climb a tree. They could not follow him there, but they frequently watched him till morning, and it was not a pleasant place to spend the night. An early settler named Christian Shockey, a resident of Unity township, was returning from a hunt one cold evening in the first or second year of last century. He was chased a long distance by a pack of wolves. He could have shot one of them, but he knew this would not arrest the pack, so finding no other way of escape he hurriedly climbed a tree. The hungry animals howled around the trunk of the tree all night. They would jump with jaws wide open, as far up towards him as they could and he could hear the sharp sound of their closing jaws. Far up the sides of the tree the bark, for years after-

wards, showed the marks of their teeth and claws. In the early morning they skulked off to their dens among the rocks and Shockey was permitted to come down and go home. Near Shockey's log house was a large spring which never froze over, though it was perhaps a rod and a half in diameter. In cold weather, when streams were frozen, the wolves came there for water and Shockey caught hundreds of them in steel traps and sold their skins. The spring even to this day is called Wolf Spring.

Shockey, as his name indicates, was a German, and we cannot pass him without a few observations as to his life and character. He was the son of a Revolutionary soldier, who had been wounded in the battle of Brandywine. Christian dealt in skins more or less all his life, trapping all the animals he could and purchasing much peltry from his neighbors. In 1807 he went to Hagerstown, Maryland, with two pack-horses laden with skins and furs. He had been a lifelong patron of Jacob Gruber's Hagerstown Almanac. Now that he was in the town where they were published, he determined to take a supply of them home with him and sell them to his neighbors. A dealer in Hagerstown offered them at a low price, much lower than he expected. So with an eye to a good business investment, he invested the proceeds of his skins largely in almanacs, printed some in German and some in English. But unfortunately when he reached home he found that they were not for 1808, as he had supposed, but for the current year 1807, which was then about closed, and he could not sell them. It is said that he bore it good naturedly and blamed only himself for not examining them more closely before purchasing them.

Since the wolves, as we have said elsewhere, lived mostly in dens among the rocks, the settlers close to the mountains were most subjected to their depredations. Both the State and county offered rewards for wolf scalps. In 1806 the reward was eight dollars in gold, and afterwards it was raised to twelve dollars. The premium offered for scalps in Westmoreland was much larger than it was in Somerset, though the animal was much more plentiful in the later county, for there were more mountains and it was not so thickly settled. So many old hunters baited the wolves near the county line, but on the Westmoreland side, thus drawing the animals to this county where the bounty was greater, for each hunter had to swear that the scalp was taken in the county where the bounty was demanded. One old hunter named Dumbold, of Somerset county, drew the carcass of a horse over to the Westmoreland side and then trapped ten wolves from it. In addition to the twelve dollars bounty, he readily sold the skins for one dollar each.

The country merchant was invariably the postmaster of the community or village. He kept an account of the letters sent from the post office and charged his patrons with those which were received, for the postage was then paid by the person who received the letter. So if the party to whom the letter was directed did not have the cash to pay the postage, it was charged to him on the books of the merchant, in the post office book however, as though he had received so much powder or lead. A post office book of accounts, kept by an old-time merchant in the first half of last century is now in possession of the writer. It is a home-made, red-lined book and was kept very neatly with a quill pen. It gives the names of the people receiving letters, the office or State from which they came, and the amount of postage charged, for this varied according to the distance the letter was carried. A letter from any office in the county cost six cents postage. One from Pittsburgh cost ten cents and sometimes twelve and a half cents, perhaps according to its size. From Ohio a letter cost eighteen and three-quarters cents; from New York, twenty-five cents. There are several charges of thirty-nine and a half cents, and opposite each the word "ship" or "England" is written, indicating that it came from a foreign land. Only about one letter in a hundred is charged as though written to a woman, and even these are almost invariably written to widows.



CHAPTER XXXI



EARLY ROADS

CHAPTER XXXI.

Early Roads.—The Old State Road; Amount Appropriated for It.—The First Carriage to Come West.—Stage Line to Chambersburg; An Early Trip Described.—The Modern Turnpike.—The Lincoln Highway; Rivalry Between It and Northern Pike Settled; Rates of Toll Charges.—Cost of Construction.—Villages Spring Up.—The Public Square; The Old Time Tavern.—Wagoning as a Business Declined with Building of the Railroad.

The road, now generally abandoned, but known as the Old State Road, was provided for by an act of assembly passed September 25, 1785. The act appropriated two thousand dollars to open this road from the western part of Cumberland county to Pittsburgh. This distance was over one hundred miles and the appropriation was therefore less than twenty dollars per mile. The act also provided for a commission to be appointed by a council to lay it out and stipulated that it should be as straight and in as direct a line as the mountains and hills of western Pennsylvania would admit. The right of way was to be sixty feet wide. The council had the right to refuse any location selected by the commission. The road was surveyed and laid out at once and that part of it lying east of Bedford, a very small part, was confirmed on November 24, 1787. The council refused to confirm the part west of Bedford and ordered that it be resurveyed.

The people of Western Pennsylvania, particularly those of Westmoreland county, which then included Pittsburgh, were greatly in need of the road. A second and then a third survey of part of it was ordered, and the survey of the western part was finally approved May 26, 1790. It was soon afterwards opened up for public travel, so that the date of its final construction may properly be said to be 1791. It passed over the Allegheny mountains and over Laurel Hill on a line that is practically parallel with the turnpike built later, now known as the Lincoln Highway. The reader will recall that the Forbes Road led from Bedford to Pittsburgh and may inquire why a new road was necessary. The explanation is that the Forbes road was a military road only, made for the sole purpose of transporting an army through a wilderness infested with a stealthy and barbarous enemy. As such, even a glance at the topography of the country through which it passed, will show that it was very wisely laid out. What Forbes mostly desired was to avoid the possibility of ambushes or surprises on the part of the Indians, and to

keep on the driest ground, for the summer of 1758 was a very wet one. So his road, which was often called the King's Road or the Great Road, was not suited for public travel in times of peace. It was so steep in places that wagoners tied trees to their rear axles and these, by dragging on the ground, enabled them to descend more slowly. The Braddock Road was laid out according to the same principles in engineering and for the same reasons, was equally objectionable as a highway in times of peace.

It was on the State Road, completed in 1791, that transportation by packhorses reached its highest point. It must have been a very imperfect one, for at twenty dollars per mile, the builder could do but little else than fell the timber in the way. This old State Road served its purpose, however, and over it came many settlers both for Westmoreland county and for the boundless West. In 1865, a mail route was established and carried over it regularly by express riders on horseback. Mail was, prior to this, very largely sent by private individuals who chanced to be going over the way. Many a letter now important to us as indicating the early conditions of our people, was carried across the mountains in the pocket of a casual traveler on this road or on the old Forbes Road.

Even after the turnpike was built, a very common way of traveling east or west was by walking. Many hundreds of people walked the entire distance between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, on a westward journey every year. Walking was of necessity more of an art then than now, and many who found it necessary to go east or west, made the journey in that way. The average pedestrian could walk thirty or more miles per day and could thus journey from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh in nine or ten days. It is needless to say that this method of travel was not undertaken by the wealthier people, nor was it done in those days for pleasure or exercise. If the pedestrian was a laboring man, known now as a day laborer, his time was worth only about 37½ cents per day. Boarding and lodging on the way, particularly in the country, was correspondingly cheap, hence many hundreds walked all the way.

Wagoners were hauling freight each way most of the year, and their demands brought good county inns all along the way, so that the traveler could find comfortable lodging and meals every few miles. Packhorses were sometimes, though not generally, used to transport passengers but they were mostly used in the transportation of freight. Wagons superseded them but the State Road was never piked and in the winter and spring it was almost impassable for wagons or carriages. There were but few of the latter passed over the mountains,

indeed there were scarcely any carriages in the county in that day. Colonel Morgan, the Indian agent referred to in former chapters, as having been appointed by Congress for this section, is generally regarded as the first man who crossed the Allegheny mountains in a carriage, but he did not traverse the State Road. The second carriage to reach Pittsburgh was that of Dr. Schoef, who was a German physician and a naturalist. He crossed the mountains as did Colonel Morgan, mainly by the Forbes Road, in 1783. After returning to Germany he, in 1788, published an account of his trip and it has been translated. He says that his carriage was a great curiosity all the way westward. As he passed the lonely cabins in the wilderness, the women and children came to look with wonder and admiration on this new and peculiar mode of travel. When he reached Pittsburgh his carriage was for days the chief object of interest in the village. He says that "many well dressed gentlemen and highly adorned ladies came to his tavern to see it."

All wagons and carriages of that day were necessarily very clumsy affairs. The tires of wheels were put on in sections, each section being about the one-eighth of the circle. These sections were bolted to the felloe or wooden part of the wheel. This method of construction alone necessitated very heavy wheels and all other parts of the wagon were made in proportion.

In 1805 and 1806 a regular stage line over the State Road was started from Pittsburgh to Chambersburg, where it connected with a similar line which had been operated for some years and which carried passengers from there to Philadelphia. The western line then was a primitive one indeed, but it was the embryo of the stage coach of a later period which played a very important part in the history and development of western Pennsylvania. The stage coach of 1806 carried the mail and was a great convenience to the people of Westmoreland. A journey from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh made on the State Road in 1808 is graphically described in a letter which came under the observation of the writer and is here given. The letter is dated from day to day beginning on September 14th, 1808, and reads as follows:

We left Philadelphia on the mail stage for Pittsburgh with one through fellow passenger, Mr. Bell, of Steubenville, Ohio, and two passengers for Lancaster, which city we reached at five p. m. After taking in two more passengers the stage drove ten miles further and brought us to a stopping place where we had comfortable quarters for the night. Thursday, the 15th, we passed through Elizabethtown, Middletown, Harrisburg, crossing the Susquehanna in twenty minutes.

After a ride over excellent roads which led through Carlisle and Shippensburg, we reached Chambersburg by nightfall. Before breakfast on Friday, the 16th, we started on our passage over the mountain range. The next fifteen miles our stage coach was drawn by six horses over rough and steep roads. It was dark when we reached our quarters for the night. We started at three o'clock Saturday morning, the 17th, and after six miles ride crossing the Juniata, reached Bedford. Here we met Mr. and Mrs. Zachary Biggs, of Steubenville, on their wedding journey; they were accompanied by the bride's sister, Miss Wilson, of Chester county. All this day our road lay across the Allegheny Mountains and we often got down from the stage to foot it at places where the road was steep in ascent and descent. At five o'clock we reached Somerset where we rested over Sunday. Monday, the 19th, we made an early start and by five p. m. reached Greensburg. On the road we passed Henry Stouffer in charge of four wagon loads of store goods for Pittsburgh merchants. It was court week in Greensburg and the town was crowded. An elephant was on exhibition there. Here we were glad to meet our friend, Mr. Ross, of Pittsburgh. In spite of rain and rough roads we reached Pittsburgh by five o'clock Tuesday afternoon, the 20th. Pittsburgh is a lovely place and extensive business and manufacturing are carried on. (Pittsburgh's population was about 4,000 in 1808.)

The building of a turnpike from the East is a very interesting period in our history. Not only is there a glamour of romance which surrounds the turnpike travel of 70 or 80 years ago, but turnpikes were of great commercial interest to the country through which they passed. The first to be constructed has been properly known as the Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, though its corporate name was "The President, Managers and Company of the Harrisburg and Pittsburgh Road." Its history dates back to the act passed by the Pennsylvania Legislature on the 24th of February, 1806, wherein the governor of Pennsylvania was authorized to charter a company to build a turnpike from the west bank of the Susquehanna at Harrisburg to Pittsburgh. The pike between Harrisburg and Philadelphia had been built before that, indeed it was the first great road built in the United States. The act of 1806 appointed commissioners in each county to look after and put under way the project of building the pike. Those appointed for Allegheny county were Nathaniel Irish, Thomas Beard, James O'Hara, Adamson Tannehill, John Woods and George Robeson. Those for Westmoreland county were Thomas Jones, William Jack, John Irwin, Hugh Martin, John M. Snowden, John Edgar, Joshua Budd, John Dailey and John Lobingier.

The route laid out in this act was so described that the road when completed, would begin at Philadelphia and pass through Lan-

caster, Harrisburg, Carlisle, Chambersburg, McConnellsburg, Bedford, Somerset and Greensburg to Pittsburgh.

By another act, a pike known as the Northern Turnpike was also authorized to be built from the East to Pittsburgh. This pike as laid out, left the Frankstown branch of the Juniata river and came to the Conemaugh river and thence across Westmoreland by Blairsville, New Alexandria, Delmont, etc., to Pittsburgh. Its course was almost over the route that was known earlier as the Frankstown road, and was opened up for travel in 1819. These roads or projected turnpikes naturally became rivals in their construction and this rivalry was such that it delayed the building of both of them, for it was plain that the sparsely settled community at that time could not afford two roads so close together and practically parallel with each other.

By an act for the construction of a turnpike generally within the Commonwealth, passed 2nd day of April, 1811, the Governor was authorized to subscribe \$300,000 in stock of any company as soon as \$150,000 should be subscribed to it by the citizens along the route or by those interested in its construction. The rivalry between these two companies was to secure the capital stock authorized by the Governor on the part of the State, and this delayed their construction. By a supplementary act of 1811, a committee of five was appointed, composed of Wilson McCandless, Adamson Tannehill, Nathan Beach, Robert Harris and John Schoch, they to determine which was the better route. These men went over both routes and made a report in which they favored the southern route, by way of Bedford, Somerset and Greensburg. By an act of November 8, 1815, this route was changed so as to pass through Stoyestown instead of Somerset, thus straightening it in that section. By a supplemental act passed on March 31st, 1807, a number of separate companies were incorporated in the several counties through which the road was to pass, the western section being known as the Greensburg and Pittsburgh Turnpike Company, and the next section to the East being known as the Greensburg and Stoyestown Turnpike Company. The intention of these divisions was to facilitate the subscriptions of stock along the route, and the act itself provided that when the work was completed, they should be united under the one name as above given. The act of April 2nd, 1911, also extended the time for the building of the turnpike for three years from date.

All along the route, books for the subscription of stock were opened and the farmers, merchants and men of smaller estate, subscribed their share of the entire stock. The pike was finally completed to Pittsburgh in 1817 and 1818, though parts of it along its

entire length were built and in use a year or more earlier. The legislature passed acts from time to time authorizing the governor to draw warrants in favor of the company for such parts of the road as were finished, and as soon as a section was finished it was put to use.

The name "turnpike" as applied to a road, originated from the pike or pole which was placed across the road at the toll house, which prevented the traveler from passing until he paid his toll, when the pike or pole was swung around and the traveler was allowed to pass through. Our old turnpike, as its name indicated, was a toll road and from the proceeds thus taken in, the stockholders were to be paid their dividends. The toll-gate keeper collected toll from all who passed over the road except from the officers and others who were entitled to free travel. Toll gates were located from ten to twelve miles apart, and though the rates may have varied somewhat under different management, the following list of rates does not vary much, if any, from the amounts charged throughout the entire length of the road. They were taken from an old rate bill now in possession of Mr. James M. Shields, of Pittsburgh.

Rates of toll on the turnpike road for every ten miles on said road:

For swine, sheep and cattle: For every score of swine, 6 cents.

For every half score of swine, 3 cents.

For every score of sheep, 6 cents.

For every half score of sheep, 3 cents.

For every score of cattle, 10 cents.

For every half score of cattle, 5 cents.

For every horse or mule, laden or unladen, led or drove, 6 cents.

For every sulky, chair or chaise with one horse, 12 cents.

For every chair, coach, phaeton, chaise, sulky and light wagon with two horses, 25 cents.

For either of them, with four horses, 50 cents.

For every other carriage of pleasure it may go to like sum according to the number of horses drawing the same.

For every sleigh or sled, for each horse, 6 cents.

For every cart, wagon or other carriage of burthen, the wheels of which do not in breadth exceed four inches, per horse, 12 cents.

* For every cart, wagon or other carriage of burthen, the wheels of which do exceed four inches, per horse, 8 cents.

And when any such carriage aforesaid, the whole or any part is drawn by oxen, two oxen shall be estimated as equal to one horse in charging the aforesaid toll.

Exception.—No toll shall be demanded from any person or persons passing or repassing from one part of their farm to another, nor for any person attending funerals, or going to and from places of worship.

The last clause exempting certain persons from paying toll was incorporated in an act of assembly authorizing the company. The stockholders never received dividends and the road was eventually put in sequestration. The shares of the State were sold to private individuals in the seventies and for a time they operated the pike, doing very little repair, yet charging tolls regularly. The income perhaps never repaid their outlay, for under the act of 1879, authorizing them to do so, the owners threw the greater part of the road on the several townships through which it passed.

Section 20 of the act of February 24th provided that all drivers, whether of burden or for pleasure, should keep to the right side of the road in the passing direction, except when overtaking and passing carriages of slower draft, leaving the other side of the road free and clear for wagons and carriages to pass and re-pass, and imposed a fine of not exceeding \$10.00 on any driver who should disobey this provision, the fine payable to the driver who should be obstructed by the disobedience of this clause.

The building of a turnpike road was quite an undertaking for that day and generation, fully as much so as the building of a railroad across the State is to-day. This pike was of great advantage to the people all along the line and it was particularly advantageous to Pittsburgh. It helped the entire Southwest more than any other means of transportation built prior to the construction of the Pennsylvania Railroad, unless it was the Pennsylvania Canal. Next to the National Road, advocated so long by the eloquent Henry Clay, it was the most complete road of any length in Pennsylvania in its day. Its advantages may be appreciated when compared with former roads as aids to transportation. On the old State Road it required six horses to haul a wagon laden with 3,000 pounds from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia, and required from twenty to thirty days to make the journey, according to the season of the year, but on the turnpike the same team could haul more than twice the weight and make the journey in but little over half the time.

The funds for building the turnpike were extremely limited. The road was built throughout its entire length about twenty-five feet wide, and some places it was wider than that. There were stone bridges over rivulets and creeks and many of these were made of solid masonry with arches; they are in most instances, in good condition yet. When one considers, therefore, that this pike of two hundred miles, the distance from Harrisburg to Pittsburgh, was completed for \$450,000, he will appreciate that the funds for its construction were

necessarily applied in the most economical way. Yet the reader must not forget that labor was very cheap. When the pike was built a day laborer thought himself well paid if he received 37½ cents for a day's work and they rarely ever worked less than eleven hours per day.

The bottom of the road was generally made of large stones laid somewhat according to the Telford plan of road building, with well broken blue rock or limestone on the top. The stone thus composing the road was about a foot and a half thick for its entire length. All along the pike, sprung up little towns, villages and hamlets, and these partook somewhat of the improvements of the day. The turnpike was so thoroughly constructed, carrying with it every evidence of permanency, that builders thought they might well expend enough on their new houses to have them in keeping with the progressive age that had suddenly come upon them. Prior to this the houses outside the larger towns, had generally been built of logs, but with the new age came brick and stone houses. Especially did this apply to the public houses or taverns which were built on the pike. Many specimens of these are yet standing, having withstood the storms of a century or more. They were built in advance of the style of their day and are yet in good condition generally.

When a village was laid out along the pike there was usually a public square in the center and at least two corners of this square were set apart for taverns. This was generally called a diamond, but it was not intended as a place of beauty as it usually is now, but was for a special purpose. In the public square the wagons laden with freight stood over night, and, as a general rule, in all kinds of weather, the horses were blanketed, fed and bedded there. Upon these wagons were transported nearly all of the goods between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. There was almost a continuous stream of four or six horse wagons laden with merchandise, going west and returning with the product of the Ohio valley to supply the eastern cities. These wagons journeyed mostly between Pittsburgh and Philadelphia and Baltimore. The wagoners generally stopped at a wayside inn which was less expensive than the inns in the towns. Wagoners cared little for style, but demanded an abundance, while stage coach passengers demanded both. The wagoner invariably slept on a bunk which he carried with him and which he laid on the floor of the big barroom and office of the country tavern. Stage drivers and their passengers stopped at the best hotels and paid the highest prices. For the purpose of feeding his horses in the public square, the wagoner carried

a long trough which at night he fastened with special irons to the wagon tongue, the end being held up by a prop. It was rarely ever that a team was fed in the middle of the day, the morning and evening meals being regarded as sufficient. There are but few old public squares which have not been thus filled to overflowing with wagons and horses. An old gentleman told the writer that he had once seen fifty-two wagons in an unbroken line going towards Pittsburgh on this pike. They were Conestoga wagons with great bowed beds covered with canvass. None of them were drawn by less than four, while many of them had six horses. The public square which kept them over night must have been a good sized one. The public squares on this turnpike were usually from three to four hundred feet long and from two to three hundred feet wide. Some of the older villages had two squares or diamonds, separated a short distance from each other, but this was generally brought about by a rivalry between two factions when the towns were laid out.

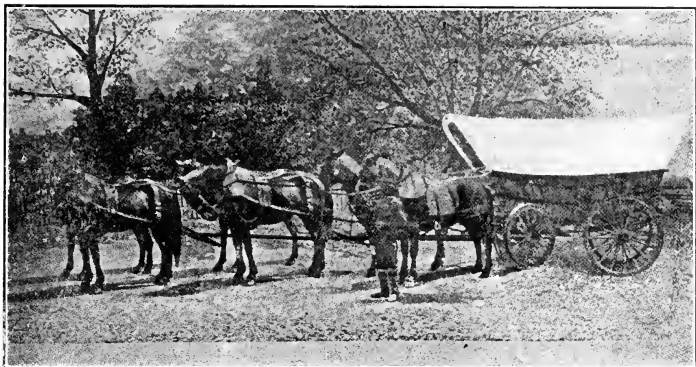
A requisite of the old fashioned wagon or stage town tavern or wayside inn was a large room used as an office and barroom and as a sleeping place for wagoners. In it was a large open fireplace which was abundantly supplied with wood in the early days and with coal later on. Around this, when the horses were cared for and the evening's diversions were over, the wagoners spread their bunks in a semi-circle in the winter with their feet toward the fire, for they were said to be greatly subjected to rheumatism, and this position was taken as a preventative. Colored men drove wagons sometimes but they never were employed as stage drivers. They stopped at the same taverns with the white wagoners but never, so far as can be learned, ate at the same table. Wagoning was very hard work in many ways. They drove in all kinds of weather and the descent of a mountain or long hill was often attended with great danger, especially when it was covered with ice. A day's journey for a regular wagoner when heavily laden was less than twenty miles, and one hundred miles a week was a splendid average. To urge his horses on and compel the lazy ones to pull their share, the wagoner used a tapering wagon whip of black leather, about five feet long with a plaited leather and silk cracker a foot or more long at the end. The best whips were called Loudon whips made in a little town of that name in Franklin county, where Fort Loudon had formerly been located.

The average load hauled was about 6,000 pounds for four or six horses. Sometimes four tons were put on, and even five tons which the wagoner boastfully called "a hundred hundred" were hauled, but these were exceptions. The wagons were made with broad wheels,

four inches or more, so that they would not "cut in" if a soft place in the road was passed. The standard wagon for heavy work was the "Conestoga." The bed was low in the center and high at each end. The lower part of the bed was painted blue. Above this was a red part about a foot wide which could be taken off when necessary, and this with the white canvass covering, made the patriotic tri-color of the American flag, though this was probably unintentional. Bells were often used in all seasons of the year, though not strings of bells such as were afterwards used in sleighing. The wagoners bells were fastened to an iron bow above the hames. The bells were pear shaped and very sweet toned. Perhaps they relieved the monotony of the long journey over the lonely pike.

Wagoners preferred to stop with a landlord who was a good fiddler, not a violinist as an old wagoner once told the writer, but "just a plain old fashioned fiddler." Then when the evening work of the wagoner was over, a dance in the dining room or office barroom was not an infrequent occurrence. Gathered together at one place were the young maidens of two or three nearby taverns, and other neighbors, and then, to the music of the landlord's fiddle came the Virginia hoe-down, the memory of which made the old wagoner's eyes sparkle with joy even when he was bent with the weight of four score years. The young wagoner who saved his money did not always remain a wagoner. Very soon he could own a team of his own, then another and another until he could purchase a farm with perhaps a "tavern stand" on it or engage in other business. Some of the wagoners became men of prominence as merchants and manufacturers in Pittsburgh or elsewhere. One of the best known wagoners between Pittsburgh and the East afterwards became a business man of high standing and wealth in Pittsburgh. On one occasion he said he had driven over the road many times and knew every man, woman and child on the way. "I was welcome everywhere and had plenty of enjoyment." "Indeed," said he, "those were the best days of my life."

Gears, not harness, was the name used in that day, and they were so large and heavy that they almost covered the horse. The backbands were often a foot wide and the hip straps as much as eight inches wide. The breeching of the wheel horses were so large and ponderous that they almost covered the hindquarters of a large horse. The housing was of heavy black leather and came down almost to the bottom of the hames. It required the strength of a man to throw them on the back of a large horse. The wagoner's saddle was made of black leather with long, wide flaps or skirts cut square at the bottom.



THE CONESTOGA WAGON IN EARLY TURNPIKE DAYS.

With the Conestoga wagons originated our modern "stogies" or cigars, which are so common in Western Pennsylvania, and which are now sent from Pittsburgh to every part of the union. They were made of pure home-grown Lancaster county tobacco, and being mostly brought here at first by the Conestoga wagoners, took the name "stogies," which clings to them yet. There was no revenue on them then and labor being cheap, they sold readily at three, four or five for a cent. The wagoner smoked a great deal which perhaps relieved the monotony of his life, but he very rarely drank liquor to excess, though whisky was only three cents per glass, and was free to him in most taverns. The landlords kept liquor, not to make money out of it, but to accommodate their guests. There was on the pike, it is said, an average of one tavern for every two miles between Pittsburgh and Bedford, yet all put together outside the city, did not sell as much liquor as one moderately well patronized house does now. In a corner of the barroom of the country tavern, was a small counter and back of this were kept several bottles labeled with the names of the liquor they contained. And this was the extent of the bar.

Even the best wagons of the early days were not supplied with brakes or rubbers to prevent the wagon from going too rapidly down a steep hill. The brakes were not in use at all until late in the history of the pike and were invented by a man named Jones in Brownsville on the National Road. They were never patented as they might have been, but came into general use soon after the inventor put them on

his own wagon. In place of this the early wagoner tied a flexible hickory pole across his wagon, so that the one end bore heavily on the wheel. Sometimes he cut a small tree which he tied to his rear axle and allowed it to drag behind, and thus he could drive down more safely. In the winter when the pike was covered with ice, he used a rough lock, a heavy link chain which he tied around the wheel and then tied the wheel when the rough chain touched the ground, so that the rough lock would drag and score the ground and thus hold the wagon back.

Wagoning as a business between the East and the West began about 1818 and reached its highest point about 1840, or perhaps a year or so later. With the building of the Pennsylvania Canal wagoning was greatly crippled, but in a few years had gained all it had lost by the increase of the population of the southwestern part of Pennsylvania. The business of the pike declined very rapidly when the Pennsylvania Railroad was built, so that in 1854 it was almost a feature of the past. Most of the elderly men of the last generation fixed the highest point of travel and transportation on the pike at about 1840. This was the year of the greatest political campaign in the nation's history, the Log Cabin Campaign, and is likely fixed by that event in the minds of the older inhabitants. There is no reason why more business should not have been done on the western end of the pike in 1842 or in any year up to 1846, or even up to 1851 or '52.

The times soon demanded more rapid methods of transportation between the East and West, and this was brought about by the Philadelphia and Pittsburgh Transportation Company. This company introduced a system of relays, that is, a change of horses about every twelve or fifteen miles, according to the grade of the pike. In this way, they kept a wagon going day and night from the beginning to the end of the trip. When a tired team reached a relay station, a new team and driver took the wagon and moved on at once. The tired horses rested and in a few hours took the returning wagon of the same company back over the route. Relay wagons were never heavily loaded, 4,000 pounds being the heaviest they carried. The driver was expected to make an average of two miles per hour. For freight thus delivered in less than half the time consumed in the old way, the merchants of both cities were willing to pay a much greater rate per ton.

To approximate the extent of the wagoning on the pike it is hardly fair to take the record of a gate-keeper close to Greensburg or to Pittsburgh or close to any populous community where the local travel was undoubtedly great. But the gate-keeper on the Chestnut Ridge, about forty-three miles east of Pittsburgh, thirteen miles east

of Greensburg, reported the following for the year ending May 31, 1818, which was the first year after the road was completed: Single horses, 7,112; one horse vehicles, 350; two horse vehicles, 501; three horse vehicles, 105; four horse vehicles, 281; five horse vehicles, 2,412; six horse vehicles, 298; one horse sleigh, 38; two horse sleds, 201; making a total of 38,599 horses for the first year of the pike. From March 1 to March 29, 1827, five hundred wagons passed a gate about ten miles west of Greensburg. On March 1, 1832, eighty-five wagons passed through the same gate, and on March 12, 1837, ninety-two wagons passed through it, though that was one of its best days. These wagons were often driven in companies of six or eight and sometimes many more. In this way they could assist each other in any misfortune that might befall them and thus they were company for each other at night. It was not unusual for a wagoner with a heavy load, to get two additional horses, making eight in all, to help him up Laurel Hill or up any steep grade. They were furnished at regular rates by a farmer or tavern keeper who lived near by, and who sent a boy along to bring back the team.

Another feature of the old turnpike days was driving horses, cattle and sheep and sometimes hogs to the Eastern market. Then, as now, the West raised more live stock than they needed and they were made to walk east in droves. By the West of that day is meant Ohio, Indiana and later Illinois. Men in the live stock business were called drovers. They bought up all kinds of stock and drove them east on the turnpike for Philadelphia and New York markets. Horses were taken east by the score, and even by the hundred in this way. They could be taken east almost any season of the year, for they could be stabled and fed at night. They were always led, that is a man rode one horse and led five or six others with halters. Hogs moved more slowly and droves of them were not so common, for they could be driven only eight or ten miles per day. Droves of cattle or sheep were very numerous during the summer months. They could be seen daily on the pike as they passed through the country, all going to the East. Sheep were taken in droves of from three to six or even ten hundred. They walked farther each day than hogs but not so far as horses or cattle. An average drove of cattle was about one hundred and fifty, sometimes many more but oftener less. They at first paid toll by the score, and less than a score passed free. So occasionally a drover took east a herd of nineteen to avoid the payment of toll, and this brought about a change in the rates which provided for the collection of toll for a half score. Small droves were the exception, for a large number could be driven with about the same help. The cattle were generally

full grown, perhaps from two to four years old. One large steer with a rope around his horns, was led by a boy and the rest followed him. After a few days driving they followed the leader as though they had been driven all their lives.

In that way oxen were used more or less to draw wagons and for farm work in place of horses. When a yoke of oxen became old they were frequently fattened and sent east with other cattle, so that a drove often included a number of very long-horned steers. Behind the cattle followed a driver who kept the lazy ones from lagging. The owner or drover usually rode on horseback and sometimes in a buggy. In the afternoon he went on ahead of the drove to look out a field of pasture, where his drove could be kept at night. They paid the farmer a price which varied, but it was generally about three cents per head per night. A drove of cattle, particularly if they were heavy animals, could not walk more than ten or fifteen miles per day. They plodded along and in a month or more from Western Pennsylvania reached the markets of Philadelphia, New York or Baltimore, and if they were fat enough, they were very soon slaughtered. As a general rule, they gained weight rather than lost on the way east, particularly if the pasture was good and the drover a careful one. The drover was paid in cash for his live stock and it was generally in gold, which he put into his saddle bags and rode home to purchase another lot. The young men who drove for him generally walked all the way home and tried to reach there by the time the drover had collected another lot of stock and was ready for the long journey eastward.

The plank theory of making roads became a prevailing one in Southwestern Pennsylvania in the late forties. Most country roads then led through regions abounding with timber. Small streams that are now almost dry for a greater part of the year, because the country has been denuded of its forests, then gave an abundant supply of water power to run a small saw mill. Labor was cheap and the trees were a complete bar to agriculture and had to be disposed of. When no water power was accessible a small steam engine was used to operate the saw mill. The result was that plank roads became very popular. They were made mostly of two-inch plank and laid cross-wise, resting on smaller plank as sleepers, which ran lengthwise. It was made very narrow, so that teams could scarcely pass each other without turning off the planked part of the road. For a short time the road was splendid, but the plank were soon warped by the rain and sun and the road became very uneven in most places. They were made largely of oak and other hard woods which soon decayed and by

that time the timber was too scarce to repair them. They were rapidly abandoned and for many years afterwards the crooked decaying plank could be seen lying in piles by the roadside. The longest of all plank roads was one which began at Pittsburgh, then ran up the Monongahela and up the Youghiogheny rivers to West Newton and thence across Westmoreland by the way of Mendon, Mount Pleasant, Laurelville, etc., thence up the Chestnut Ridge to Donegal and up the Laurel Hill mountain past the Big Spring property, thence down the eastern slope to Bakersville, Lavansville and Somerset and on to Cumberland, Maryland. This was planked imperfectly. In many places they dug up the original roadbed, spoiling it for driving until it was afterwards rebuilt, when the plank were no longer used. This road, the planked part, was very narrow, perhaps not over eight feet. The road was almost perfect at first in dry weather but it did not last and soon became worse than it was before. None of the plank roads, so far as we can learn, were successful. They were toll roads but never paid dividends, or at least none worth speaking of.

The National Road, often erroneously called the National Pike, did not touch Westmoreland county, but passed over Somerset, Fayette and Washington counties. It was by far the greatest road ever constructed in the United States. It was thought of by other men but the project was promptly taken up and put through by Henry Clay, whose shrewdness and foresight convinced him of the great advantage it would be to the country at large. The bill providing for it was introduced in the National Congress in 1806. Mr. Clay advocated it from the first and followed it so persistently that it practically became his idea and he is generally regarded as its author and father. It met with much opposition. It was the first of the nation's real public improvements. It was to begin at Baltimore and come west across Southwestern Pennsylvania and cross the Ohio river at Wheeling, and then cross Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and to cross the Mississippi river. It was bitterly opposed, but was successful mainly because of Mr. Clay's advocacy and personal popularity. Work was begun on it and it reached a point west of the Allegheny mountains in 1818. From the first it was free from toll.

The modern reader may marvel at the opposition. Henry Baldwin, taking all in all, was probably as strong in Congress as any man ever sent there from Pittsburgh. He was elected three times and resigned when appointed a member of the Supreme Court of the United States. He opposed its construction most vehemently. When he returned to Pittsburgh, passing over our old pike, the people assem-

bled by the thousand to welcome him. They had messengers along the pike to give signals as his carriage approached the city, so that they could turn out to properly welcome him, all because he had made a valiant fight against the National Road project, the pet idea of Henry Clay. The Pittsburgh people and the people mostly from Western Pennsylvania reasoned that the road, if built, would undoubtedly divert trade from the Southwest, taking to Baltimore freight which would otherwise have come up the Ohio river to Pittsburgh, and have gone thence east by our pike or by the Pennsylvania canal to Philadelphia. All the States were to help to build the National Road, and yet its location, they thought, would work special injury to Pennsylvania. Furthermore, Pennsylvania had built its own turn-pike from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, at a very great expense, so great, indeed, that they could not afford to make it free of toll, yet the National Road, which they were to assist materially in constructing, was free of toll, and that feature alone would injure the pike built by Pennsylvania. Mr. Baldwin claimed that each State should build its own road as Pennsylvania had done, and by all means that our people should not be asked to assist in building a road which only passed through the extreme southwest corner of the State, the main object of which would be to divert the trade from our section and carry it directly from Wheeling to Baltimore. So the people called mass meetings, signed petitions and sent all manner of memorials to Congress in opposition to the National Road, and did this as they thought purely as a matter of justice and self-defense. They welcomed Baldwin as the champion of their rights, and the ovation on his return was, perhaps, all things being considered, such as was never given to any member of Congress on his return to his home town. The matter of our pike being a toll road and the National Road being free of toll, was really an important matter. There was scarcely any money in the community at that time. A day's labor of at least twelve hours was worth less than fifty cents, perhaps about thirty-seven and one-half cents. Yet the toll from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia and back, for a narrow wheeled wagon, was \$29.30, and for a broad wheeled wagon was \$19.20, for the ancestor in that respect knew better than we how to preserve a road.

But, nevertheless, the National Road was finally completed and the largest meed of credit has always been given and justly so, to the matchless advocacy of Henry Clay. But if Pittsburgh was despondent, Wheeling was overjoyed with the National Road scheme, for at that city it crossed the Ohio river. They expected the

trade to come up the Ohio and at Wheeling take the National Road to the eastern cities. Wheeling, as they thought, would thereafter be at the head of navigation on the Ohio, and that Pittsburgh had seen its best days. A Wheeling paper of that day voiced the general sentiment when it said editorially, "Poor Pittsburgh: your day is over; the scepter of influence and wealth is to travel to us." It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that Pittsburgh united in opposition to the National Road, the first of our great internal improvements, and demanded and applauded the same hostility on the part of her representative in Congress.



CHAPTER XXXII

MAJOR-GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR

CHAPTER XXXII.

The following sketch of Major-General Arthur St. Clair was written by the author of this work for the Daughters of the American Revolution of New York City, and by them published in pamphlet form in 1910. It is herein reprinted with but few minor changes:

"I hold that no man has a right to withhold his services when his country needs them. Be the sacrifice ever so great, it must be yielded upon the altar of patriotism."

That these were not idle words but a deep felt conviction on the part of St. Clair, when he left his home and family to enter the Revolution, his whole life is replete with indisputable testimony. To refresh in the memory of the reader a few incidents in the life of this heroic character, is the object of this brief sketch.

Arthur St. Clair was the son of William and Margaret (Balfour) St. Clair, and was born at Thurso Castle, in Scotland, on March 23, 1734, old style. His family was of Norman origin and became one of the most noted in British history. In the line of his ancestry were knights, barons, earls and princes, many of whom had battled for English and Scotch supremacy, and whose names have been preserved for centuries in the poetic and legendary lore of English story. Many poets sang of their illustrious deeds, and the sweetest singer of them all tells in "The Song of Harold" how the Orcades were once held under the princely sway of the St. Clairs:

Then from his seat, with lofty air,
Rose Harold, bard of brave St. Clair;
St. Clair, who, feasting with Lord Home,
Had with that lord to battle come.
Harold was born where restless seas
Howl round the storm-swept Orcades;
Where once St. Clair held princely sway
O'er isle and islet, strait and bay;
Still nods their palace to its fall,
Thy pride and sorrow, fair Kirkwall.

By the reverses of fortune on the part of their immediate forbears, his parents had lost their extensive ancestral possessions and at the time of his birth were without great influence at the court of St. James or in Scotland. The remnant of the original estate once held by William St. Clair was moreover entailed by the laws of primogeniture, so that Arthur, the youngest son, could not hope to inherit even a part of the encumbered possessions. His education therefore was to fit him for a profession, and in early manhood he entered the University of Edinburg, intending later to take up the study of medicine. On the death of William St. Clair, the young student removed to London, that he might have the benefit of a hospital practice in the world's greatest metropolis. There he entered the office of Dr. William Hunter, then regarded as one of the first physicians of the city. His Scotch biographers claim that about this time he spent considerable time as a student in Paris.

But about that time a war broke out between England and France, the American part of which is known as the French and Indian War. Murray, Monckton and the brave romantic young Englishman, General James Wolfe, were raising an army to carry the war against the French on the St. Lawrence river in Canada, the whole of which was then under the dominion of Louis the XV. William Pitt had succeeded the weak Duke of Newcastle as premier of England, and almost the first work of his great administration was to inspire the young Briton with faith in the new ministry. War was shaking both Europe and America. The streets of London were filled with the sound of the bugle and the measured tread of the grenadiers. Energetic young men from every calling in life were anxious to abandon their pursuits and enlist in the service of the crown. St. Clair, like many other talented youths, could not resist. His mother having died the year previous, upon securing an ensign's commission, dated May 13, 1757, he sailed for America with Admiral Edward Boscawen's fleet, the same which brought to our shores the historic army of General John Forbes. He was in the army of General Jeffrey Amherst, whose object was the capture of the strongholds on the St. Lawrence, and in the division of the army that was commanded by General James Wolfe. His first experience in arms was therefore at the battle at Louisburg, Canada, in 1758. On April 17, 1759, he was made a lieutenant and held that rank when the army to which he was attached engaged in one of the most daring and romantic military expeditions in American history. He was with the army when under the cover of darkness it silently floated down the St. Lawrence and landed under the shadowy Heights of Abraham, since known as Wolfe's Cove. He heard Wolfe repeat the "Elegy in a Country Church-yard," which the poet Gray had just published to the world, of which the general said he would rather be the author than to take Quebec:

The curfew tolls the knell of parting day,
The lowing herd winds slowly o'er the lea,
The plowman homeward plods his weary way,
And leaves the world to darkness and to me.

He was with them, too, when they clambered up the hitherto impossible Heights, and was near the brave young Englishman when he received his death wound; when the shout of victory recalled for a moment his departing spirit, and was with him when he died with the song of battle on his lips at the very moment of success.

The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike the inevitable hour,
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.

More than this, to add to his superior military training, he was with the Sixtieth Royal American Regiment, which had been organized by the Duke of Cumberland for services in the Colonies, and in the same battalion was Charles Lawrence, Robert Monckton, James Murray and Henry Bouquet, names without whose brave deeds the French and Indian War would be tame indeed.

When Quebec was captured from the French the fortress was garrisoned by the English, and St. Clair, among other young officers, remained with the army. After a few months' occupation, a part of the Sixtieth Regiment was sent to Boston. St. Clair accompanied them, bearing letters and documents for General Thomas Gage, his kinsman. While stationed there he became acquainted with Phoebe Bayard, with whom he was united in marriage at Trinity Church, Boston, on May 15, 1760, by the rector, Rev. William Hooper. Phoebe Bayard, born in 1733, was the daughter of Balthazar Bayard and Mary Bowdoin, who was a half-sister of Governor James Bowdoin, of Massachusetts. With his wife St. Clair received a legacy of about 14,000 pounds, indeed a princely fortune, as fortunes were in those days.

Their social standing opened to them every avenue of cultured association in Boston. His wife was related to the foremost families of that city and of New York, the Winthrops, Jays, Verplancks, and Stuyvesants, and St. Clair's own connection with General Gage, the commandant of Boston, added military luster to their prospective future.

The French and Indian War was terminated in 1764, but after the victory at Quebec the English army had not been so active and St. Clair resigned his lieutenancy in 1762. For a few years they remained in Boston and with their position and wealth, a life of affluence, either there or in Scotland, was easily within his grasp. But the same spirit which prompted him to turn his back upon the culture of his native land, pushed him westward, and as early as 1765 a military permit to a tract of land near Fort Pitt, now Pittsburgh, was granted to him by General Gage.

For years after the French were expelled from the Ohio Valley by General John Forbes, the English government, and later the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, were compelled to garrison Fort Pitt and keep up a road and a line of forts connecting it with the East. St. Clair was accordingly in command of Fort Ligonier in 1767, and from that time on was a citizen of Westmoreland county, first in a military capacity and later as agent of the Penns.

Cumberland was then the most western county and he was appointed a justice of that county for its western districts. In 1770, when Bedford county was formed, he was given the same position and was also appointed the first prothonotary and clerk of courts of the new county.

But by this time Pittsburgh was building up and the country between the Ohio and the Allegheny mountains, along the Forbes road, was rapidly being settled. St. Clair, who vigilantly watched the interests of the Penns, readily saw that what the western section needed most was the formation of a county west of the Allegheny mountains. To this he bent his energies in 1771 and 1772, and in February, 1773, succeeded in the formation of Westmoreland county. It included Pittsburgh, but its temporary county seat was at Hannastown, about thirty miles to the east. Again he was appointed prothonotary and clerk of courts of the new county. By this time he and his family had located near old Fort Ligonier, where he owned large tracts of land,

and from which place nearly all of his extensive correspondence with the Penns and others is dated.

St. Clair, owing to his thorough education, to his military service under the romantic Wolfe and to his prominence, was easily the most distinguished man west of the Allegheny mountains. In the almost constant warfare with the Indians he was looked to by the pioneers not only for protection in their home defenses, but to plead their cause before the Proprietaries for assistance in building roads, forts and blockhouses, and in patrolling the entire district with regular soldiers or with armed militia.

When added to this constant danger from Indian outbreaks, came Dunmore's War in 1774, all turned to St. Clair as the one above all others who should take charge of the home forces and also of the troops of the Province in defending this section from the invading enemy. The great work which he performed in this war and its effect on our people has been set forth in its proper place in former pages. It is likewise needless for us in this sketch to refer at length to his connection with the Hannastown declaration of independence, so celebrated in our history, for it has also been treated of in former pages.

St. Clair's work in the Revolution can be accurately traced from the histories of that period. His correspondence with the leading men of Boston, Philadelphia and New York, shows conclusively that though he had been an English army officer, there was not the least danger of his becoming a Tory, but on the contrary that he had most radical views on the impending difficulty between Great Britain and the Colonies. The impartial reader cannot but regard his espousal of the American cause as one of the most independent and significant acts in his eventful life. The centuries of royal blood in his veins, his every tie of kindred and youthful affiliation, his services in the royal army and his long and intimate association with the Penns and other Tories of Philadelphia, apparently bound him indissolubly to the English cause. But these were as gossamer threads to him when they conflicted with the rights of the oppressed Colonies. It has been said of him that, "When he drew his sword he threw away its scabbard."

In 1775 the Indians in the West were very troublesome and had repeatedly adopted Pontiac's tactics in making long raids on the East. Congress therefore appointed commissioners, Judge Wilson, of Pennsylvania, Morris, of New York, and Walker, of Virginia, to treat with them. St. Clair, who had gained high standing with the tribes, was made secretary of the commission. The conference was barren of immediate results, and St. Clair was appointed to raise an army to chastise the Indians in the region of Detroit. They gave him no financial aid, but that never mattered with St. Clair. He enlisted about four hundred and fifty men who were to furnish their own arms, horses, forage and provisions, to march at once.

At that time General Benedict Arnold was storming Quebec and all interests centered there. When Arnold's expedition failed St. Clair went to Philadelphia to urge his project before the Continental Congress. But instead of sending him and his army to Detroit, he was called into the Revolution, where it was thought he would be of

greater use. In this way he entered the Great War, entering under the commission of a colonel in the Continental army. His first assigned duty was to make arrangements and preparations for war rather than to actively engage in it. His duties were in and around Philadelphia, where he recruited, drilled and provisioned volunteers. He was forced to advance money which was never fully paid back to him.

His first duty in the actual field of war was to take six full companies to Quebec, where Arnold was in dire straits. General Montgomery, first in command, was killed, and was succeeded by Arnold, who being severely wounded, was succeeded by Thompson, after whose early death came General Sullivan. It will be remembered that St. Clair had spent over a year in the Quebec region under General Wolfe and was quite familiar with all points on the St. Lawrence river. He suggested a fortification on a point at Three Rivers to prevent the British transports from reaching Quebec. His plan was adopted and he was appointed to guard the point. Sullivan afterwards reinforced St. Clair's army with Thompson's troops, but they were all beaten back to their original positions. Though unlooked for misfortunes alone prevented their victory, they retired from Canada with colors flying.

The battle at Three Rivers and the retreat, managed by St. Clair, has been the admiration of military writers ever since and one of them has considered Three Rivers as one of the best contested fields, from a scientific military standpoint, among all the battles of the Revolution. No campaign in the great war shows more military genius or more personal heroism. Mr. James M. Swank in his sketch of St. Clair says, "In this campaign St. Clair acquitted himself with credit in aiding to save Sullivan's whole army from capture. For this service he was appointed a brigadier-general."

St. Clair's army was next at Ticonderoga, where on July 28, 1776, he read to his soldiers the Declaration of Independence. In his report he says, "They threw their hats in the air and cheered for the United Colonies."

In August, when he was made a brigadier-general, he was called to Washington's army, then in his well-managed retreat before General Howe across New Jersey. He was now for the first time under the eye and direct command of the great chief and fought under him at White Plains. He was with the army on the stormy night in December, when they crossed the Delaware on their march to Trenton, and in conjunction with General Sullivan commanded the division of the army which took the river road from the crossing to Trenton, Washington and General Nathanael Greene leading the other division. He shared, in no small degree, the victory over the Hessians, and no battle in the Revolution did as much to strengthen the cause of the Colonies as this.

It is claimed by all of St. Clair's biographers and also by St. Clair himself that he suggested to Washington the movement of the army which culminated in the victory at Princeton a few days later. The great historian, George Bancroft, labors vainly to prove that this claim

is without foundation, and without apparent reason, save to glorify Washington. Like many writers, he seems partial to the great chief. He bases the theory that Washington conceived this movement on the report of the march, but the report does not cover the origin of the plan and there is no authority to refute St. Clair's positive statement, which is corroborated by a number of the staff officers. It is not denied, however, that General St. Clair directed the details of the march and that his brigade, composed of New Hampshire, Connecticut and Massachusetts troops, with two six-pounders, marched at the head of the advancing army with Washington. For St. Clair's part in these two battles he was made a major-general on February 19, following, on the recommendation of Washington. It may be mentioned in this connection that he was the only officer from Pennsylvania who became a major-general during the Revolution; others were brevetted when the war closed, but to him alone came this honor during its continuance.

The outlook for the Colonial army in the summer of 1777 was a very gloomy one. The soldiers were but half clothed, half fed and almost ready to disband. This condition of affairs moved the British to greater efforts, hoping thereby to stamp out the rebellion at once. They set about to divide the Colonies by a line of English fortresses going up the Hudson, thence by Lake George and Lake Champlain to the St. Lawrence river. General Burgoyne's army was already in Canada and he was instructed to march south by the lakes and unite with Sir Henry Clinton's army which was to pass up the Hudson from New York. This, we need scarcely add, would have hopelessly divided the Colonies, and by stopping all communications between them, would probably have compelled our armies to disband. Ticonderoga, the same which Ethan Allan had captured, and which Francis Parkman calls the "School ground of the American Revolution," was then in possession of the Colonists, and is situated between Lake Champlain and Lake George. The tenure of this post by the American army prevented a confluence of Burgoyne's forces marching south, with those of Clinton marching north. A quarrel between General Schuyler and Gates necessitated a new commander. Congress, perhaps because of St. Clair's newly won laurels, though some of his biographers say, to sacrifice him, sent him to take command of Ticonderoga and hold it at all hazards. He was given two thousand and two hundred men in all, a force that was entirely inadequate, though it was probably all that the weak army could furnish.

Many victories in the Revolution were won by taking desperate chances, and no one was more willing to make the sacrifice, with even the slightest hope of success, than St. Clair. Burgoyne's army came down the lake and attacked Ticonderoga in June, 1777. Near by was a high, rocky promontory since called Mount Defiance, which overlooked and practically commanded the fort. This was inaccessible to the Continental army because of their weakness, and, moreover, St. Clair's army was too small to occupy and hold Ticonderoga and Mount Defiance both. General Arnold a few months before this had asked for not less than twenty thousand men to hold it. Burgoyne

found that he could not capture Ticonderoga without fortifying Mount Defiance. He therefore, through the suggestion of the German military expert, Reisidel, by means of ropes and tackle, hoisted cannon to its crest and placed there sufficient arms and men to overcome the fort below. The French, English and American officers had all regarded Mount Defiance as inaccessible to heavy artillery, but now the top of the mountain bristled with English guns.

St. Clair and his officers agreed at once that against such a fortification even ten thousand men could not hold Ticonderoga and that his army must either retreat or be captured. The army retreated the following night, going towards Hubbardton and Castleton, thirty miles away. The British followed them and several small engagements ensued in which St. Clair lost heavily. But to follow his divided forces, Burgoyne was compelled to divide his army. As St. Clair's men retreated they blocked the way with deep ditches, destroyed bridges, felled timber, etc., making it still more difficult to pursue them. St. Clair's soldiers formed a nucleus to which Generals Horatio Gates and Arnold added their forces and all under Gates attacked Burgoyne. Clinton's army, with provisions, was delayed in its journey up the Hudson, and in the meantime the forces under Gates were increased daily by hardy volunteers, so that in a few weeks the entire army of Burgoyne, waiting for Clinton's tardy relief, was forced to surrender at the battle of Saratoga, though Clinton was then less than fifty miles away. Creasy has seen fit to include this as one of the "Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World."

Reporting the surrender of Ticonderoga and the retreat, St. Clair wrote these words: "I know I could save my reputation by sacrificing the army; but were I to do so, I should forfeit that which the world could not restore and which it cannot take away, the approbation of my own conscience." On July 14, before Burgoyne's victory, he wrote to Congress, "I have the most sanguine hopes that the progress of the enemy will be checked and I may yet have the satisfaction to experience that by abandoning a post I have eventually saved a State." This proves almost conclusively that St. Clair foresaw a brilliant victory over the English and was willing to sacrifice himself, if by so doing he could save his army from capture and thus assist in bringing about the great victory.

All blame for the loss of Ticonderoga was for a time put on St. Clair, who explained the matter to Washington and Jay, and quietly asked for a court of inquiry. A very able one was finally granted with Major-General Benjamin Lincoln as president. They heard the evidence and in their findings entirely exonerated St. Clair "of all and every charge against him with the highest honor." Then the tide turned somewhat in his favor. The people saw that as a direct result of his surrender, the English army had sustained the heaviest loss ever known in America, this, after all their preparations and glowing prospects, and that the Colonies were yet intact. St. Clair was warmly congratulated by the leading men of the Nation, but the letter from Lafayette was perhaps the most cherished of all. "I cannot tell you," wrote the illustrious Frenchman, "how much my heart was interested

in anything that happened to you and how much I rejoiced, not that you were acquitted, but that your conduct was examined."

St. Clair was criticised for retreating before he was attacked. His only alternative was to remain as General Greene did shortly before at Fort Washington, and like Greene, needlessly sacrifice his entire army, which, by retreat, might have been saved to the Colonies. Upon several occasions, had Washington not retreated before he was attacked, his army would have been captured. Indeed, one of the great chief's strongest points as a general was his ability to evade a contest and extricate his army, when there could be but one result if he were indiscreet enough to give battle.

Let us look further into his reasons for retreating, for the facts brought out by the court of inquiry speak very eloquently in favor of St. Clair. Burgoyne's army, when he met St. Clair, numbered 7,863, while St. Clair had less than 2,200, all of whom were ill-fed and but half clad. Burgoyne surrendered 142 heavy guns, while St. Clair had less than 100 second-rate cannon of various sizes, and they were served by inexperienced men. It is scarcely necessary to defend his retreat in this age of general intelligence. The United States Gazette, in speaking of his defense before the court of inquiry, said: "His defense on that occasion is still extant, and exhibits a sample of profound generalship. While the English language shall be admired, it will continue to be an example of martial eloquence." It is easy now to see the wisdom of St. Clair's retreat, rather than to surrender his entire army, in which case Burgoyne's defeat could not have been brought about.

After this he was with the army at Brandywine and Valley Forge and was then detailed to organize Pennsylvania and New Jersey troops and send them to the front. When Arnold turned traitor Washington scarcely knew whom to trust, but with implicit confidence he selected St. Clair to take charge of West Point. He was then selected with Greene, Lafayette, Clinton, Knox, Stark, etc., as a member of the most noted military jury that ever sat in this country, to try the unfortunate Major André. They were selected because of their high character both as soldiers and civilians and because they were educated in the military history of Europe. They reported that André should be considered as a spy and should suffer death.

It is usual to consider St. Clair as a military character only, while in reality he was one of the statesmen of the Revolutionary period and united a very extensive knowledge of letters, of history and of the classics, with his military life.

Shortly after the close of the Revolution he was selected as a member of the Executive Council of his State, and in 1785 was elected as a member of Congress. Even in the Council and in Congress, before party lines were drawn, he began to take sides and express views afterwards adopted by the Federalists. In 1787 he was elected President of Congress, the highest office in the government, a position which can be compared only with that of President of the United States. The latter office was created by the Constitution in 1787, which abolished the office of President of Congress. While President

of Congress he resided in Pottsgrove, now Pottstown, Pennsylvania. The house in which he resided is yet standing, and as he was then the executive head of the new Nation, the old building has been fondly called the "First White House" by the people of Pottstown.

It was the Congress over which he presided which provided for the convention by which the Constitution of the United States was formed.

Under the celebrated Ordinance of 1787, he was appointed Governor of the Northwestern Territory, the appointment being made by Congress. This territory embraced all the country belonging to us west of Pennsylvania and north of the Ohio river, and forms the present States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, which now have a population of quite twenty millions. His prerogatives as Governor were very extensive. He was not only the executive officer of the territory, but the law-giver as well. He appointed all judges and these in council with himself had the power to make laws for the government of the territory. He erected counties and named them, appointed officers, built forts, founded and named towns and held treaties with the Indians. Going down the Ohio river in 1791, he arrived at Fort Washington and around it organized Hamilton county, naming it after the great constructive statesman, then Secretary of the Treasury. To the town around the fort he gave the name of Cincinnati, after the society by that name consisting of officers of the Revolution, of which he was president of the Pennsylvania division.

His administration in Ohio Territory is too extensive a subject to be reviewed in this brief sketch. Governor Nash, at the Centennial of Ohio's Statehood said, "Our grandest glory arises from the fact that we have faithfully kept, during these 100 years, all the precepts of the best law ever formed for the government of mankind, the great Ordinance of 1787, in making of which St. Clair took an active part."

In all this new country he again encountered hostile Indians who, having been driven westward, were then constantly committing depredations on the Ohio frontier. General Josiah Harmer was accordingly sent out in 1790 to subdue them, but his army was badly defeated. In 1791 St. Clair was appointed commander-in-chief of the army and vested with a corresponding military power in the territory. An army of two thousand regular troops was at his disposal, and he had authority to increase it as he saw fit, by calling out the militia.

In September, 1791, the army was assembled at Fort Washington, now Cincinnati. It was not by any means an ideal army, though there were three regiments of regulars in the infantry, two companies in the artillery and one of cavalry. As they journeyed towards the enemy about six hundred militia joined them, though by St. Clair's proclamation, all should have been with them at Cincinnati, and should have been subjected to the severest discipline. The march began on September 17, and as usual, in new countries, the army had to cut roads through the wilderness, which made its progress necessarily slow. On the Big Miami river they erected Fort Hamilton, some distance farther on they erected Fort Washington, and still later Fort Jefferson. At each post a small garrison was left, for they were near-

ing the Indian country. Shortly after they left Fort Jefferson one of the militia regiments deserted bodily. Washington Irving, in his admirable "Life of Washington," in referring to these militia, says, "They were picked and recruited from the worst element in Ohio. Enervated by debauchery, idleness, drunkenness and by every species of vice it was impossible, in so short a time, to fit them for the arduous duties of Indian warfare. They were without discipline and even the officers were not accustomed to being under a commander." Such men were useless in a campaign, yet St. Clair was forced to send the First Regiment after the deserters to prevent their waylaying the belated provisions, which was their avowed intention, and of which his men were in urgent need. His effective army yet numbered about fourteen hundred and moved to a point near the headwaters of the Wabash river, now in Mercer county, Ohio. It was supposed that the main body of the Miami tribe of Indians was about twelve miles from the encampment. Here they meant to entrench themselves and build such fortifications as would protect them while they awaited the arrival of the First Regiment with the deserting militia. They encamped late and weary on November 3, and the general, with the engineers, immediately laid out plans for the proposed "works of defense" which they were to erect the day following.

St. Clair knew that his army was not in proper condition to meet the Indians, but the matter was urgent, for, emboldened by Harmar's defeat, the enemy was almost daily committing depredations on the settlers. He had learned in the Revolution that a weak army can sometimes overcome a strong one, or by desperate effort, grasp victory from defeat. There is no doubt that he could have conquered the enemy, with a reasonable time given to discipline his army, but winter was fast approaching, supplies were scarce, the sturdy settlers were calling for relief, the government at Philadelphia had urged him to immediate action. "The President urges you," wrote the Secretary, "by every principle that is sacred, to stimulate your exertions in the highest degree and move as rapidly as the lateness of the season and the nature of the case will possibly admit." There was nothing left for him to do but to go against them at once.

A short time before the break of day on November 4, the general had the reveille sounded, which brought all troops to line ready for action. Thus they watched till the sun arose, when, there being no sign of danger reported by the outposts, the troops were dismissed to get rest and breakfast. But they had scarcely disbanded when a scattering volley of rifle shots came from the front. The Indians, having found the army in battle array, had delayed the attack until it broke ranks. At once the drums beat, and the officers formed their ranks in line. The Indians, with their cunning, fired first on the militia, which at once fell back in confusion on the regulars. They were followed by swarms of Indians some of whom ran beyond the first ranks and tomahawked officers and soldiers who had been carried back to have their wounds dressed. The confusion was terrible.

St. Clair was suffering from a fever. Irving says: "The veteran St. Clair, unable to mount his horse, was borne about on a litter, and

preserved his coolness in the midst of the peril and disaster, giving his orders with judgment and self-possession." By his own suggestion he was carried to a place where the firing seemed heaviest, and where Colonel Drake, a Revolutionary officer of great bravery and experience, was trying to overcome the confusion and hold his lines steady. St. Clair directed them to make a vehement charge with bayonets. This at first promised good results, for many Indians concealed in the tall grass, fled in confusion, but the soldiers were unable to overtake them. They soon returned seemingly in increased numbers, and a second bayonet charge was followed with the same results. The artillery was practically of no use, for the daring Indians killed the men and horses before they could render any service against the scattered and concealed foe. The regulars fought bravely and with much more system and effect than one might expect, but the confusion spread from the militia till it pervaded all the troops.

Behind trees and bushes and hidden in the tall grass, were apparently Indians without number. With their bullets came showers of arrows and the wounds from the latter seemed more painful and exasperating than gun-shot wounds. The soldiers were necessarily more or less in line, and this seemed only to aid the Indians in their peculiar style of warfare. The general did not require a litter to carry him from place to place, except in the beginning of the contest. When the battle raged and his forces began to wane, the excitement brought back his strength as though the vigor of his youth had been renewed. Eight balls passed through his clothes and hat, one of which cut a lock of hair from the side of his head. Two horses were killed under him just as he had been helped to mount them. For an hour or so, no horse being near, he moved about on foot, and surprised all who saw him by the agility he displayed. When again well-nigh exhausted, he was placed on a pack-horse, the only one that could be procured, and though he was scarcely able to force the animal out of a walk, he rode him till the battle closed. Adjutant-General Winthrop Sargent, in a private diary wrote particularly of "St. Clair's coolness and bravery, though debilitated by illness." The battle lasted about four hours when there was nothing left to do but to retreat and this the army accomplished, but with the greatest confusion. Hundreds of soldiers threw away their arms and fled towards the fort.

When fourteen hundred men thus fought this infuriated mob of savages, struggling for their native land, it seems an insult to heroism to have the event forever known in history as St. Clair's defeat. It is more fitting to commemorate their unrivaled bravery by calling it the Battle of the Wabash. Though countless acts of heroism and daring courage, which have challenged the praise and admiration of four generations and will live as long as any war stories of our border history, were performed, yet the result was nevertheless most disastrous. There were five hundred and ninety-three reported killed and two hundred and fourteen wounded. The brave general was among the last to leave the field.

After the result of the battle became known, a bitter feeling arose throughout the Union against St. Clair. The real situation, had it

been understood as it is now, would have thoroughly defended him against all blame, but the means of circulating the true story of the battle were extremely limited and most people knew nothing of it except the general result and the number of killed and wounded. At St. Clair's request therefore a congressional committee was appointed to investigate the entire affair and report their findings. The investigation disclosed a most disgraceful neglect in the commissary department, over which the commander had no control and which alone would have rendered success almost impossible. It disclosed also that Captain Slough, with a scouting party was sent out on the night of the 3rd and that he found Indians in large numbers. This he reported to General Butler, who said he would report it to the commander, but he made no report whatever. Butler, though a man of great bravery, who lost life in this struggle, was disgruntled because of St. Clair's appointment over him. It disclosed also that St. Clair had ordered Colonel Oldham, to take four or five parties out an hour before daybreak the following morning. Very early on the morning of the fourth he sent his adjutant-general to see if they had started; they had not, and then came the battle. The committee reported as follows: "The committee conceive it but justice to the commander-in-chief to say that in their opinion the failure of the late expedition can in no respect be imputed to his conduct, either at any time before or during the action, but that, as his conduct in all the preparatory arrangements was marked with peculiar ability and zeal, so his conduct during the action furnished strong testimonies of his coolness and integrity."

St. Clair resigned and General Anthony Wayne succeeded him as commander-in-chief early in 1792. Through Washington the former promptly tendered the benefit of his information concerning the army to his successor, whereupon President Washington replied: "Your wishes to afford your successor all the information of which you are capable, although unnecessary for any personal conviction, must be regarded as additional evidence of the goodness of your heart and your attachment to your country."

Both the government and Wayne profited by the early lessons in Indian warfare. A well-equipped army, more than twice as large as St. Clair's, was given to General Wayne. He was also given an adequate commissary and was allowed to drill his men until they were competent, and to select the season of the year that he should march against the enemy. By this time, too, the people had awakened to the magnitude of the undertaking, just as the English did after Braddock's defeat, and as our own Nation did after the first disasters of the Civil War. So Wayne was supported by every one, from the President down to the humblest citizen. After drilling his army for over two years, he marched over the roads which St. Clair had opened up and in August, 1794, met the Indians at Fallen Timbers and completely overwhelmed them.

St. Clair has been more or less censured for not throwing up breastworks on the night of November 3, notwithstanding the fatigued condition of his army. These critics forget that an enemy confronted

him which did not fight according to the rules of civilized warfare. Breastworks, such as an army could construct in a night, would have been utterly futile against savages who fought like wild animals, and against whom the only effectual defense was a stockade or other obstruction which they could not surmount. Such were the fortifications which St. Clair built on his march from Cincinnati, but it was impossible to build one in a night's time. Bouquet was by far the most successful Indian fighter of his day and in his greatest contest and victory at Bushy Run, he fought the enemy all afternoon and until night-fall temporarily ended the battle. He could then have thrown up breastworks in the night as a protection against the enemy in the more terrible contest which he knew would follow with the earliest dawn. Such an idea certainly never entered his mind. Like St. Clair, he knew too well the methods of Indian warfare not to realize that such earthworks, though potent against drilled troops, would have been no protection whatever against his savage enemy; indeed, both commanders must have known the breastworks in either instance would have but aided the savages by confining the troops to a position that was not in anyway inaccessible to them.

No intelligent student of history holds now that St. Clair should have been expected to hold Ticonderoga against Burgoyne's army or that his army was properly equipped and drilled to meet the Indians in 1791. In both of these battles the highest possible military skill was displayed on the part of the commander, yet even in our highly educated and considerate age, there are some who seemingly forget the great achievements of his military and civil life, and remember him largely in connection with his last battle, thus unjustly coupling his name with defeat. In this connection, in his sketch of St. Clair, Mr. Swank very aptly observes:

Generals cannot always win victories, as illustrated in the Battle of Waterloo. In our own country, Washington was compelled to surrender to the French and Indians at Great Meadows and he was repeatedly defeated during the Revolution. McDowell lost the first Bull Run battle, Burnside failed at Fredericksburg, Hooker at Chancellorsville, Sherman at Kenesaw Mountain, although these were all good soldiers. Grant met with signal defeat on the first day at Shiloh and also at Cold Harbor, while Lee lost the battle of Antietam and his star set at Gettysburg. St. Clair was not defeated because of any lack of generalship or personal bravery in himself.

St. Clair was retained as Governor of the Territory until the beginning of Thomas Jefferson's administration, in all about fifteen years, and was removed by Jefferson in 1802. As we have said, he was an ardent Federalist and had unbounded admiration for the centralized power doctrine of Alexander Hamilton. Holding such views he was necessarily antagonistic to the tenets of Jefferson, whose policies were opposed to those of Hamilton. He had moreover advocated the reelection of John Adams, whose unpopular administration, favoring among other things the deservedly obnoxious alien and sedition laws, had elected Jefferson.

It may have been unfortunate that so pronounced a Federalist was appointed to this position, for western people were largely Jeffersonian.

The citizens of the Territory were anxious to form a State, which could be brought about mainly through Jefferson's friends. Ohio came into the Union in 1802, and St. Clair was therefore its first and only Territorial Governor.

When St. Clair returned from Ohio he again settled in Ligonier Valley, and near his residence built Hermitage Furnace, hoping thus to recuperate his well-nigh exhausted fortune. For a time he manufactured pig-iron and castings, the former for Pittsburgh market, when the iron industry of the city was in its infancy. A flouring mill which he had built on his estate before the Revolution, and which he gave to his neighbors for their use during the war, was now in ruins and he rebuilt it. His residence, "Hermitage," was about a mile and a half north of Fort Ligonier, now Ligonier, and was built before 1797.

There is a well handed down tradition that Washington sent two expert carpenters, who came out on horseback from Mt. Vernon to do the finer work. The carpenter work was the admiration of the common people and is equal to the best on the old colonial houses. It was certainly done by skillful workmen who could scarcely have found employment on the frontier in that age. In building it he looked forward to the time when he should put aside public duties and pass his remaining years in the ease and comfort earned by a busy life. The residence is all gone now save the parlor, torn down perhaps by the ruthless hand of an ignorant iconoclast who cared nothing for its hallowed memories. The quaintly devised woodwork, the mantle piece and wainscoating of the room remaining, doubtless saved it from destruction. It is now preserved because of its historic associations. Vying in stately simplicity of design and in rich interior with the woodwork of our best homes in modern times, it bids fair to bear down to coming generations one of the few splendid specimens of colonial architecture in Western Pennsylvania. Near by are the crumbling ruins of Hermitage Furnace.

The story of the financial difficulties which so clouded his latter years, is not a pleasant one to contemplate. Besides the 14,000 pounds which came to him by marriage, he was the owner of large tracts of lands which he had purchased or received by grant from the Penns for services rendered them. He also made some good land investments. All his property was sold by the sheriff to satisfy his creditors and the most lamentable feature of his embarrassment is that his debts were nearly all contracted in the interests of the State and Nation, and should have been paid by them and not by St. Clair. In a letter to Hon. William B. Giles he says that the office of Governor was forced upon him by friends who thought it would afford him an opportunity to replenish his fortunes, but that it proved otherwise. He writes, "I had neither taste nor genius for speculation in land, nor did I consider it consistent with the office."

During his last years he presented memorials to the State Legislature and to Congress, asking, not for charity, but for a simple reimbursement of the moneys he had expended for the public, and not a statement in any of them was ever disbelieved or denied. In one of them he explains his situation by saying that when he entered the

Revolution he could not leave his young wife, born and reared in the best of society of Boston, alone with her children on an unprotected and hostile frontier. This compelled him to sell part of his real estate, in Western Pennsylvania, upon some of which he had expended large amounts of money, at a great sacrifice. It was sold for 2,000 pounds in deferred payments. But the purchaser paid him in depreciated Continental currency, so that of the 2,000 pounds he received less than one hundred. He purchased a house in Pottsgrove, near Philadelphia, as a family residence while he was in the army. On selling this he lost the half by the bankruptcy and suicide of the purchaser.

In a memorial to the Assembly he says that beginning in 1774 (in Dunmore's War) he supplied nearly all the forts and blockhouses in Westmoreland county with arms and means of defense at his own expense. To Congress he says that in the darkest days of the Revolution, when Washington's soldiers were daily deserting and the army rapidly melting away because they had not been paid, Washington himself applied to him (St. Clair) to save the Pennsylvania line, the best organization in the army. He accordingly advanced the money for recruiting and for bounty and with the aid of Colonel William Butler, the line was saved. To this claim the government actually pleaded the statute of limitations.

But the indebtedness which directly caused the sale of his real estate, was contracted while he was Governor of the Territory. Among other duties which he performed there was to act as Indian agent, and as such he negotiated several important treaties. But the amounts appropriated were not generally sufficient to cover the terms of the treaty and rather than have it fail, St. Clair advanced the necessary money. In one treaty he was forced to expend sixteen thousand dollars while but eight had been set aside for it. When the army for the campaign of 1791 was assembled at Cincinnati, it was found that the appropriation was not sufficient to equip it. St. Clair gave his bond for the amount necessary, on the express promise of the Secretary of the Treasury that it would be repaid. It probably would have been had Hamilton remained in office, but the new administration was averse to making good the amounts expended by the Federalists. There was hope, however, while Hamilton lived, for he, better than any other, knew of the justice of the claim. St. Clair, with no desire whatever to contest the validity of the bond, came into the Westmoreland courts and confessed a judgment against his real estate for the face of the bond with interest in August, 1803, or \$7,042.00. Payments had been made on it from time to time by St. Clair, so that at the time of the sale in 1808, with costs, it amounted to \$10,632.17.

His property was sold by the sheriff in 1808-09-10, when the embargo had driven all of the money out of the country, and, though valued at \$50,000, it did not bring more than the debt, interest and costs. The residence and furnace were sold for \$4,000, though furnace and mill alone had been rented to James Hamilton & Company, for \$3,000 per year. The first sale took place, as the Westmoreland records show, in June, 1808, and the last tract was sold

on October 15, 1810. His creditors did not stop with the sale of his real estate, but sold also all of his personal property, save a few articles which he selected as exempt from levy and sale. Among these was one bed and bedding, a few books from his English library, embracing his favorite Horace, whose classic beauty of verse he had long admired, and a bust of Paul Jones, King of the Seas, presented to him and sent by Jones himself from Paris.

When the general was turned out of house and home by these proceedings, he and his family moved to a tract of land, which his son Daniel owned on Chestnut Ridge, about six miles west from Ligonier. Though the house was little more than a log cabin, it was on the State road leading to the West, and here he entertained travelers that he might thus support his family. Broken with the storms of more than three-score-and-ten, saddened by the memories of the past, denied by ingratitude that which was justly due him from his State and Nation, he quietly awaited the last roll call.

To a truly altruistic man like St. Clair, who had really given of his abundance with a profligate hand to the weak and destitute, poverty, though gloomy in its aspect, was a bright and shining crown of glory which only added to his greatness. No one who was capable of appreciating true worth, ever came in contact with him, even in his last years, who did not recognize at once the presence of a statesman, a soldier unacquainted with fear, a scholar in the best sense of the term and a patriot pure and unswerving. Read his letter to the ladies of New York, who, hearing of his needs, sent him a present of four hundred dollars, and compare it with our best English letters. We quote but a few lines:

To soothe affliction is certainly a happy privilege and is the appropriate privilege of the fair sex, and although I feel all I can feel for the relief brought to myself, their attention to my daughters touches me most. Had I not met with distress, I should not perhaps, have known their worth. Though all their prospects in life, and they were once very flattering, have been blasted, not a sigh, not a murmur, has been allowed to escape them in my presence, and all their plans have been directed to rendering my reverses less affecting to me; and yet I can truly testify that it is entirely on their account that my situation ever gave me a moment's pain.

The last picture we have of St. Clair refers to a period but three years before his death, when he was almost overwhelmed with a mountain of sorrow, yet there are few public men of our day who would not feel proud to be thus described. It is from the pen of Elisha Whittlesey, who, with Joshua R. Giddings and James A. Garfield, represented the Ashtabula district in Congress fifty-six years. Whittlesey was afterwards for many years an auditor of the United States Treasury, and by a life of association with distinguished men, could recognize true greatness. The letter was written to Senator Richard Brodhead, and is as follows:

In 1815 three persons and myself performed a journey from Ohio to Connecticut on horseback in the month of May. Having understood that General St. Clair kept a small tavern on the Ridge east of Greensburg, I proposed that we stop at his house and spend the night. He had no grain for our horses, and after spending an hour with him in the most agreeable and interesting conversation

respecting his early knowledge of the Northwestern Territory, we took our leave of him with deep regret.

I never was in the presence of a man that caused me to feel the same degree of veneration and esteem. He wore a citizen's dress of black, of the Revolution; his hair was clubbed and powdered. When we entered he arose with dignity and received us most courteously. His dwelling was a common double log house of the western country, that a neighborhood would roll up in an afternoon. There lived the friend and confidant of Washington, the ex-Governor of the fairest portion of creation. It was in the neighborhood, if not in view of a large estate at Ligonier, that he owned at the commencement of the Revolution, and which, I have at times understood, was sacrificed to promote the success of the Revolution. Poverty did not cause him to lose self-respect, and were he now living, his personal appearance would command universal admiration.

St. Clair at no time in the war appeared so great as when, under adverse circumstances, he tried to save an army or prevent its destruction. So it may have been that in the poverty of his declining years, his true nobility asserted itself, and shone forth all the more brilliantly. With no complaint whatever, he readily forgot that the Nation had taken the best years of his life and much of his property, and now in want, another generation of rulers refused to recompense him. One sentence from the New York letter above is the key to his whole life: "It is entirely on their account that my situation ever gave me a moment's pain." He always forgot himself when the rights of others or the interests of the State were being considered. Perhaps more than any other was he an exemplar of the motto of the Society of the Cincinnati, "*Omnia relinquit servare rempublicam*."

There, on the mountains, in a rude log cabin, lived the personal friend and companion of Washington, Greene, Steuben, Lafayette, Hamilton, Franklin, Wayne, Gates and Schuyler, and in no small degree did he share their glory. When the Revolution closed he was one of the leading men of the new nation, a gentleman, a scholar, a soldier, a statesman. His manners were those of the polished society in which his earlier days were spent and no adversity could change the unvaried courtesy which was part of his nature. His conversation was always embellished with wit and wisdom. Often was he seen wandering alone over the hills and through the wilderness with his hands behind his back and in deep thought, like Napoleon on the bleak and lonely island of St. Helena.

In his youth he has been described as being tall and graceful, with chestnut brown hair, blue eyes and fair complexion, and as a complete master of all the accomplishments of the best society of the age. In old age his form was somewhat bowed, but his square shoulders, his cleanly shaven face and dignified address still remained. His portrait, given as the frontispiece of this volume, is from a painting by Charles Wilson Peale, the original of which hangs in Independence Hall in Philadelphia.

Never did the proud old general seek pity or charity. On one occasion he and William Findley, who was then in Congress, were talking, perhaps concerning measures for St. Clair's reimbursement. Findley was then a man of power and wealth, while St. Clair was almost in penury. Findley, with perhaps the kindest feelings, said, "General, I pity your case and heartily sympathize with you." Then

the old warrior, though bent with the adversities of more than four-score years, proudly drew himself up and with flashing eyes said, "I am sorry, sir, but I cannot appreciate your sympathy." At another time, toasted at a militia muster by a thoughtless admirer, as "the brave but unfortunate St. Clair," he drew his sword in an instant and demanded that the offender retract his words. He would not be complimented and commiserated in a single sentence; his achievements in the service of England and America in both war and peace were deserving of all glory without a compromising word of pity or regret.

On August 30, 1818, while driving down the mountain on his way to Youngstown, he probably sustained a paralytic stroke, for he fell from his wagon and was found unconscious by the road side. Taken to his home he died the day following without regaining consciousness. The citizens of Greensburg called a public meeting at once and adopted resolutions of condolence and requested that his family select their cemetery as his final resting place. This was accordingly done. Nineteen days after, his wife, the once accomplished Phoebe Bayard, of Boston, who had willingly accepted the hard life on the rude frontier with her husband, was laid to rest by his side. So they sleep in the old, tree-grown and now abandoned cemetery which for more than sixty years has borne his name.

In 1832 a plain monument of sandstone was erected over his grave by the Masonic fraternity and its inscription speaks most eloquently and truthfully of the neglect of the nation. "The earthly remains of Major-General Arthur St. Clair are deposited beneath this humble monument, which is erected to supply the place of a nobler one due from his country."

In a wider sense, however, General St. Clair has builded for himself, by his life's work, monuments more enduring than marble. The progress of Western Pennsylvania, the center of commercial industry, a section which he practically founded, and over which he first spread the elevating influences of civil government, is his monument; the freedom of the Nation, to secure which he gave his fortune and the best years of his life, is his monument; the achievement of the Middle West which he opened up to civilization and education under the Ordinance of 1787, five great States, now teeming with about twenty millions of happy and industrious people, is his monument.

Let him sleep, therefore, if the Nation so wills it, without "the nobler monument due him from his country," for as long as the maples wave above him their graceful branches and yearly strew his grave with the golden leaves of autumn; as long as flowers bud and bloom at his feet and the morning songs of wild birds fill the air; as long as honor, charity, self-sacrifice and patriotism remain the sweetest of human virtues, so long will the name of Arthur St. Clair awaken alike the proudest and saddest memories of the American people.

Some years ago it was discovered that the old St. Clair monument was rapidly disintegrating and that already its inscriptions were in part obliterated. The weatherbeaten structure was, however, so symmetrical and artistic in its lines that all connoisseurs in monu-



GEN. ST. CLAIR MONUMENT, GREENSBURG

mental architecture who were consulted, advised that to change the style would be iconoclastic in the extreme. They advised that an exact duplicate should be made of granite and erected in the place occupied by the old one. This was accordingly done in the summer of 1913. The St. Clair lot, about forty feet square, was surrounded by a granite coping, both the monument and the coping being of the finest Westerly granite. The expense was borne by the Masonic fraternity.

On the evening of August 15, 1913, a large assemblage of the people of Greensburg and vicinity, with many noted Masons and citizens from other sections, met in the old cemetery to unveil and dedicate the new monument. It had been draped with the American flag and was unveiled by Messrs. Levi Portser, E. H. Bair and Dr. D. A. Arter, who with Mr. John S. Sell composed the board of trustees of the Masonic fund. Mr. Sell, master of ceremonies, made suitable introductory remarks, and, after prayer by the Rev. Dr. D. L. Johnson, introduced Hon. Alexander D. McConnell, one of the judges of Westmoreland county, who delivered a most masterly eulogium on the distinguished soldier whose memory the great assemblage had come to honor.



